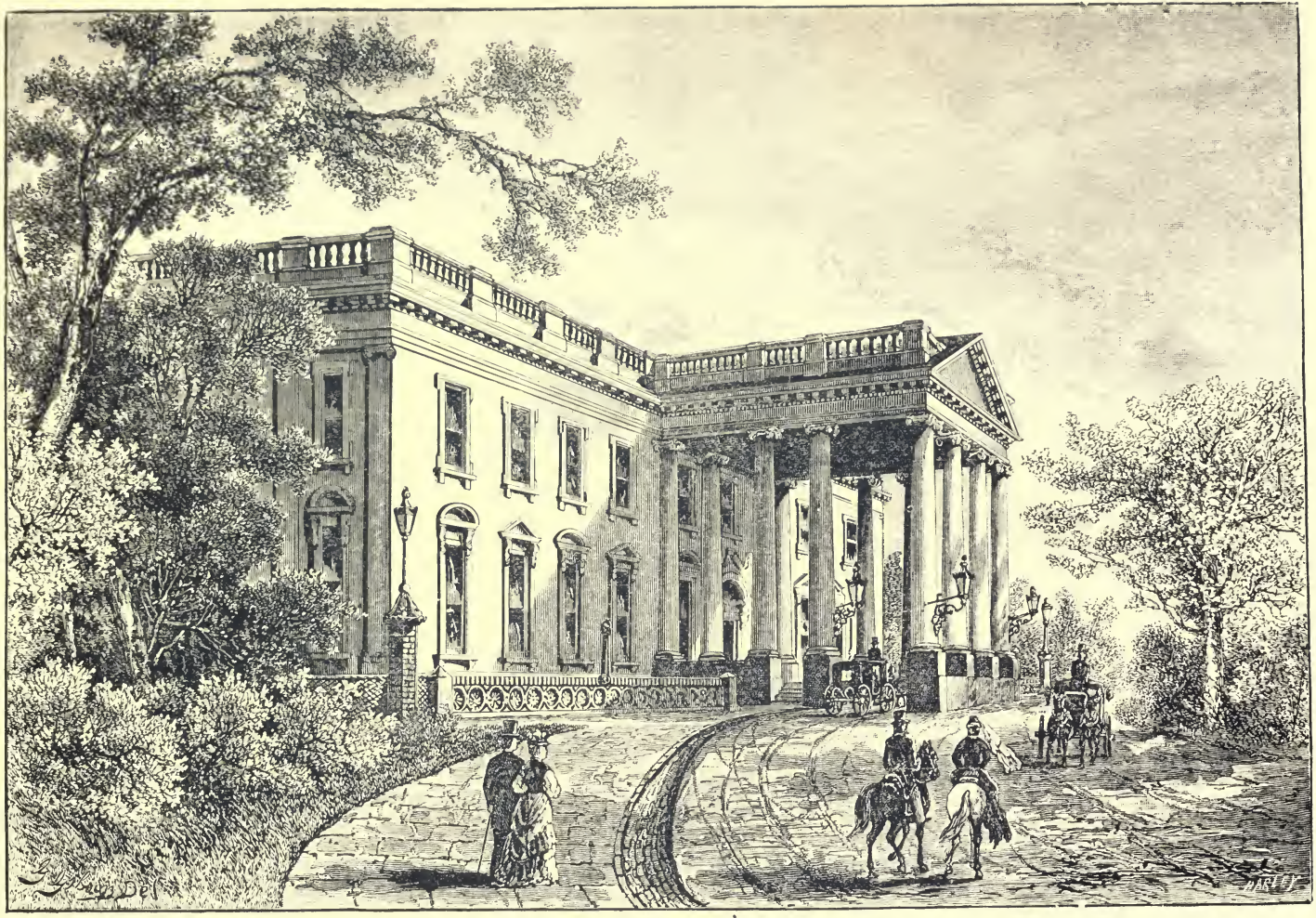
UC-NRLF
$C 168 396

THE AMERICAN NATION

VOL. I.



THE WHITE HOUSE—THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICIAL RESIDENCE.

THE AMERICAN NATION

ITS EXECUTIVE, LEGISLATIVE, POLITICAL, FINANCIAL, JUDICIAL AND INDUSTRIAL HISTORY: EMBRACING SKETCHES OF THE LIVES OF ITS CHIEF MAGISTRATES, ITS EMINENT STATESMEN, FINANCIERS, SOLDIERS AND JURISTS, WITH MONOGRAPHS ON SUBJECTS OF PECULIAR HISTORICAL INTEREST. BY BENSON J. LOSSING, LL.D., J. K. UPTON, HON. A. G. RIDDLE, HON. THOMAS M. COOLEY, HON. J. V. CAMPBELL, COL. CHARLES WHITTLESEY, RT. REV. C. F. ROBERTSON, D. D. AND MANY OTHER DISTINGUISHED WRITERS. EDITED BY J. H. KENNEDY.

CLEVELAND
The Williams Publishing Company

Copyright, 1888.
By William W. Williams.

All Rights Reserved.

LOAN STACK

K42
v.1

PREFACE.

IN offering to the American people this story of the beginnings and growth of a Nation that, by the direct and broad highway of equal rights for all, has attained the highest rank among the peoples of the earth, no apology need be made for its appearance, while extended explanation of its purpose is unnecessary.

Shall argument be made to show that a knowledge of this story is, by obligation of citizenship, the duty of all?

No citizen, old or young, native or foreign born, can be fully prepared to do his duty to the country whose protection he enjoys, and the future of which to some extent lies in his hands, unless he understands the difficulties through which it has gone to reach its present greatness, and the many conflicts by which the blessings of to-day have been won and made secure. No matter what lines of knowledge or culture may be closed to the voter, or to him who is to become one by added years of naturalization, he cannot safely remain in ignorance as to the history of America, or the past of that government through which his will and purpose are made known. Each question of public policy that develops itself in the forward advance of events, depends for its solution upon something that has gone before, and no citizen can do the duty of the future without a knowledge of the past.

The history of our Nation has been related in these pages as never before—with completeness, exactness of statement, detail of description, liberality of judgment and breadth of purpose that no previous attempt has reached. Beginning with the days that connect our

688

earliest American history with tradition and romance, all the lines of development and growth have been followed fully and carefully to the present. No salient point can be discovered that has not been touched upon; no question or measure of importance that has not been described with reference to its causes or effects; no era that has not been fully considered; and no statesman or warrior of note who has been forgotten or omitted. It would be a task not necessary in this connection to enumerate even a tithe of the great events that find record herein, and that make up the most wonderful story of National development to be found in the annals of the world.

Among the great events chronicled herein, the following may be specially mentioned: That grand record of American bravery that, commencing with the French and Indian wars, carries us on to Lexington and New Orleans, by Buena Vista and Palo Alto to Gettysburgh and Chickamauga; the struggle made by slavery to hold its own, from the Missouri Compromise to the adoption of the Fifteenth amendment; all the questions that grew out of the Revolution and the War of 1812; the United States bank controversy; the growth of our protective tariff; nullification and states rights; the war for the Union, and all the questions preceding and following it; the creation of the National bank system; reconstruction and specie resumption. In the history of each National administration, all the questions that were in the fore-front of the day find full relation. In the histories of our politics, finances, industries, commerce, judiciary—with many special papers by eminent writers—may be found a mass of well-arranged information that makes of this work what it purports to be—a complete history of our Nation from the settlement of America to the present day. In addition, the biographies of the great men of the past and present are fully given—our chief magistrates, statesmen, judges, soldiers, financiers and philanthropists.

The work done herein is that of men who have made a deep study of American history, and have candidly set down the truth as it could be ascertained. No sectional or political bias has stood in the way of that truth. No coloring has been used to give this one fame, or

to cast a shadow upon another. No expense has been spared by the publishers to make the work complete and perfect in every form. The number, quality and character of the illustrations give to that department an excellence that cannot be challenged. The result of the long labor and great expense which have attended the preparation of the book, is a gratification to the editor and publishers, who cannot but feel that the public, for whose good the work has been issued, will join with them in the belief that it has a mission in the world that no other has been able to accomplish.

CONTENTS.

VOLUME I.

THE PRE-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

PAGE

Discovery of the American Continent—The Descent of the Norsemen upon Western Shores—The Dream and Deeds of Columbus—Other Bold Sailors Explore Unknown Seas—The New Western Empire of Spain—Conquest and Settlement—Mexico, Peru and Florida Placed Under the Spanish Yoke I

France and England Advance and Maintain their Claims—Seeking a Northwest Passage that No Man can Find—Cartier and his Followers on the St. Lawrence—Drake and his Voyage Around the World—The Attempts of Sir Walter Raleigh—The Settlement of Jamestown—The Puritans and *Mayflower*—England Gains a Permanent Foothold at Last XI

The Planting of the Thirteen Colonies—New England's Resistance to the Aggressions of the King—A Republic in Fact but Not in Name—The Growth of the Spirit of Independence—The Condition of the Colonies in Detail, and their Adoption of New England Ideas—Preparation for the Revolution through Years of Silent Growth XXIV

THE REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD.

George Washington and his Preparation for his Great Work—Genealogy of the Washingtons—The Location in America 3

Childhood and Education 8

The Causes of the French War 16

The Expedition to French Creek 22

Washington's First Campaign 30

PAGE

The Braddock Expedition..... 39

To the Fall of Fort Duquesne..... 46

Washington's Marriage and Home Life..... 53

The Ripening of the Revolution..... 57

Concord, Lexington and the Siege of Boston..... 67

The First Canadian Campaign—Evacuation of Boston..... 77

The Occupation of New York..... 91

The Battle and Evacuation of Long Island..... 97

The New Jersey Campaign—Battles of Trenton and Princeton.....116

The Battle of Brandywine and Loss of Philadelphia.....126

Battle of Germantown—Close of the Campaign.....135

The Burgoyne Campaign.....142

The Winter at Valley Forge—Conway's Cabal.....154

The Peace Commission—Attempt Against LaFayette—The French Alliance.....168

Battle of Monmouth—Court-Martial of Lee.....173

Arrival of a French Fleet—Attempt Against Newport—Stony Point.....178

Siege and Fall of Charleston—Tarleton's Butchery.....189

Battle of King's Mountain—Gates Relieved by Greene.....195

Arrival of Rochambeau—Treason of Arnold.....199

Mission of Laurens—Revolt in the Army—The War in the South.....212

The Closing Campaign of the War.....220

From the Fall of Yorktown to the Peace.....227

Washington's Home Life and Private Interests.....235

ADMINISTRATION OF GEORGE WASHINGTON.

The First Presidency—Inauguration and the Difficulties Encountered—Setting the Wheels of the New Government in Motion—A Term Purely of Organization.....242

PAGE

The Second Term—The Danger from France and His Neutrality Proclamation—The Commercial Treaty with England — Retirement from Office and Farewell Address....248

Appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Armies—Retirement of Mt. Vernon Life—The Final Days of the Great Hero and His Peaceful Death....259

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN ADAMS.

Adams' Academic, Collegiate and Professional Education....265

Early Law Practice—The Seeds of Rebellion....275

The Stamp Act and Its Effect—The Baintree Resolutions....281

Anti-Stamp Arguments and Measures—The Boston Massacre....288

Defense of the Soldiers—Elected to the Assembly—Controversy with Bowdoin....295

Reply to the Governor—Appointed Delegate to the First Congress....302

Service in Congress....310

The Two Missions to France....324

The Negotiation of the Peace....333

Further Foreign Service—The Vice-Presidency....338

Inaugurated President—The Differences with France—The Alien and Sedition Laws—Opposition to the Administration—Retirement from Office and Death....345

ADMINISTRATION OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.

Early Life—Serves in the Continental Congress....355

The Declaration of Independence—Service in State Legislature....366

Elected Governor—Again in Congress—Accepts a Foreign Mission....375

Service in the Cabinet of President Washington....388

Elected Vice-President....397

Succeeds John Adams as President—Controversy as to Federal Appointments—The Punishment of the Barbary States—The Army and Navy—The Purchase of Louisiana....403

PAGE

Jefferson's Second Term—Conspiracy of Aaron Burr—New Troubles with England —The Embargo—Retirement from the Presidency.....410

Marriage—Family—Home at Monticello.....418

Views on Slavery—Pecuniary Troubles—Illness and Death.....422

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES MADISON.

Birth and Early Life.....435

Chosen Delegate in Virginia Convention—Elected to Congress.....443

A Second Term in the Legislature.....449

Member of Congress and of the Constitutional Convention.....453

Reëlected to Congress.....463

Further Congressional Service—Marriage.....473

In President Jefferson's Cabinet—Elected President—Foreign Troubles, Ending in a Declaration of War with England.....479

Madison's Second Term—The War of 1812—The Sacking of Washington—Jackson's Victory at New Orleans—The Treaty of Ghent—Retirement and Death.....486

ADMINISTRATION OF JAMES MONROE.

Revolutionary Service—Elected to Congress.....495

Elected to State Legislature—Opposition to Federal Constitution—Appointed Minister to France.....501

Elected Governor of Virginia—Special Envoy to France—In Madison's Cabinet.....508

Elected President—Popularity of His Administration—Strengthening the Government—Trouble with Spain—A Great Financial Depression.....515

Monroe's Second Administration—The "Monroe Doctrine"—Internal Improvements—The End of His Life.....524

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

Early Life—Entrance Upon a Public Career.....533

Elected Senator—Accepts a Foreign Mission—In Monroe's Cabinet.....538

PAGE

Chosen President—Real Civil Service Adopted—Difficulties of Administration—Reëlection Defeated....549

Again a Member of Congress....556

His Course on the Slavery Question....560

Last Years of Congressional Service—Stricken with Death While at His Post....570

ADMINISTRATION OF ANDREW JACKSON.

Birth, Education and Early Political Service....579

To the Battle of New Orleans....590

Jackson in Florida—His Presidential Campaign and Election....601

His First Administration—A Marked Epoch in American Politics—Foreign Commercial Relations—Internal Improvements—Nullification—The Tariff....617

The Second Administration—The Great United States Bank Controversy—The Removal of the Deposits—Diplomatic Relations with France—The Increased Agitation of the Slavery Question—Jackson's Death....633

ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOLUME I.

		PAGE
The White House	Frontispiece.	
Washington on a Surveying Tour	facing	18
Redoubt at Pittsburgh, Built in 1764		21
Braddock's Battlefield as it Appears To-day		29
George Washington as a Soldier	facing	42
Martha Washington	"	50
The Wythe House	"	58
Patrick Henry	"	66
Israel Putnam	"	82
John Sullivan	"	98
Benjamin Franklin	"	106
George Clinton	"	114
The Roger Morris House	"	122
Washington's Headquarters at Morristown, New Jersey	"	130
General Burgoyne	"	138
Philip Schuyler	"	146
Burgoyne's Surrender	"	154
Horatio Gates	"	162
Marquis de Lafayette	"	170
Anthony Wayne	"	178
Nathanael Greene	"	194
Benedict Arnold	"	202
Major André	"	203
The Nelson House	"	218
Washington Taking Leave of His Army	"	227
Mount Vernon	"	235
Arthur St. Clair	"	242
John Jay	"	250
George Washington	"	258
Martha Washington	"	259
John Adams	"	265

ILLUSTRATIONS.

		PAGE
Samuel Adams	facing	290
John Hancock	"	306
Group of Franklin, Jay and others	"	337
Residence of John Adams	"	345
Thomas Jefferson	"	355
Edmund Randolph	"	368
Alexander Hamilton	"	392
Aaron Burr	"	400
Elbridge Gerry	"	408
Benjamin Lincoln	"	416
Monticello—The Home of Thomas Jefferson	"	425
James Madison	"	435
Montpelier—The Home of James Madison	"	473
James Monroe	"	495
Residence of James Monroe	"	528
John Quincy Adams	"	533
James Duane	"	544
Residence of J. Q. Adams	"	568
Andrew Jackson	"	579
Residence of Andrew Jackson	"	624
William Wirt	"	633

[The following portraits in the above table of Illustrations are used by permission of the publishers of the MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY, viz: Patrick Henry, George Clinton, General Burgoyne, John Jay, Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Edmund Randolph, Elbridge Gerry, Alexander Hamilton, James Duane, William Wirt.]

THE PRE-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

THE world was content for a time to date European knowledge of the American continent back only to the day when Columbus and his adventurous companions discerned the new shore-line in the distant west, and so far as actual historical proof is concerned, no definite step can be taken beyond that point. But fearless investigation and the opening of new sources of information have revealed a more than possible past for America, that has broader foundations than the theories of the lost Atlantis, the migration of the American Indian from the west of Asia, or the visit of that Chinese explorer, Hwui Shin, to the far-off Fu-sang kingdom, which some say was Japan and some America. Evidence not altogether circumstantial has been advanced to show that the bold and hardy Norsemen, pushing westward with hearts that knew no fear, and restless cravings for motion that only the rocking of the dragon-headed boat upon the cold, white seas of the north, as it dashed onward into unknown regions, could satisfy, were the advance-guard of old-world discoverers, and planted foot upon the eastern shore of the far hemisphere long ere Columbus dreamed of a new road to India, or Catholic Spain had a thought of the proud possessions she should gain beyond the seas.

This reputed descent of the Northmen upon the American coast is by some relegated altogether to romance and speculation, while many historians of discernment and judgment have weighed all the evidence and given their decision in support of its truth. There is

much in favor of the theory they advance, for the men who discovered Iceland and Greenland and added them to the trophies of the Scandinavian race, might well cross over the narrow channel that lay between their last outpost of exploration and the main land, and touch a continent that to their vision should seem, perhaps, only another island locked in polar seas. This we do know, that, in 860, one Naddoddr, a Norse pirate, was blown out of his course, and found himself upon the shores of Iceland; that sixteen years later another sailor, driven westward by adverse winds, saw in the distance a land which he did not touch, but which Eric the Red, in 981, went in search of and found, and which from the verdure upon it he called "Greenland," that people of his nation might be led to make it their home.

Beyond these we must look to those grand old *sagas*, or written records of Iceland, for evidence that the Norse was here before the Genoan or the Spaniard—a source of information open to doubt, and yet true to much that is already surely known. In these we are told that subsequent to the descent of Eric upon the Greenland coast, the vikings had sailed away to the south, where one Bjarni, in 985, discovered a fair country, to which the name of "Vinland" was given. The story, as told in the *saga*, is full of action and motion, Homeric in the greatness of the theme, and yet circumstantial and detailed in narration. The best obtainable translation—that by Arthur James Weise—is fragrant with the breath of romance, and as brave and sharp as the north wind in its sense of motion and adventure. "They intrusted themselves to the ocean and made sail three days, until the land passed out of their sight from the water. But then the bearing breezes ceased to blow, and northern breezes and a fog succeeded. Then they were drifted about for many days and nights, not knowing whither they tended. After this the light of the sun was seen, and they were able to survey the regions of the sky. Now they carried sail, and steered this day before they beheld land." . . They "soon saw that the country was not mountainous, but covered with trees and diversified with little hills. . . Then they sailed two days before they saw another land. . . They then approached it and

saw that it was level and covered with trees. Then, the favorable wind having ceased blowing, the sailors said that it seemed to them that it would be well to land there, but Bjarni was unwilling to do so. . . He bade them make sail, which was done. They turned the prow from the land and sailed out into the open sea, where for three days they had a favorable south-southwest wind. They saw a third land, but it was high and mountainous and covered with glaciers. They did not lower sail, but holding their course along the shore, they found it to be an island. Again they turned the stern against the land and made sail for the high sea, having the same wind, which gradually increasing, Bjarni ordered the sails to be shortened, forbidding the use of more canvas than the ship and her outfit could conveniently bear. Thus they sailed for four days, when they saw a fourth land"—which proved to be the Greenland of which they were in search. The next visit to this new-found region was made near the year 1000 by Leif, the son of Eric the Red. The first point upon which he touched was "a land of icy mountains," which he named Helluland, and afterwards a "level country covered with trees," which he called Markland. Again the hardy adventurers set sail toward the vast unknown before them, and after days of travel "went ashore at a place where a river flowed out from a lake," where they "erected large buildings" and resolved to remain during the winter. In the spring they discovered "wine-berries," and because of that the place was named Vinland. Leif then sailed back to Greenland. In the spring of 1007 an expedition of three ships departed in search of the new land. Touching Helluland and then Markland they "sailed southward along the coast," and found not only lands to the south, but wheat and people, "swart and ugly," with "coarse hair, large eyes and broad cheeks," with whom they fought and for fear of whom they "determined to depart and return to their own land." Many later visits to Vinland were made by the Norsemen, the record in the *sagas* carrying us up to the fourteenth century. The exact location of the described region is not definitely known, and probably never will be, but that it was upon the coast of America there can be little doubt. Some say that it was no farther south than south Green-

land or perhaps Labrador, while evidence is at hand to show that it may have been Rhode Island.

Beyond the region of guess-work lies our knowledge of the expedition that set sail from the port of Palos on the third of August, 1492. Columbus stands forth upon the page of human history with a distinctness that casts Bjarni and even Eric the Red into the shadow, and the prize he won for Europe has made his name one of the few that all peoples will remember through all time. Spanish hesitation as to the profitableness of the venture kept his hope for a long time in the balance, but at last he found himself in command of three small vessels, far from fit for a voyage across the great seas, and carrying one hundred and twenty persons in all. "On losing sight of this last trace of land," says Washington Irving, in noting his departure from Ferro, the last of the Canary islands, "the hearts of the crews failed them. They seemed literally to have taken leave of the world." Yet the brave spirit and the well-meant promises of the leader prevailed, and on and on they sailed. "It was on Friday morning, the twelfth of October," continues Irving, "that Columbus first beheld the new world. As the day dawned, he saw before him a level island, several leagues in extent, covered with trees like a continual orchard. Though apparently uncultivated, it was populous, for the inhabitants were seen issuing from all parts of the woods and running to the shore." Yet Columbus never dreamed that he had added two great continents to the possessions of the superior civilization of the old world. He believed that he had already partly circumnavigated the world, and that India had been reached. In his own quaint language, in a letter to the treasurer of Ferdinand and Isabella, written on shipboard, March 14, 1493, he says:

"Thirty-three days after my departure from Cadiz, I reached the *Indian sea*, where I discovered many islands, thickly peopled, of which I took possession, without resistance, in the name of our most illustrious monarch, by public proclamation and with unfurled banners. To the first of these islands, which is called by the Indians Guanahani, I gave the name of Blessed Saviour (San Salvador), relying upon whose protection I had reached this as well as the other isl-

ands. To each of these I also gave a name, ordering that one should be called Santa Maria de la Conception; another Fernandina; the third, Isabella; the fourth, Juana; and so on with all the rest respectively. As soon as we arrived at that which, as I have said, was named Juana [now Cuba], I proceeded along its coast a short distance westward, and found it to be so large and apparently without termination that I could not suppose it to be an island, but the continental province of Cathay [or Tartary] . . . Thus it has happened to me in the present instance, who have accomplished a task to which the powers of mortal man have never hitherto attained; for, if there have been those who have anywhere written or spoken of these islands, they have done so with doubts and conjectures; and no one has ever asserted that he has seen them, on which account their writings have been looked upon as little else than fables. Therefore let the king and queen, our princes and their most happy kingdoms, and all the other provinces of Christendom render thanks to our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who has granted us so great a victory and such prosperity. Let processions be made and sacred feasts be held and the temples be adorned with festive boughs. Let Christ rejoice on earth, as he rejoices in heaven, in the prospect of the salvation of the souls of so many nations hitherto lost. Let us also rejoice, as well on account of the exaltation of our faith as on account of the increase of our temporal prosperity, of which not only Spain but all Christendom will be partakers. Such are the events which I have briefly described. Farewell.

CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS,
Admiral of the Fleet of the Ocean.

Lisbon, the 14th of March."

There never was, in the history of man, and there never can be again, so important a geographical event as this discovery of the American continent; and could the story of its discovery, conquest and settlement be told with such fullness as the detailed incidents in each of the avenues of approach could furnish, nothing more marvelous in romance, or more thrilling in the wars and conquests of the

dark ages, could be found and written to the edification and instruction of mankind. Columbus merely touched the outer shore, and sailed back to Spain to find that Diaz, the Portuguese mariner, had found the Cape of Good Hope. These were great events, that grew no less great when the monarchs of Spain and Portugal proceeded to coolly divide between themselves "all the unknown land and seas to the east and the west of a meridian line, which should be drawn from pole to pole, one hundred and seventy leagues west of the Azores"—a partition which received the sanction of the greatest power on earth, when Pope Alexander VI. confirmed it by special decree.

With DeSoto in Florida and upon the broad Mississippi, Cortez in Mexico and Pizarro in Peru, Spain had indeed made a secure and profitable foothold in the new world. But the prize was not to be made secure without the advancement of claims from rival nations. America was too great to fall peacefully into the possession of one nation, even though she might be as powerful as was Spain four centuries ago; and France and England were soon sending their adventurous sons in the wake of Columbus, across the seas. Yet the influence of the Spaniards was felt at every point. Within twenty years after the first voyage of Columbus, they had planted colonies upon four of the largest West Indian islands, while more than a century passed before any other European nation had performed a like feat, with the exception of small settlements made by the Portuguese in Brazil. While Mexico and Peru were falling an easy prey to Spain, and the Florida regions were laid under claims, the other European nations contented themselves with expeditions of discovery along the various coasts.

Not long after Columbus had told his triumphant story, the sailors of France—no less skillful and brave than their neighbors to the south—turned the prows of their small ships westward, and entered also upon the perils of the unknown seas. John Denys, as early as 1506, explored the St. Lawrence gulf; and in 1524 Verrazano, an Italian sailor, was sent out by Francis I. of France, reached the American coast near the point now known as Cape Fear, and cruising northward visited the bay of New York and Narragansett bay.

He, also, was searching for a westward passage to India, but was soon convinced that the land before him was the part of a great continent before unknown. Returning to France, his report to that effect met such credence that in 1534 Jacques Cartier was sent to America in command of two ships, to explore the country and perhaps found a French colony. He cruised about the Gulf of St. Lawrence, which he named; entered a bay which he called the Bay of Chaleur; landed, and raising the cross and the banner of France over the new land, took possession of it in the name of his king. The next year he was sent forth with a still larger following. Pushing cautiously up the St. Lawrence, he reached the present site of Montreal, spent the winter on the St. Lawrence, and carried his party back to France in the following spring. From these movements and others of like character, the French laid claim to that portion of the new world into which the St. Lawrence furnished a pathway, and New France took its place upon the rectified geographies of the day. The feeling with which the Frenchman looked upon the assumption by Spain of an ownership to it all, was well voiced in the imperious utterance of Francis I.: "What! Shall the kings of Spain and Portugal divide all America between them, without suffering me to take a share as their brother? I would fain see the article in Adam's will that bequeaths that vast inheritance to them."

Nor was England idle while these stirring scenes were being enacted by her continental neighbors. Her people were a race of sailors, and Canada, Australia and India to-day speak something the British idea of acquired domain. With the English mariner the belief of a northwest passage to India was an inherited faith. The endeavor to seek it became, as Samuel Adams Drake has well stated it, "a field for the brave and adventurous of this nation, who, from year to year, spreading their tattered sails to the frozen blasts of the Polar seas, grimly fought their way on from cape to headland, in desperate venture, lured by the vain hope of finding the open waters of their dreams lying just beyond them. It is a story of daring and peril unsurpassed. Many a noble ship and gallant crew have gone down while attempting to solve those mysteries which

the hand of God would seem forever to have sealed up from the knowledge of man." It was this dazzling dream that led Henry Hudson, in 1610, to sail into the great bay that bears his name, where his crew wickedly abandoned him and left him to his fate. Yet that bay was still entered by the English navigators, who were sure that it must lead to an open polar sea. "In view of the suffering to which all were alike subject," continues Drake, "these frost-biting voyages might be said to show more heroism than sound, practical wisdom; yet with the riches of the Indies spead out before their fancy, and all England to applaud their deeds, the best of England's sailors were always ready to peril life and limb for the prize. All who came back told the same tale—of seas sheeted in ice, suns that never set, lands where nothing grew, cold so extreme that all nature seemed but a mockery of the all-wise design of the Creator himself." So much for the spirit with which England turned her attention toward the new found American coast.

Going back, now, to the year 1497, we see Henry VII. of England authorizing John Cabot to seek not only for new lands that would add to the possessions of the English crown, but also for this northwest passage to Asia. On the twenty-sixth of June he discovered land which was probably the island of Newfoundland. On July 3 he reached the coast of Labrador, which made him the first of modern navigators to discover the continent of America, as Columbus did not reach it until some thirteen months afterwards. He followed the coast line southward some nine hundred miles, and then returned to England. The next year his son Sebastian made a voyage to the same region, also with instructions to seek the northwestern road to India, which, it is needless to say, he did not find. The real discoveries that the Cabots did make won little heed in England, which overlooked the benefits near at hand for those not possible to obtain. But England could not be long in these west Atlantic waters without coming into collision with her foe to the south, and although the road to Asia was not discovered, many of the voyages of English merchants and captains were made profitable by attacks upon Spanish ships and Spanish settlements. In 1577 Sir

Francis Drake set sail from England with five vessels; three years later he sailed back into Plymouth harbor with only one. He had visited the coast of our present California, and, crossing the Pacific ocean, had rounded the Cape of Good Hope, and thus sailed around the globe. With the destruction of the Armada in the English channel in 1588, the power of Spain began to decline, and English and French influences became dominant ere long upon the American side of the sea.

While the Frenchmen at the north, and the Spaniards and Portuguese to the south, were making their way into the wilderness, it is with the English advance that a record of colonial America has principally to deal; for it was not by St. Augustine or the St. Lawrence that came those influences which gave us the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of 1789, but from Plymouth and Jamestown.

The Elizabethan age of England was the witness, with all its glories of literature, discovery and arms, of much suffering and want among the lower classes; and for the needy and unemployed the plan of emigration to the fertile lands across the sea was proposed. By gift of the queen, Sir Humphrey Gilbert was given a patent by which he was empowered to inhabit and fortify all land in America not then in the occupation of Christian nations. Gathering a company of the unemployed about him, he set sail with five vessels, and in due season reached Newfoundland, where he halted to make repairs. Taking possession in the name of his queen, he again set sail for a more hospitable coast; but a great storm overtook him, and four of the five vessels went down. Only one was left to make its way back to England as best it could, and tell the terrible story of disaster. Sir Walter Raleigh, a half-brother of Gilbert, who had been a member of the expedition and escaped the fate of his leader, was not discouraged by these ill fortunes. A patent was obtained constituting him lord proprietor, with powers almost unlimited, of "all land which he might discover between the thirty-third and fortieth degrees of north latitude." Under these ample powers he dispatched two vessels westward, under command of Philip Amidas

and Arthur Barlow. In July, 1584, they reached the coast of North America, where they landed, gave thanks to God for their safe passage, and performed the customary ceremony of taking possession in the name of the virgin queen. They had landed upon the island of Wocoken. "The forests formed themselves into wonderfully beautiful bowers, frequented by multitudes of birds. It was like a Garden of Eden, and the gentle, friendly inhabitants appeared in unison with the scene. On the island of Roanoke they were received by the wife of the king, and entertained with Arcadian hospitality." The word that came back to England warmed an already glowing enthusiasm into new life, and many were ready to follow the fortunes of their immigrant friends. Raleigh, obtaining the royal assent for such high honor, conferred the name of Virginia, after the virgin queen, upon all that country between the French possessions on the north and the Spanish on the south, and extending westward as far as future exploration should show the land to reach—a distance that no man then living could well appreciate or understand.

On the ninth of April, 1585, Sir Richard Grenville, with seven vessels and one hundred colonists, left England and safely reached Roanoke island, where they needlessly and arrogantly made enemies of the peaceful Indians, by destroying a village and setting fire to the standing corn, because a silver cup was missing, which it was supposed the Indians had stolen. Ralph Lane was made governor of the colony, and left in charge when the ships made sail once more for home. Lane made brief explorations of the country about him, writing home: "It is the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven; the most pleasing territory in the world; the continent is of huge and unknown greatness, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely. The climate is so wholesome that we have none sick. If Virginia had but horses and kine and were inhabited by English, no realm in Christendom were comparable with it." This venture that promised so much came to naught. The cruel punishment that had turned the friendly tribes about them into enemies, brought direful consequences upon the heads of those by whom it had been administered; for no sooner were the ships away than the Indians grew hos-

tile, and threatened destruction to the little colony. And when the ships of Sir Francis Drake, who had been carrying fire and the sword to a goodly number of Spanish vessels, appeared upon the coast, he was hailed as a deliverer, and carried the homesick Englishmen back to Europe in one of his ships. Hardly had they gone before a vessel of relief, sent by Raleigh, made its appearance, but finding no one to succor, it soon spread wings also and away to England. It was not well beyond sight of the coast line before three other vessels, under command of Sir Richard Grenville, made their appearance. A vain search was made for the little colony, who had left no notice of their return to England. Grenville then returned also to England, leaving fifteen men on Roanoke island to hold possession for the whites. Raleigh soon fitted out another expedition, connected with which were many farmers and women and children, with many implements of husbandry. Nothing was found of the fifteen left in charge except their bones, amid the ruins of their little fort. The events that rapidly followed—in which may be read in brief terms one of the romantic mysteries of American history—have been thus described as follows by Mary Howitt: "When White reached England (on his return for supplies and reinforcements) he found the whole nation absorbed by the threats of the Spanish invasion. Raleigh, Grenville and Lane, Frobisher, Drake and Hawkins, all were employed in devising measures of resistance. It was twelve months before Raleigh, who had to depend almost entirely upon his own means, was able to dispatch White with supplies; this he did in two vessels. White, who wished to profit by his voyage, instead of at once returning without loss of time to his colony, went in chase of Spanish prizes, until at length one of his ships was overpowered, boarded and rifled, and both compelled to return to England. This delay was fatal. The great events of the Spanish Armada took place, after which Sir Walter Raleigh found himself embarrassed with such a fearful amount of debt that it was no longer in his power to attempt the colonization of Virginia; nor was it till the following year that White was able to return, and then, also through the noble efforts of Sir Walter Raleigh, to the unhappy colony Roanoke. Again the island was a desert. An inscription on

the bark of a tree indicated 'Croatan;' but the season of the year and the danger of storms furnished an excuse to White for not going thither. What was the fate of the colony never was known. It has been conjectured that through friendship of Manteo (an Indian chief) they had probably escaped to Croatan; perhaps had been, when thus cruelly neglected by their countrymen, received into a friendly tribe of Indians, and became a portion of the children of the forests. The Indians had, at a later day, a tradition of this kind, and it has been thought that the physical character of the Hatteras Indians bore out the tradition. The kind-hearted and noble Raleigh did not soon give up all hopes of his little colony. Five different times he sent out at his own expense to seek for them, but in vain. The mystery which veils the fate of the colonists of Roanoke will never be solved in this world." Raleigh deserved, himself, a better fate than awaited him. Troubles thickened about him at home, and he had such need of thought for himself that he could give little to Virginia, which he declared he should yet "live to see an English nation." He did not see the prophecy fulfilled. James I. became king of England, and Raleigh's head went to the block.

The spirit of discovery and adventure which the stirring times had aroused in England, led Bartholomew Gosnold to sail direct from England to America without touching the Canaries and the West Indies, as had been the custom heretofore. He made the venture in a small vessel, in 1602, and in seven weeks safely reached the coast of Massachusetts. Finding no good harbor he continued his course southward, and landing upon a promontory, called it Cape Cod—which name it has retained to this day. He discovered the islands of Elizabeth and Martha's Vineyard. The ship was laden with furs and sassafras, bartered from the Indians, and made preparations to leave a colony and return home; but when the hour of departure arrived, those who had agreed to remain repented themselves of their decision, and all returned home. The reports brought by the party—with the shortness of time required for the direct voyage—excited new movements, and in the year following, a company of merchants of Bristol dispatched two small vessels, under command of Martin Pring, for

the purpose of trade with the natives. The result was the discovery of some of the principal rivers of Maine and an examination of the coast of Massachusetts. In 1614 Captain John Smith, of Virginian fame, also visited the Massachusetts coast, sailed into Massachusetts bay "till he came up into the river between Mishawam, afterwards called Charlestown, and Shawmutt, afterwards called Boston, and, having made discovery of the land, rivers, coves and creeks in the said bay, and also taken some observation of the manners, dispositions and sundry customs of the numerous Indians, or nations inhabiting the same, he returned to England." Emulating the example of the Frenchmen who had founded a New France to the north, he named all this country New England—an appellation it still retains

The commercial instinct that lies back of the greater part of English colonization was not lacking here. The return of Gosnold and the reports he carried led to the formation of a company for the purpose of planting colonies upon the new shores. The name of "The Virginia Company" was given to this organization, and received from the crown the right to hold all the land from the St. Croix river to Cape Fear. It was divided into two divisions, the one, the London company, to have control of the southern portion of this territory, and the other, the Plymouth company, to control the northern. The London company had the honor of founding the first English colony in America. Three vessels, commanded by Captain Christopher Newport and manned by one hundred men, were sent out with instructions to land on Roanoke island. A stress of weather drove them into Chesapeake bay, and such were the attractions of the place that they determined to make it their place of settlement. Sailing up a beautiful river, which they named the James in honor of their king, they chose the site of their colony, and called it Jamestown, in pursuance of the loyal homage above indicated. This landing was made upon May 13, 1607.

In a work so largely given to the administrative and political history of America, it cannot but be of interest to note the form

of government that had been arranged for this, the first English colony to gain a foot-hold upon American shores. King James was ambitious for the increase of his power, and was already striving to make the crown more independent of the people. In the patent conferred upon the Virginia company, he had carefully provided for such government for the new colonies as should keep them under his direct control. The instructions for the line of civil policy that was to be pursued, had been placed in a sealed box, that was not opened until the landing at Jamestown. It was then discovered that seven men had been appointed a governing council, among whom were Gosnold, Newport and Captain John Smith, who was also a member of the expedition.

The fortunes of the little colony were by no means as brilliant and secure as had been anticipated, while inherent evils of organization and purpose were responsible for much of the ill fortune that followed. The successful search for gold that the Spaniards had pursued in Mexico and Peru had inflamed the desires of the English, who did not know that a like search in the region of the James would not produce like brilliant results. Many of the gentry who had come with the colonists had no other purpose in view than this, and agriculture and the arts were sadly neglected. The position chosen proved unhealthful, and much sickness ensued. One-half the colony was swept away by pestilence, and the remainder were only saved by the friendly aid of the Indians. Warfare of an internal character added its discouragements. Captain Smith was not allowed to take his place in the council, by the action of enemies, and was finally arrested upon charges afterwards shown to be false. After several months of struggling for his rights, he so boldly and successfully proved his innocence and demanded his rights that he was given his proper place in the council. It was a timely aid that he brought, as the president found himself unable to cope with the dangers and difficulties of the situation, and gradually allowed the direction of events to fall into the hands of Smith. "At the approach of winter," wrote Charles Campbell, in his 'History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion in Virginia,' "the rivers of Virginia

abounded in wild fowl, and the English now were well supplied with bread, peas, persimmons, fish and game. But this plenty did not last long, for what Smith carefully provided, the colonists carelessly wasted. The idlers at Jamestown, including some of the council, now began to mutter complaints against Smith for not having discovered the source of the Chickahominy, it being supposed that the South sea or Pacific ocean lay not far distant, and that a communication with it would be found by some river running from the northwest. The Chickahominy flowed in that direction, and hence the solicitude of these Jamestown cosmographers to trace the river to its head. To allay this dissatisfaction of the council, Smith made another voyage up that river, and proceeded until it became necessary, in order to pass, to cut away a large tree which had fallen across the stream." Thus ended another of the efforts by which Asia was to be reached by a short cut westward. The main result of this expedition was a fight with the Indians, the capture of Smith, and his story of Pocahontas' brave interposition to save his life—a narration that is not considered by historians as grounded upon any deep foundation of fact. When Smith was released by the kindness of the Indian king, he returned to Jamestown to find the little colony reduced to forty. A gleam of light in their darkening fortunes came soon after, when Newport arrived with a supply of stores and some additional settlers. But the gleam of sunshine did not long continue. The town was almost burned to the ground by an accident. The stock of provisions ran low, and the colonists were soon reduced to a diet of meal and water. Want and the exposure to cold had their legitimate effects, and the already dwindling number was reduced one-half. Newport set sail for England, leaving Ratcliffe, the president, in full power, able to manage affairs as he pleased. "The spring now approaching," Campbell continues, "Smith and Scrivener undertook to rebuild Jamestown, repair the palisades, fell trees, prepare the fields, plant, and erect another church. While thus engaged, they were joyfully surprised by the arrival of the *Phœnix*, commanded by Captain Nelson, who had left England with Newport about the end of the year 1607, and, after coming in

sight of Cape Henry, had been driven off to the West Indies. He brought with him the remainder of the first supply, which comprised one hundred and twenty settlers. Having found provisions in the West Indies, and having economically husbanded his own, he imparted them generously to the colony, so that now there was accumulated a store sufficient for half a year."

In September, 1608, Smith accepted the office of president, which he had formerly declined. Among the people who had arrived in the *Phœnix* were thirty-three "gentlemen," whom the colony did not want, and a number of laborers, tailors, jewelers, a gunsmith, a cooper, etc., who might be made of some avail. Smith set himself to work to make such use of this conglomerate material as the circumstances would allow. It is recorded that he "now set the colonists to work—some to make glass, others to prepare tar, pitch and soap-ashes; while he, in person, conducted thirty of them five miles below the fort to cut down trees and saw plank. Two of this lumber party happened to be young gentlemen who had arrived in the last supply. Smith sharing labor and hardship in common with the rest, these woodmen at first became apparently reconciled to the novel task, and seemed to listen with pleasure to the crashing thunder of the falling trees, but when the axes began to blister their unaccustomed hands, they grew profane, and their frequent loud oaths echoed in the woods. Smith taking measures to have the oaths of each one numbered, in the evening, for each offense poured a can of water down the offender's sleeve. And this curious discipline, or water cure, was so effectual that after it was administered an oath would scarcely be heard for a week."

Want, Indian outbreaks and internal dissensions make up the history of Jamestown during the following year, and in 1609 Smith gave up such remnant of authority as he yet retained over a town full of factions, and sailed to England, never to return. No sooner was he away than all order and subordination were at an end. The colonists, who were already famished and liable at any moment to be destroyed utterly by the Indians, were only waiting a chance to abandon the enterprise altogether, when the opportune arrival of Lord

Delaware put a new face upon affairs. He brought not only a fleet filled with colonists and supplies, but authority and a purpose to make such use of it as the occasion demanded. The next few years, in the neighborhood of Jamestown, witnessed energetic and decisive measures in several directions. Lord Delaware, and those who succeeded him as the governors of Virginia, ruled with almost kingly power, passing and enforcing severe laws, building forts in various quarters and waging merciless war upon the Indians. One of the number, Sir Thomas Dale, receiving information that the French were settling in the north, in territory claimed by the English, sent an expedition against them, which laid waste to a fishing village on the coast of Maine. On the way back, a visit was paid to the Dutch located at Fort Orange and Manhattan island (New York), who were ordered to pull down the Dutch flag—a command that was obeyed only as long as the English remained in sight.

The English settlements along the James and from thence down to the sea, began to thrive; tobacco was cultivated and sent across the seas, and the greatness and development witnessed in the near future began to be foreshadowed. Meanwhile, a change that had much to do with the independent spirit of later years made itself apparent in England. The Virginia company gradually passed into the control of men opposed to the king and an extension of his powers, and who favored an extension of the liberties of the people. This change was made apparent by the appointment of Governor Yeardley to control of affairs in Virginia, who was sent forth with directions to call a meeting of planters and land-holders "who were to consult together and make laws for the government of the colony."

Thus, in 1619, the first Virginia assembly, or house of burgesses, was held, and thus began in America the government by the people. And it may be added, as an opposing shadow to this brightening picture, that it was in this same year of 1619 that a Dutch trader sailed his ship up the James river and sold to the planters of Virginia twenty negroes who had been captured in Africa.

Going back to the year of 1607, we may find in the secret migration of a few families from the northeast of England to Holland, the begin-

ning of a movement and the definite expression of a force that had much to do with the America of to-day. Forsaking, as they had, the Church of England because, to their consciences, it was no nearer the truth than the Church of Rome, they turned direct to the Scriptures for their rule of action, and left their homes because they could not and would not render the obedience the state church demanded. In Holland they could have a shelter but no home; remaining there, their children must become a part of that Teutonic land, and no longer Englishmen.

Many men and many classes had already found a refuge in the new lands over ocean, and toward that land their eyes and thoughts were turned. Jamestown offered no advantage over England itself, for the Church of England was the recognized ecclesiastical authority there. The New Netherlands was proposed and rejected because they would become the subjects of a trading company. The result was the formation, among the friends in England, of a company that should send them to the northern portion of the territory under control of the Virginia company. A portion of their number were sent ahead to prepare the way. Embarking in the ship *Speedwell*, they sailed from the port of Delft-Haven in Holland, to Southampton in England, where they were joined by the *Mayflower*. But when the long voyage was entered upon it was found that the *Speedwell* was not safe, and the whole company were compelled to trust themselves to the little *Mayflower*. "And when the ship," we find it written in the 'Chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers of the Colony of Plymouth,' "was ready to carry us away, the brethren that staid, having again solemnly sought the Lord with us and for us, and we further engaging ourselves mutually as before—they, I say, that staid at Leyden, feasted us that were to go, at our pastor's house, being large, where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts, as well as with the voice, there being many of the congregation very expert in music; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard. After this they accompanied us to Delph's Haven, where we were to embark, and there feasted us again. And after prayer performed

by our pastor, where a flood of tears was poured out, they accompanied us to the ship, but were not able to speak one to another for the abundance of sorrow to part. But we only going aboard—the ship lying to the quay and ready to set sail, the wind being fair—we gave them a volley of small shot and three pieces of ordnance; and so, lifting up our hands to each other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed, and found his presence with us in the midst of our manifold straits he carried us through."

The *Mayflower*—one of the few ships that have become immortalized in history—was a vessel of one hundred and eighty tons, whose condition was such that an end was nearly put to the whole expedition. The people aboard were so crowded for room that even the shallop on the deck "was damaged by being used for a sleeping-place." The voyage was stormy and full of peril and discomforts, seas sweeping over them so that they were "wet continuously," while their provisions were well-nigh spoiled. They had been full sixty days away from their last English port when land was sighted—not within the limits of territory assigned to the Virginia company, but among the shoals of Cape Cod. An attempt was made to sail to the south, but they were unable to find their way through the shoals. Land of any kind was a blessing, especially to the sick and homesick women; and the "clamors to be put ashore were irresistible." Thus the anchor of the *Mayflower* was dropped in the harbor of Cape Cod, and the cold and desolate Plymouth Rock received the first impress of Puritanism in America, rather than the fertile fields that had been sought to the further south.

It was soon discovered that no settlement could be formed upon the spot where they had landed, as there was no good water to be had. Parties of exploration were sent out along the coast, and their report was such that all the company returned to the *Mayflower* and sailed along the inside of the bay to a sheltered nook, where they cast anchor. Here was not only a brook of clear water, but fields which had been cleared by the Indians for planting. The point had been marked Plymouth by Captain John Smith in his map of the New England coast, and from that fact, and from Plymouth having been

the last place which they had touched in England, the name was bestowed upon the little settlement which they set themselves to form.

The historic compact, which was made by those aboard the *Mayflower* before going ashore to found their settlement, was in its essential purpose a measure of self-protection and mutual help—each agreeing to stand by the other, to obey the laws that the majority might make, and to decide all questions by vote in public meetings. John Carver was elected governor.

The first measure taken upon landing was one of defense. A platform was built upon the hill, upon which several guns were mounted. A house, twenty feet square, was erected, in which their goods were stored, and where they themselves might find shelter. A town was laid out and house lots assigned to each family. The village was enclosed with palings and gates set at proper places. The fields to be cultivated lay outside, and all the families were to have a right in common to woodland and pasture-land. All their earnings were to go into a common stock, to be paid to the company of merchants who had furnished means for their passage across the sea.

Dark and doleful times lay before the little company, who had escaped the peril of the sea only to face the many terrors and troubles of life in the bleak land that was to become their home. The men had hardly set themselves to work for the rearing of needed habitations, when sickness from exposure and bad food set in. In four months nearly one-half their number were dead; and at one time during the winter their fortunes were at so low an ebb that only half a dozen had strength sufficient to nurse the sick and bury the dead. "Destitute of every provision which the weakness and the daintiness of the invalid requires," writes Palfrey, "the sick lay crowded in the unwholesome vessel, or in half built cabins heaped around with snow-drifts. The rude sailors refused them even a share of those coarse sea-stores which would have given a little variety to their diet, till disease spread among the crew, and the kind ministrations of those whom they had neglected and affronted brought them to a better temper. The dead were interred in a bluff by the water-side, the

marks of burial being carefully effaced, lest the natives should discover how the colony had been weakened. The imagination fairly tasks itself to comprehend the horrors of that fearful winter. The only mitigations were that the cold was of less severity than is usual in the place, and that there was not an entire want of food and shelter. Meantime, courage and fidelity never gave out. The well carried out the dead through the cold and snow, and then hastened back from the burial to wait on the sick; and, as the sick began to recover, they took the places of those whose strength had been exhausted. There was no time and there was no inclination to despond. The lesson rehearsed at Leyden was not forgotten—'that all great and honorable actions are accompanied with great difficulties, and must be both enterprised and overcome with answerable courage.' The dead had died in a good service, and the fit way for survivors to honor and lament them was to be true to one another and to work together bravely for the cause to which dead and living had alike been consecrated. The devastation increased the necessity for preparations for defense; and it was at the time when the company was diminishing at the rate of one on every second day, that a military organization was formed, with Standish for captain, and the humble fortification on the hill overlooking the dwellings was mounted with five guns. 'Warm and fair weather' came at length, and the 'birds sang in the woods most pleasantly.' Never was spring more welcome than when it opened on this afflicted company."

With internal affairs thus made brighter, the dangers from without grew no less. The friendship at first shown by the Indians soon gave way to enmity and open threats of war. The action of the Englishmen was prompt, and eventually proved effective. In 1622 there came to the little colony from the Narragansetts, a bundle of arrows tied with a snake's skin, which conveyed a declaration of war. Bradford, then governor, filled the snake-skin with powder and ball and returned it—a message that was so well understood that the Indians for the time desisted from their purpose. The year following, a conspiracy to murder all the whites was discovered; but Miles Standish

promptly disposed of all the ring-leaders therein, and thus enforced a peace that lasted for some years.

A certain measure of prosperity followed the founding of the colony; and such was the hopeful and determined spirit of the Puritans that when the *Mayflower* returned to England in the April following the winter above described, not a man of them went with her. As time went by, new accessions came, and after a time it was found necessary to give up the plan by which all the property was owned by the trading company. Each man was therefore allotted a part of the common land, to own and cultivate as best he could.

Meanwhile, events upon the English side of the sea were shaping themselves rapidly and unconsciously for the future creation of a great republic upon the American shores. King James I. was still insisting that he, and not the people, was the owner of all the soil in the great little island which had suffered so much for such portion of liberty as it yet possessed, and was urging relentless war upon the Puritans, who had vainly hoped much from the Presbyterianism, in which James, as King of Scotland, had been reared. The troubles between king and parliament were increasing, and many who loved England much, but liberty more, were debating whether the hardships of the New England coast were not to be preferred to the tyrannies at home. In this condition of affairs, a Puritan minister of Dorchester, John White, planned a settlement at Cape Ann, in Massachusetts bay. His idea was endorsed and put in operation by various merchants of London, who formed the corporation of "The Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay, in New England." In 1629 they secured from Charles I., who sat upon the throne from which death had called his father, a charter that gave power to the members of the company to choose annually from their own number a governor, deputy governor and eighteen councilors. They could make laws for the government of the territory they owned, which laws, however, must agree with those of England. The portion of the country allotted to them was described as extending from the Atlantic to the Western ocean, and from the Merrimac river to the Charles. The difficulties that had arisen newly in England between

Charles and the bishops on one side, and the people on the other, aided emigration under the auspices of this company, many gentlemen of rank and fortune selling their possessions and becoming members. The final result was a bold step that meant much for that present and had a deep impression upon the events of the future. The company determined to move itself bodily across the ocean, carry the charter along, and manage its American affairs in the land in which they were located. In the spring of 1630 nearly a thousand persons left England for the shores of Massachusetts bay. Boston was founded and other settlements sprung up about it. As new towns were created, a representation from each was decided upon to administer the general affairs for them all, and as a result the general court assembled in Boston, and made laws and settled such disputes as might arise. Within the next ten years twenty thousand persons crossed the Atlantic and made their home in New England.

Thus the future great nation was unconsciously but surely building itself in different directions, each colony being prepared by its experiences and trials to depend upon itself and to seek a needed alliance with its neighbors. The stirring events that followed through the next century can only be briefly touched upon in this connection. The New England colonies from Maine to Rhode Island came into existence one by one, New Amsterdam became New York and belonged to England rather than Holland. William Penn and the Quakers, also moved by intolerant persecutions at home, made their memorable settlement in Pennsylvania; Virginia grew rapidly; Lord Baltimore planted his colony in Maryland; the French and Indian wars caused all to make a common cause against the common enemy, and the French power in America disappeared; the thirteen colonies became distinct parts of the grand nation that time and mutual need was evolving slowly but with the certainty of fate.

The plan of self-government, it may be remarked in passing, was not an experiment left for the untried experience of 1776, but had found its beginning on American shores in 1620. As it proved its results by the experience of New England, those to the south and west were not unmindful spectators, but learned much that was of use in after days.

In the compact of the *Mayflower*, the Puritans simply transferred to political affairs the democratic method that held in their church—they simply chose their governor by general voice, as they had already selected the pastor of their church. "For eighteen years all laws were enacted in a general assembly of all the colonists. The governor, chosen annually, was but president of a council in which he had a double vote. It consisted first of one, then of five, and finally of seven members called assistants." While the colony of Massachusetts bay was organized under a charter from the king, in its real management, it was of the same nature as that of Plymouth. In 1630, when the charter and government were transferred from England to Massachusetts as above related, John Winthrop was chosen governor, and the first general court, or legislative assembly, was held at Boston on the nineteenth of October of the same year. From that time onward to 1686 the people of New England governed themselves under their system of general election, all power being in the people, and their form of government purely republican—the only restriction imposed in the matter of franchise being that all citizens must be members of some church within the limits of the colony. It was in 1634 that the expansion of their limits and the increase of their numbers made it inconvenient for each to exercise his political rights in person, and so the system of representation was adopted.

As the other New England colonies were created, they formed themselves upon the Massachusetts model. When the Connecticut settlements formulated their constitution in 1639, there was nothing in it to show that a mother country was in existence. When Rhode Island was chartered by parliament in 1644 and organized its government three years later, it adopted a democracy similar to that to the north, except that, out of the Puritan persecution of Roger Williams, there had grown a clause that there should be no restriction because of religion, and that "all men might walk as their consciences persuaded them, without molestation, everyone in the name of his God." While New Hampshire and Maine were proprietary governments, under royal grants, they soon fell under the influence of their neighbors, and in 1641 New Hampshire openly denied the rights of

the proprietor, and placed itself under the protection of Massachusetts.

All these advance movements toward a political independence of England, a material independence having already been achieved, were unmistakable, although little thought of future trouble seemed to have been held on the English side of the sea. A still bolder step was taken in 1643, when, as a measure of protection against the Indians and other threatened dangers, the colonies of Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Haven and Plymouth united themselves into a Confederacy under the title of the United Colonies of New England. Rhode Island was not a party to this compact, as she refused all intercourse with Plymouth, while New Hampshire was at that time a part of the Massachusetts colony. The governing body of this Confederacy consisted of an annual assembly, composed of two deputies from each colony, which had charge of all matters relating to the common interests, while local affairs were controlled by local governments as before.

In speaking at length of these great events so briefly described, the historian, Charles Morris, declares that we see in them "a remarkable progress towards a Federal republic of the same type as that now existing in the United States of America, and constituting a noble school for the teaching of those principles of self-government which have become so deeply instilled into the minds of the American people. It may seem strange that England so quietly permitted this colonial republic to be formed, but the governing powers of England had work enough for themselves at home. Originally the colonies were too insignificant for their acts to call for much attention, and when the home government did show some disposition to interfere with them, the colonists, with much shrewdness and show of respect, yet with great tenacity, held on to the rights they had acquired, and baffled by a policy of delay and negation every effort to interfere with their privileges. Ere long the English royalists became engaged with a death struggle with democracy at home, during which they had little leisure to attend to affairs abroad; and the subsequent overthrow of the government and the establish-

ment of a military democracy in England were circumstances highly favorable to the growth of republicanism in America. During this period the self-governing principle made progress in all the colonies, though largely through the example and influence of New England."

In 1644 another step toward our present form of government was taken. When the representatives of the people were first selected they sat in the same room as the governor and council, but in the year named it was ordained that the two bodies should meet in separate chambers, which constituted the first American legislature of two houses, the councilors being chosen by the whole body of the people and the representatives by the settlements as such. "The early prejudices in favor of rank and title quickly disappeared, perfect equality was arrived at, and even such titles as those of Esquire and Mr. were applied to but few persons, Goodman and Goodwife being the ordinary appellations. Aristocratic connections in time became a bar to public favor."

No restrictions of any sort had as yet been placed upon the colonies beyond those of a commercial character, which were removed during the Commonwealth and again imposed after the Restoration. No vessels but those of England were permitted to trade with the colonies, and no article of American manufacture for which there was a demand in England could be shipped to any port but hers. Free trade between the colonies was restricted; and at last they were forbidden "to manufacture, for use at home or abroad, any article that would compete with English manufactures." Naturally there was complaint at these high-handed measures, and to settle these and others that had arisen, the crown sent commissioners to Boston in 1664, with power to "act upon all causes of colonial disturbance."

The Americanized Englishmen were not one whit behind their Puritan brethren of the late Commonwealth in sturdy independence and a determination to hold hard upon all the rights so far secured, and the coming of these royal messengers was viewed with distrust and fear, as the beginning of measures by which their freedom might be abridged. They were resisted secretly or openly in all the col-

onies, with the exception of Rhode Island, that seemed to tolerate their presence with a certain degree of respect. Massachusetts laid deep stress upon her loyalty to the king, but asserted her chartered rights and denied any authority of control from England that was not declared and defined in that instrument. The result was the recall of the commissioners and the utter failure of their mission. Quiet reigned until 1681, when Massachusetts again put herself in opposition to the crown, by the signal defiance and defeat of a custom-house officer who had been sent across seas for the collection of dues under the burdensome commercial restrictions.

An early collision was inevitable. The purpose long held by the king of taking affairs into his own hands and becoming a ruler in fact as in name, saw an excuse for realization in this act of rebellion. It was declared by judges of the English courts that Massachusetts had forfeited her charter, through disobedience to the laws of England. The death of the king before active measures could be taken made no change in the situation, as his successor, James II., proceeded vigorously along the same line of policy. In 1686 a royal rather than a charter government was forced upon Massachusetts, and Joseph Dudley was placed by the king in charge. An effort was made to secure a return of the charter, which was refused, but in 1692 a new one was granted, which vested the appointment of the governor in the king. Beyond the exercise of this right, "there was little interference with colonial liberty, but the representatives of the people for many years kept up a violent controversy with the royal governors. The latter demanded a fixed and permanent salary. With this demand the assembly refused to comply, claiming the right to vary the salary each year at their pleasure, and so manipulating this right that the amount of the governor's salary was made to depend upon the character of his administration. The people had learned their lesson well, and held firmly in hand this useful method of enforcing a government in accordance with their ideas of justice and utility. The controversy finally ended in a compromise, in which the claim of the assembly was admitted, while it was agreed that a fixed sum should be voted annually."

While the other colonies were not so sure in their faith in democracy, or so determined in its assertions, they were still all traveling slowly but surely along the road in which New England had made such sturdy advance. In the first Virginian charter, that colony was placed under the absolute control of a council residing in England and appointed by the king, who likewise appointed a council of members of the colony for its local administration, leaving no right of self-government whatever in the people most directly concerned. In 1609 the company were given a new charter, which allowed the English councilors to fill vacancies by their own votes and to appoint a governor whose power was despotic. The first steps in the direction of popular rights were taken in 1619, when martial law, which had before prevailed, was abolished and a colonial assembly convened, although the measures it might pass could have no legal force until ratified by the company in England. In 1621 another advance step was taken when a written constitution was granted, and with it came a pledge that no orders of the company in England should have force in the colony until ratified by the assembly. Trial by jury was established, and courts after the form of those held in England. As the spirit of independence became more manifest among the Virginians, the king decided to take the control of affairs into his own hands, and by a judicial decision against the company, that organization was dissolved and the colony changed into a government under direct control of the crown. No attempt was made to destroy the assembly, which still continued in the exercise of its powers, and administered affairs in connection with a governor and ten councilors appointed by the king.

Turning now to the colony of Maryland we find it commencing its career under a charter of great liberality, which made its members equal in a political sense and gave them the right to worship God after the dictates of their own conscience. All laws of the province were to be subject to the approval of a majority of the freemen or of their representatives. The first assembly was held in 1635, to which the members of the colony came direct, but in 1639 a representative government was adopted. In the Carolinas, the charter

of 1653 gave to the people religious freedom and a voice in legislation, while the main balance of power was lodged in the proprietary corporation. One attempt was made to establish a despotic form of government, but the people resisted and it ended in failure. "They established a republican government of their own," says Morris, "elected delegates to a popular assembly, drove out tyrannical governors and replaced them by men of their own choice, and in all displayed an aptness for and a tendency to self-government equal to those of any other of the colonies."

In the colony of New York there was a growing discontent at the severity of the Dutch rulers, and when the power passed to the English, it was welcomed by many as offering a chance for increased freedom. But there was no change for the better until in 1683, when the duke of York directed the governor to call an assembly of representatives of the people. This gathering passed a "charter of liberties" which placed the legislative power in the governor, council and people then in assembly, "gave to every freeman full right to vote for representatives; established trial by jury; required that no tax whatever should be assessed without the assent of the assembly, and that no professing Christian should be questioned concerning his religion." All these demands were not granted, but the power gained by the people as a part of the law-making power was never afterwards surrendered.

The progressive and republican spirit of William Penn had been closely reflected in the colony to which his name had been given. The charter he had received from Charles II. was quite liberal in its provisions, yet hardly not sufficient to meet the views of Penn, who had promised those who had followed him across the sea that they should be ruled by laws of their own making. In 1682 he prepared and made public his celebrated "frame of government," which was amended by the second assembly of the province, and led to the granting of charters which made of Pennsylvania very nearly a representative democracy. "The right of appointment of judicial and executive officers, which was reserved by the proprietors of the other colonies, was surrendered by William Penn to

the people, and the government consisted of the proprietor and the assembly, with no intermediate council, as in Maryland and elsewhere. Yet, liberal as this constitution was, the people soon demanded further concessions and privileges, and Penn, in his last visit to his province, granted a new charter, still more liberal and conferring greater powers upon the people, who from this time forward possessed a very full measure of political liberty."

From the above it will be seen that at the dawning of the eighteenth century the people of the American colonies were measurably free in a political sense, and in some respects were even less under arbitrary rule than England itself. In New England the rights of a republic were practically granted, while Pennsylvania was not far behind in that regard, and their examples were before the yet less favored colonies in illustration of what time and shrewd management might bring to all. The hundred years that lay between 1676 and 1776 was an admirable school of self-reliance and practical self-rule; and the republic that came in the wake of the Revolution was, in one sense, no new and untried experiment. In the first town meeting of New England that experiment was first tried, and the American Republic was but the fruit of long growth and slow ripening.

Had England been content to leave her colonies free in other ways, as she did in politics, she might, so far as one can tell, be yet in possession of a great and loyal empire on the west side of the sea. But the hardy and productive people who had made the wilderness a garden, were looked upon by the rulers and merchants of the mother country as a source of constant supply, and it was out of financial and economic oppressions that Lexington and Yorktown were at last evolved. The oppressive commercial and manufacturing regulations—treated of elsewhere in this book—that were imposed upon the infant industries of the colonies, with undue taxation without representation, led to discontent, and finally so widened the breach that there could be no peace. "In their earlier and weaker days," as one historian has well said, "these evils were of secondary importance, but with every step of growth and population and of development of America, the right to trade with whom they pleased

and to manufacture what they pleased became of greater importance to the colonists, until finally the restrictions in these respects grew insupportable. In regard to the question of taxation, the people of Massachusetts at an early date strongly disputed the right of taxation without representation. As time went on, this sentiment spread to the other colonies, and had become vigorously implanted in the minds of all Americans by the era immediately preceding the Revolution. That principle which had been long fought for and eventually gained in the home country, that the people, through their representatives, alone had the power to lay taxes, was naturally claimed in America as an essential requisite of a representative government; and it was mainly to the effort of the English authorities to deprive the colonists of this right that the American Revolution was due."

The stirring events that were enacted during the half century that preceded 1776 have been fully described in their proper place in this work, and need not be dwelt upon here. The Revolution was, indeed, no spasmodic protest against a specific oppression, but rather the logical outcome of all that had gone before. It might have been averted; but in that case the preventative must have been applied long years before even the keenest-eyed of English statesmen could have seen and understood the danger of the future.

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

CHAPTER I.

GENEALOGY.

IN writing the life of George Washington, the first President, as he was by military leadership almost the creator, of the greatest Republic in history, the author meets the necessity of tracing back to the remotest possible limit, the history of the family to which he belonged. The word necessity is used advisedly, for it may well be held, that a man of Washington's most distinguished and illustrious character and accomplishments is not properly to be judged by the immediate circumstances of his birth, the environment of his youth, or the influences that tended to mold and define his character during the flexible age intervening between boyhood and full maturity. If there be any reliability in the doctrine of heredity, the antecedents of a great man should be as relevant to his life as is a statement of the elements mingled in the test tube of the chemist to the reaction that results.

In the case of Washington are to be found particular reasons for crediting the belief that the character and intellect of the father, like his sins, are indeed visited upon the children, unto the third, fourth, and remaining generations; and did we lack another explanation of his ability, force, and integrity, his unwavering bravery and patriotic devotion, that trite and much abused phrase, *noblesse oblige*, would suggest one quite sufficient.

Paradoxical as it may appear, Washington owed his name, though not his blood, to an accident. Probably the family from which he sprang antedated in position and wealth the Norman conquest. That it held place and power in the century immediately succeeding that important event is beyond cavil.

When William the Conqueror had mastered the immediate perils of his invasion, he found himself faced and menaced by countless dangers, arising within the territories which, by the unquestionable right of the strongest, he called his own. Among the most important uprisings that called for his attention, was that of the independent and warlike Northumbrian race. Having subjected these formidable insurgents, and, after the fashion of his time, moved for their conciliation by despoiling their leaders of lands, castles, titles, and wealth, the king looked about for a means by which, in wisely distributing these confiscated estates, he might win to himself a strong and undoubted personal loyalty, and confront the constant forays of the half savage Scots with an array of feudatories which should forever bar their southward progress. Of the allegiance of the hereditary nobility William was none too sure, and hence he turned to the ecclesiastical power—ever ready, as it has been,

"To bend the pregnant hinges of the knee
Where thrift may follow fawning."

To this end he established Episcopal sees all along the frontier line, and advanced his trustiest Norman and other foreign followers to the dignities appertaining thereto. One of the wealthiest and most important of these religious establishments was that of Durham, to which were transferred the sacred bones of St. Cuthbert, esteemed a saint especially opposed to the Scots. Not contented with the mere conferring of the ecclesiastical dignity, the king erected the see of Durham into a palatinate, making its bishop a count palatine, with a temporal jurisdiction second, within the diocese, only to the crown, and imposed upon the prelate all the military obligations known to the feudal system. The vast estate thus transferred to the bishop of Durham was by him re-allotted among his followers, all of whom, it is almost needless to say, were of Norman blood, or of the same political persuasion as their immediate lord and his lord, the king. From these vassals of the see was exacted not alone the money tribute necessary to fill the coffers and sustain the state of the soldier bishops, but many and arduous warlike duties, and the elevation of the holy banner of St. Cuthbert was a signal to arms that none in all the vicinage might ignore.

The bishops, from the first, lived in state little less than royal. The great castle that was at once the episcopal palace and the fortress of the count palatine was the centre of a court scarcely less brilliant than that of King William, and the gay processions that moved out from its portals, to the battle or the hunt, suffered small loss by comparison with any in the land.

Among the knights who accepted estates and service from the bishop of Durham, during the Twelfth century, was William de Hertburn, the earliest ancestor of Washington, of whom history gives us any trace. He was evidently a Norman by blood, and his family long continued to bear Nor-

man names of baptism. The surname, De Hertburn, was taken from the village of Hertburn—now Hartburn—situated upon the river Tees, and included in his estate. In the "Bolden Book," a record of all the lands possessed by the diocese of Durham in 1183, is found the first mention of De Hertburn, it being there recorded, in barbarous Latin, that the knight had exchanged the village of Hertburn for the manor and village of Wessyngton, also included in the diocese.

With the exchange of estates, Sir William de Hertburn became Sir William de Wessyngton, still a vassal of the bishop; still an attendant at his feasts and pageants; his companion in the hunt; his follower in the graver game of war. The last named obligation was no light one, as the gallant Sir William, and many a long-haired, bravely armed, and proudly mounted cavalier of the De Wessyngtons after him found. When the Scots were not engaged in some bloody foray over the border, the king and bishops were often armed, mounted, and pushing northward in retaliation, and the times were neither few nor far between, when came the call to assist in the punishment of a presumptuous noble or baron, within the shadow of the throne. So the De Wessyngtons remained among the *preux chevaliers* of the crown, residing at Wessyngton, being born, marrying, giving in marriage, dying;—fighting, hawking, carousing, gaming,—no doubt conspiring, after the manner of their kind,—for more than two hundred years. Then one called, as the free and liberal spellers of the day have it, Sir William de Weschington, procured the abrogation of the strict entail of the estate, and, having fought at Otterbourne against the Scotch under Sir William Douglas, came home to his castle and died, and, no doubt, having received absolution from a fat chaplain, joined his ancestors beyond the jurisdiction of living king or bishop. He left behind him no son, and, his daughters marrying, not Wessyngtons, but Temples and Blaykestones, dwelt at the old castle, and sat in the councils of the palatinate.

Fortunately, however, there were collateral branches of the family, and we find them prominent in matters of church and state, and widely scattered through the kingdom, until, before the middle of the sixteenth century, Laurence Washington, head of that branch of the family from which came the American offshoot, was born, to find himself heir to the name, deprived by custom of the prefix *de*, and evolved, by the agency of generations of bad spellers, to its present form. This Laurence Washington, of Warton, in Lancashire, was for a time mayor of Northampton, and, in 1538, received from Henry VIII. the grant of the manor of Sulgrave, in Northamptonshire, with an extensive estate adjacent. The Washingtons seemed to profit by confiscation, for this grant, like that of nearly five centuries before, came to them by such an exercise of the royal prerogative. In this instance the sufferer was the monastery of St. Andrew's, which shared the fate of dissolution with all other priories of the kingdom. This

estate was the property of the Washington family up to 1620. Directly descended from Laurence Washington was Sir William Washington, of Packington, in the county of Kent, who married a sister of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham. This marriage is an important event in the history of the family, as it is more than likely that it determined the Washingtons in their allegiance to Charles I. and the royalist party, thus proving, indirectly, the cause of the later emigration to America.

Lieutenant-colonel James Washington fell, while fighting in the cause of Charles I., at the siege of Pontefract castle, and still another, Sir Henry, son and heir of Sir William, distinguished himself by a stubborn defense of the city of Worcester, against the army of the Protector, continued long after the king, giving up his cause as hopeless, had fled to the parliamentary camp.

During the rule of Cromwell, England was neither a safe nor a comfortable residence for those who had adhered to the Stuart cause, and it may have been fear of suffering by the severe treatment which befell all suspected of complicity in the insurrection of 1655, that led John and Andrew Washington to emigrate in the year 1657 to Virginia, the favorite refuge of exiled cavaliers. The two were brothers, great-grandsons of Laurence Washington, the original grantee of Sulgrave, and the former was the great-grandfather of George Washington. The brothers purchased lands in Virginia upon the "Northern neck," between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers. They were possessed of liberal means, and their purchases were proportionately large. Both were men of education and refinement, and were at once recognized as such by their neighbors, their homes being among the gathering-places of the expatriated cavaliers who were land owners in the vicinity.

This sketch has only to do with John Washington and his descendants. He shortly married Miss Anne Pope, residing in the vicinity, and, building him a home, near the confluence of Bridge creek and the Potomac, became in turn, an extensive planter, a magistrate, and a member of the State House of Burgesses. He was also, with the rank of colonel, a leader of the Virginia militia, against the Seneca Indians, who were then upon one of their periodical warlike expeditions against the whites. As an indication of the honor in which he was held, his parish was called, and still bears the name of Washington, anticipating, by more than a century, the impress that his great-grandson was destined to make upon the nomenclature of the country. In 1696 his grandson, Augustine, father of the future President, was born upon the estate, which had greatly appreciated in value. When but nineteen years of age, he married Jane, daughter of Caleb Butler, a leading planter of Westmoreland county, April 10, 1715. By this marriage he became the father of four children, of whom but two, Lawrence and Augustine, grew to manhood. The mother died November 24, 1728.

The grief of the father cannot justly be judged by the period during which he remained single, which continued until March 6, 1730. He then married Mary, daughter of Colonel Ball. This lady was a person of exceptional beauty, wit, and culture, and has been described as "the belle of the Northern neck." Be that as it may, her blood and breeding were doubtless of the best, and it would be difficult to define, as it is to overestimate, her hereditary and personal influence in forming and molding her first-born child—George Washington,—hence her proximate influence over the destinies of the North American colonies of Great Britain, and the great Republic of which they were the basis. Conjecture is lost in considering the possible results had she borne a child less splendid in natural powers, less fine in his appreciation of the distinctions between right and wrong, less disinterested and in every way less noble.

CHAPTER II.

CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION.

GEORGE WASHINGTON was born at the old homestead on the 22d of February, 1732, the eldest of seven children who were the fruit of this second marriage. The others were, in the order of their ages, Samuel, John, Augustine, Charles, Elizabeth, and Mildred. All trace of this old house and the little paradise about it has long since passed away, but Irving says that the spot was, many years after, marked as the birthplace of Washington, by an inscribed stone, placed upon the site of the dwelling by George W. P. Custis.

A rather extended statement of Washington's family antecedents has been made, but not without definite reason. While it is well reasoned that, other things being equal, ability, virtue, and honesty, may rather be looked for from that man who is the descendant of generations of honest, virtuous, and able men, than from one who comes from an inferior and vicious ancestry, it is also true that such a training and such a lineage as Washington's, tend to bring forth men cautious and conventional rather than otherwise. Such are more likely to stand with established authority than to oppose it; to uphold a throne, as did the earlier Washingtons that of Charles Stuart, than to assail it; to be the conservators rather than the revolutionists of the world.

The simple fact that Washington needed to go but two generations back to find his ancestor an exile, if not a fugitive, by reason of loyalty to the throne, must have had great weight in forming his mind. The further reflection that for six centuries no Washington had ever proved disloyal to his king—who can measure its force when presented, as it doubtless often was, to the mind of a thoughtful, if not imaginative boy? If ever a child had the antecedents to secure him from the possibility of being either a Jacobin or a demagogue, it was George Washington.

So much for blood. So far as training and association are concerned,

they were scarcely more promising for the production of a rebel or, as euphemists will have it, a revolutionist. As has been said, Virginia was a favorite refuge and home of the royalists, who fled from the revenge or displeasure of the Protector. It was, so far as the sentiments of its more refined citizens were concerned, a community of cavaliers, hating Cromwell and, for a century after him, the principles of religion and government which he represented, or was supposed to have represented; hating the roundhead as a personal enemy, and regarding the principle of democracy as a cover for anarchy, and for the worst of tyranny.

Washington's father and half-brothers were rich men, and the wealthy planter of Virginia kept no mean state in those days. In the mode of life of the Washington family, and that of their neighbors, as, for example, the Fairfaxes, many coming from noble, nearly all from aristocratic, families in England, there was everything to foster, in the mind of the child and young man, a respect—nay, a veneration,—for so-called divinely instituted authority, to discourage the belief that he would ever be the champion of a weak people in a struggle with its established rulers—a struggle which the world should call rebellion.

As this biography continues, it will be observed that Washington was only gradually,—indeed very gradually,—educated to the point of regarding with patience even that measure of popular freedom that colonial Virginia knew; he was an aristocrat by tradition, birth, education, and association. Had the possibility of his being a leader in a revolt against the king been whispered to him, when he first espoused the royal service, he would have spurned the suggestion as an insult and an impossibility. So much the more wonderful the event.

Soon after the birth of George, his father removed to a point in Stafford county, opposite Fredericksburg, where he built him a second house, similar to the one in which he had first settled, and which, like its predecessor, has completely passed away. This was the home of George in all his early youth; about it were gathered those associations that in after life came up to him, as some arise before every man, when the word childhood is mentioned. His early education was in no way distinguished from that of other boys about him; he attended the schools of the neighborhood—formal in method and dull in detail, as rural schools are wont to be. He did not learn with especial readiness, but rather with especial accuracy. What he had once mastered never escaped him, and everything that he acquired in these early days was at his command for instant use, in any emergency, during a busy and eventful life. Day by day, however slow his progress in formal learning, his character was developing, under the formative care of that best of teachers—a good mother. Possessed naturally of a disposition especially sensitive to good influences, her training made his sense of honor, truth, and justice, in boyhood as in later life, acute almost to the

point of morbidness. Thus, in a childhood, singular for the paucity of the details which have survived, and for its general uneventfulness, we find standing out and constantly quoted, the threadbare story of the cherry tree and the hatchet, which has, in our irreverent day, ceased to become a moral illustration for youth, by reason of the ridicule that its constant repetition has affixed to it. It was no great triumph of veracity; probably few boys would have possessed such enterprise in mischief as to destroy the tree; probably most boys in his place, upon being taxed with the deed, would not have admitted it. To repeat, it is not a very remarkable story, but for one quoted while Benjamin Franklin was still in his prime, it is a very good indication of an undoubted fact, that, in youth as in manhood, Washington would not tell a lie.

It was customary among the more wealthy planters of Virginia at that early day, to send their children to England to be educated, and, while Washington was yet a young child, his brother Lawrence left his home for this purpose, being then a boy of fifteen. When George was not far from seven or eight years of age, this brother returned from abroad, not only a well educated, but a very polished and elegant young gentleman of twenty-one years. He had been so fortunate as to acquire the cultivation, while he avoided the vices of English life, and, from the moment of his home-coming, he became an object of admiration, almost approaching worship, to his younger half-brother. George modeled his manners and habits after those of Lawrence, and the latter was doubtless largely influential in forming his opinions as well. He could have found no better model at that time, and the warm sympathy and friendship that survived this youthful veneration, and existed between the two for many years, were of great value to each.

The Washington family had the martial spirit, by undoubted right of inheritance. Very soon after the return of Lawrence to Virginia, war was declared between England and Spain, as a result of naval outrages committed by the latter nation upon the British merchant marine, and Lawrence Washington became a captain in a regiment, raised in the colonies to cooperate with the British army and fleet in the West Indies. With the history of the campaign that followed, this biography is not concerned; it is sufficient to say that Lawrence gained praise and distinction, and returned to his home, intending, after a brief visit, to go to England and cast his fortunes with his army.

The result of Lawrence's military service was to fire George with martial enthusiasm; he drilled his school-fellows in a doubtless very original manual of arms; led them in parades, reviews and mimic battles, and fully determined, as has many a boy of his age, that only the trade of war could satisfy his ambition.

Lawrence did not go to England; he met love and death, two unexpected adversaries that most men sooner or later encounter—which com-

pelled him to change of plan, and made him a planter and a Virginian for life. Meeting Anna, eldest daughter of Hon. William Fairfax, of Fairfax county, he paid his addresses to her, and, being favorably received, an engagement followed. The marriage was, however, delayed by the sudden death of his father, which occurred April 12, 1743. George was then eleven years of age, and was, with the other children of the second marriage, left under the safe guardianship of his mother. The ample property was disposed of by will, the Potomac estate falling to the share of Lawrence; that on Bridge's creek to Augustine; the house and lands upon the Rappahannock being reserved for George when he should reach his majority.

George had, by this time, exhausted the possibilities of the elementary school, which he had before attended, and was taken into the family of his brother Lawrence, that he might have the benefit of a better one that existed in that neighborhood. The remainder of his school life may be dismissed in few words. It seems to have been intended that he should attain a thorough and practical business education—such as should fit him for all the duties of an extensive colonial land owner and planter. Perhaps the possibility of his becoming a magistrate or burgess was also present, as the place that awaited him in the society of Virginia was such as to warrant so modest an ambition. There are now in existence several of his school books, into one of which are copied, with infinite pains, forms for contracts, land conveyances, leases, mortgages, etc. In another are preserved the field notes and calculations of surveys, which he made as a matter of practice—kept and proved with the same exactness that would have been expected had the result been intended to form the basis of practical transactions. The study of the classics and *belles-lettres* he never essayed. Throughout these school days Washington pursued his labor with a persistence, dignity, and gravity out of keeping with his years—and which almost justified a remark similar to that made of Louis Philippe by Lamartine, that he had no youth. He had been for some years the companion, on terms of quasi-intellectual equality, of older men than himself, and we look in vain, among all the scattering mementos of his youth, for a sparkle of the gayety or thoughtlessness of the child.

Still he was not, as such boys are so likely to be, a prig, or simply a book-worm. He cultivated his body, with the same quiet assiduity that he gave to his studies, and made such progress in muscular power, and in skill, that he was the master of his fellows in athletic sports, as well as in the exercises of the school-room. Many were, no doubt, more brilliant than he, at that time, as was his friend and *protege*, Alexander Hamilton, in later years, but none were more sure of their ground, or more certain at the goal.

Not the least advantage of Washington's sojourn with his brother, was the fact that it introduced him, at once, into the highest and, at the

same time, the best society of the colony. Lawrence had become one of the most honored and prominent men in Virginia. His wealth, his social position and that of the Fairfax family, his sterling character, and unquestioned ability, had united to advance him, and he was a member of the House of Burgesses, as well as adjutant-general of his district, with the rank and pay of a major.

But a few miles below Mount Vernon, as Lawrence Washington had called his estate, and upon the same wooded ridge that bordered the Potomac, was Belvoir, the seat of the Fairfax family. Occupying the ample and elegantly appointed house, was the Hon. William Fairfax, father-in-law of Lawrence Washington—a gentleman who had attained social, political, and military prominence in England, and in the East and West Indies. He had come to Virginia to take charge of the enormous estate of his cousin, Lord Fairfax, which, according to the original grant from the crown, was "for all the lands between the Rappahannock and Potomac rivers." This grant had been very liberally construed to include a large part of the land drained by affluents of these streams, embracing a considerable portion of the Shenandoah valley. In the midst of this princely domain, the Fairfaxes lived in the style of English gentry. Their house was always open to guests of the right class, and to no others. The monotony of life was occasionally broken by the arrival in the Potomac of an English war vessel, when its officers were certain to be found at the Fairfax and Washington tables, telling their stories of service in distant seas, of battle, travel, and all the various experiences that a naval life involves.

George was made a sharer, on terms nearly approaching equality, in much of this social intercourse; he felt the refining and broadening influence of contact with accomplished and experienced men of the world, and, not least important, he heard the tales and jests of the seafaring visitors, and hearing, was enthralled. At the age of fourteen he became infatuated with the idea of entering the British navy; his age was suitable, the profession was an excellent one for a young gentleman desiring to push his fortunes, a frigate at that time lay in the river, Lawrence Washington and Mr. Fairfax approved, and nothing seemed necessary to carrying the plan into effect but the consent of the lad's mother. Even this difficulty yielded to argument. George's clothes were packed, and he was ready to go aboard, when the mother's heart failed her, and she withdrew her consent, thus saving Washington to his country. It is more likely, considering his training and disposition, that, had the boy sailed upon that cruise, he would have directed a vessel or fleet against the revolting colonies; called them rebels, not patriots; served the king, not the people.

Back to school he went, no doubt chagrined and crestfallen, and remained for nearly two years. At the end of that time his teacher discharged him as finished, as, no doubt, he was, so far as the capacity of that

master was concerned. These two years were passed in the study of the higher mathematics, his intention being to fit himself for any business or professional emergency, civil or military.

After leaving school, Washington was much more frequently at Belvoir than before. Lord Fairfax, the owner of the estate, was now an inmate of the house, having come to inspect his possessions, and determined to make Virginia his home. He was much impressed by the fertility and beauty of the country, and also, gossip had it, having never recovered from a wound to his heart and pride, inflicted in his youth by a fickle beauty, who preferred a ducal coronet to his more modest rank after the wedding dress was made, was glad to escape from England to the freedom and retirement of Virginia. Lord Fairfax was not far from sixty years of age, tall, erect, and vigorous in figure; kind-hearted, generous but eccentric, and not a man to take every comer into his friendship and confidence. He at once showed a marked liking for the tall, handsome, reserved and dignified young man, whom he so often met at Belvoir. No one longer regarded Washington as a boy, though he was but fifteen years of age. Lord Fairfax was a devoted sportsman, and set up his hunters and hounds at Belvoir, as he had been accustomed in England. Had anything been necessary to confirm his friendship for Washington, it was only to find, as his lordship did, that the latter was as hard and intrepid a rider as he, and would follow a fox over the dangerous and difficult hunting grounds of Virginia with as little faltering or fatigue.

So this oddly assorted couple became close friends and constant companions, in the hunt and elsewhere. The old nobleman, *littérateur*, and man of the world, treated the sturdy young man as a social and intellectual equal, and, from the fullness of experience, unconsciously added, day by day, to his slender knowledge of the world; while the latter, probably quite as unconsciously, in a measure repaid the debt, as his knowledge of the country and of colonial life enabled him to do. One important effect of his intimacy was that it resulted in securing to Washington his first opportunity for testing his new-found freedom, by undertaking an independent enterprise. This happened incidentally, yet was the starting-point of the young man's fortunes.

As has been said, Lord Fairfax's estate in Virginia extended beyond the Blue Ridge, and to a considerable distance up the eastern slope of the Alleghanies. West of the former range no survey had ever been made, and reports had come that the country was filling up with lawless squatters, who invariably selected the best lands for settlement, and were in danger of gaining such a foothold that, to oust them, would be a matter of no little difficulty. Lord Fairfax desired a survey of this wild and uncivilized territory to be made. It was a service requiring not only skill as a surveyor, but ability to endure great fatigue, courage to face danger, determination

and ingenuity to meet and overcome difficulties—yet all these qualities he deemed combined in Washington, who had barely reached the age of sixteen years. The committing of so important a trust to one so young, seems almost inconceivable, and this fact is one of the best indications of what the youth must have been, not only in bone and muscle, but in brain, self-reliance, and maturity, at an age when most boys are thinking more of their balls and kites than of the serious duties of life.

Washington eagerly accepted the proposal of Lord Fairfax, and immediately set about his preparations for departure, which occupied but a few days. In company with George William Fairfax, a young man of twenty-two years, son of William Fairfax, he set out in the saddle, during the month of March, 1748. Mr. John S. C. Abbott, in his Life of Washington, describes the experience of the young men in a manner characteristically picturesque. He says:

"The crests of the mountains were still whitened with ice and snow. Chilling blasts swept the plains. The streams were swollen into torrents by the spring rains. The Indians, however, whose hunting parties ranged these forests, were at that time friendly. Still there were vagrant bands wandering here and there, ever ready to kill and plunder. Though these wilds may be called pathless, still there were, here and there, narrow trails which the moccasined foot of the savage had trodden for uncounted centuries. They led, in a narrow track, scarcely two feet in breadth, through dense thickets, over craggy hills, and along the banks of placid streams or foaming torrents. It was generally necessary to camp at night wherever darkness might overtake them. With their axes a rude cabin was easily constructed, roofed with bark, which afforded a comfortable shelter from wind and rain. The forest presented an ample supply of game. Delicious brook trout were easily taken from the streams. Exercise and fresh air gave appetite. With a roaring fire crackling before the camp, illumining the forest far and wide, the adventurers cooked their supper and ate it with a relish such as the pampered guests in lordly banqueting halls have seldom experienced. Their sleep was probably more sweet than was ever found on beds of down. Occasionally they would find shelter for the night in the wigwam of the friendly Indian."

In amusing contrast to this rose-colored view of life in the woods, are the terse and evidently feeling words, from the pen of Washington himself, recorded in his journal under date of March 15, 1748: "Worked hard till night and then returned. After supper we were lighted into a room, and I, being not so good a woodman as the rest, stripped myself very orderly and went into the bed, as they call it, when, to my surprise, I found it to be nothing but a little straw matted together, without sheet or anything else, but only one threadbare blanket, with double its weight of vermin. I was glad to get up and put on my clothes and lie as my companions did. Had



WASHINGTON ON A SURVEYING EXPEDITION.

we not been very tired, I am sure we should not have slept much that night. I made a promise to sleep no more in a bed, choosing rather to sleep in the open air before a fire." Again, after being much longer away from home, Washington says in a letter to a friend: "Yours gave me the more pleasure as I received it among barbarians and an uncouth set of people. Since you received my letter of October last, I have not slept above three or four nights in a bed. But after walking a good deal all the day, I have lain down before the fire on a little hay, straw, fodder, or bear skin, whichever was to be had, with man, wife, and children, like dogs and cats, and happy is he who gets nearest the fire. I have never had my clothes off, but have lain and slept in them, except the few nights I have been in Fredericksburg."

With these and similar experiences, Washington and his companion, with their little party, consisting of an Indian guide and a few white attendants, continued through the weary weeks and months occupied in the fulfillment of their mission. This work was well and thoroughly done; the surveys made were afterwards proved to be careful and accurate. The party finally returned to civilization on the 12th day of April, 1749, more than a year after they set out. The report made to Lord Fairfax proved a source of immediate profit to Washington, who, though but a little more than seventeen years of age, was soon after made one of the official surveyors of the colony of Virginia. His late employer soon removed to a point in the newly surveyed territory, beyond the Blue Ridge, where he set aside ten thousand acres of land, to constitute his home estate, and projected a grand manor and house, after the English style. The proposed site of this dwelling, which, though Abbott describes it in glowing terms, was never built, is about twelve miles from the present village of Winchester.

Washington pursued his labors with the additional sanction given by his office, which entitled his surveys to become a matter of official record. As will be readily understood, the demand for such services in a new country was great, and, as the number of competent men was small, his labors commanded a correspondingly large remuneration. So for three years he continued, patiently working; his ability and industry commanding respect and gaining a daily wider recognition. He was so accurate in all his processes that no considerable error was ever charged against him, and a title, finding its basis in one of his surveys, was rarely disputed. The minute acquaintance with the soil, timber, and other natural advantages of the region, thus obtained, proved of great practical value to him in after years, when his increased wealth needed investment; much of the finest land which he surveyed passed into his hands, and was later owned by members of the Washington family. He held his office of colonial surveyor for three years, when he resigned it to accept more important trusts.

CHAPTER III.

THE CAUSES OF THE FRENCH WAR.

WHILE it is the intention to restrict this work, so far as possible, to the simple record of Washington's life, it is impossible that such a biography should be adequately written or fairly understood, unless collateral matters are to a degree explained. Washington had, at the age of nineteen years, reached the time when it was fated that he should put aside his own interests, turn his back upon home and friends and, in the service of the colony and the crown, take his first hard object-lessons in diplomacy and war. That the circumstances may be understood, and just conclusions attained, it is necessary to give a cursory view of the circumstances that led to the complications of the time, and to the ensuing war between France and England, for supremacy in America.

The fundamental differences arose thus: John Cabot, in 1497, crossed the Atlantic, and discovered the coast of Labrador. This result was enough to satisfy his immediate ambition, and he went back to England, leaving it for his son, Sebastian, who had been his companion, to return, during the ensuing year, and pursue the exploration. Sebastian sailed the same course, and, reaching Labrador, turned southward and skirted the continent, keeping the coast always in sight, as far as the latitude of Hatteras, when, provisions falling short, he, in turn, sailed back to England. By virtue of this cruise, England claimed the entire unknown breadth of the North American continent, between the parallels of latitude bounding Cabot's coastwise exploration. Many colonial and personal grants of territory were made upon this basis—that of Virginia, for example, being defined north and south by its coast line, and east and west limited only by the extent of the land. As an instance of combined ignorance and prodigality, it is also interesting to note that King Charles I., in the fifth year of his reign, granted to "his loyal servant, Sir Charles Heath," all that part of North America bounded by the thirty-first and thirty-sixth degrees of north lati-

tude, and extending the entire width of the continent. Truly a very liberal gift!

The French, on the other hand, discovered the mouth of the St. Lawrence in 1508; in 1525 took formal possession of the country, and, between that time and 1671, pushed their explorations and claims of discovery through the entire chain of lakes, building forts, establishing trading posts, and founding missions as far as Lake Superior. In 1673 Pere Marquette and his companions discovered the Mississippi; in 1680 Pere Hennepin followed the great river to its source, and in 1681 La Salle made his wonderful canoe voyage down the river to its mouth. De Soto, the Spanish adventurer, in 1541, discovered the Mississippi, near its mouth, but did not extend his exploration. By right of these various discoveries the French claimed the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, together with the entire region drained by either of the great rivers. The immense extent of the territory involved in this claim will at once be appreciated. It includes the great central basin of the United States, extending from the Rocky mountains to the Alleghanies, and from the lakes to the head waters of the gulf rivers, the entire Mississippi valley, the northern slope of the watershed of New York and New England, as well as the southern slope of the vast territory north of the St. Lawrence and the lakes.

The first clash directly arising from this conflict of domain was when, in 1699, D'Iberville entered the mouth of the Mississippi, with two French war vessels, and encountered an English exploring ship. The latter was ordered to depart forthwith and, compelled by the superior force of the French, its captain withdrew, having first entered a formal protest.

The claims of England and France remained in abeyance so long as the colonies of each were in their infancy. Circumstances had led to the establishment of the English settlements upon the eastern sea coast, from Massachusetts to South Carolina, in territory indisputably English by right. The French colonies extended from Quebec to Superior, along the lakes. They were not immediately in the way of England's ambition, and she was too busy in assuring the doubtful fortunes of her own settlements, and with the critical condition of affairs at home, to notice encroachments upon Lake Champlain, and at other points, within the territory more nearly in her path. There was so vast a territory, and so great opportunity for trade, in proportion to the scattered population, that, until well toward the middle of the eighteenth century, the disputed claims were of little immediate moment. So the French continued to exchange cheap guns and knives for fine furs, in the North and Northwest—the English to receive fine furs for cheap knives and guns in the East; the English to build their comfortable, wide-doored houses in Virginia—the French to teach the Lake Superior Indians to pray to, and, it is to be feared, to swear by, every saint in the calendar.

By the year 1750, however, there were well towards three millions of English upon the coast, while the French, though weaker in numbers, were pushing their enterprises far to the southward. There is no question that the French showed a shrewdness far greater than that of the English. Wherever their traders went, permanent trading posts were established, and every post, despite its harmless name, was, in fact, a fort, surrounded by palisades, pierced with loop-holes and impregnable to an ordinary attack. Cannon frowned from the walls of many, and thus, under the specious pretext of protection against the Indians, the French had guarded and secured every step in advance, even to the valley of *La Belle Riviere*, as they had re-christened the Ohio.

The traders of the French and English colonies were beginning to meet upon the debatable ground west of the Alleghanies, and as they were, for the most part, rude and lawless men, feeling ran high between them, and personal encounters were not infrequent. It became the desire of the Virginia colony to gain a foothold in this fertile territory, and, using the settlements as a base of operations, to win control of the trade which they deemed to be theirs as a matter of right. Hence, some of the foremost men of the region, among whom were Lawrence and Augustine Washington, organized, in the year 1749, a colonization company, and obtained for it a charter in the name of the Ohio company, and a grant from the crown of five hundred thousand acres of land, west of the Alleghany mountains, and between the Monongahela and Kanawha rivers, with the right, if deemed wise, to take up a portion of the land north of the Ohio. The only conditions attached to the grant were that the company should set apart two-fifths of its land, settle one hundred families upon it within seven years, and build, equip, garrison, and maintain a fort, at its own expense, "for defense against the Indians." This explanatory clause is a little amusing, when it is considered that the ease with which the valuable grant and franchise were obtained, was accounted for by the fact that the Government was glad to substantially encourage any movement which might check the serious encroachments of the French.

In the course of the same year the Governor of Canada, doubtless apprised of the plan of the Virginians, sent Celeron de Bienville, with a force of three hundred men, on a mission, having, for its alleged object, the making of peace among the warring Indian tribes upon the Ohio. Perhaps the industrious and effective talking which he did with the chiefs, in the effort to prevail upon them to cease trading with the English, and his liberal distribution of gifts, were only incidental, but the fact that the envoy nailed to trees and buried in the earth metallic plates, bearing inscribed upon them a statement of the French claim to the Ohio valley, gives the affair an appearance of deliberation, and lays the noble Governor open to the charge of a disingenuousness, such as neither party hesitated to profit by.

The Ohio company had already imported goods suitable for its anticipated trade, prepared for sending out a colony, and offered liberal rewards to the discoverer of the best and safest road over the mountains, when came word of the visit of De Bienville and his open claim of French sovereignty. By this time Lawrence Washington was at the head of the Ohio company, and he at once determined upon taking prompt and decisive steps. The unwelcome news from the Ohio was tempered, to a degree, by the statement that De Bienville had overreached himself in posting his warning to trespassers. The Indians had become suspicious of an intention, on the part of the French, to seize their lands, and sent a messenger assuring the English of their unchanged friendship, accompanying the same with three strings of wampum as tokens of amity.

These movements on the part of the French were sufficient to arouse the colony of Virginia to the highest pitch of excitement and activity. The Governor dispatched a messenger, in the person of Christopher Gist, a hardy pioneer, to explore the lands of the Ohio company, with a view to ascertaining the fitness of various sections for cultivation; also to reconnoitre with a view to discovering the points be suited for the establishment of trading posts and forts; to conciliate the Indians by means of gifts, so that their assistance or neutrality might be relied upon, and to return with all speed with his report. After crossing the mountains, Gist fell in with George Croghan, bound upon a somewhat similar embassy from the Governor of Pennsylvania, and the two proceeded together, penetrating as far as the Indian village of Piqua, upon the site of the present town of that name. Their mission was, in the main, successful. They gained the ear of the Miami Indians, just before the arrival of a deputation of Ottawas, who came bearing overtures from the French. These were repulsed, their gifts of brandy and tobacco—dear to the Indian heart—refused, and their wampum speech belts returned. The latter act is symbolical of breaking off friendly relations, and finds its equivalent, in civilized diplomacy, in the recall of ministers. The chiefs of most of the tribes agreed to attend a council with Pennsylvania, at Logtown, an important Indian village on the Ohio, and Gist made the arduous and perilous journey homeward, arriving upon the outskirts of the settlements in May, 1750, having been engaged for more than six months. In the meantime the discomfited Ottawas' had returned from Piqua to Fort Sandusky, and the French, desiring at all hazards to prevent or render ineffective the Logtown council, sent one Captain Joncaire, a veteran in Indian diplomacy, to attend. This Joncaire did, but all his eloquence and gifts failed to move the Indians, and he returned to those who sent him with a most unsatisfactory report.

The war spirit was now thoroughly aroused on each side. The French built and armed a large vessel of war, for service on Lake Ontario, fell to strengthening their posts upon the frontier, and to building new defenses in

the Ohio valley. On the part of the colonies the preparations were not so radical, nor so wisely directed, but they were sufficiently active. They lacked the system and unity that was easy for the French to attain, but almost an impossibility with isolated, independent, and not entirely harmonious settlements. In Virginia activity was at its height, and the colony was divided into districts, each having an adjutant-general, with the rank and pay of a major, whose duty it was to superintend the recruiting, equipment, and drill of troops. To one of these places Washington, though but nineteen years of age, was appointed, at the solicitation of his brother Lawrence. He at once entered upon the discharge of his duties with the energy and determination that marked him in every enterprise. Two of Lawrence's companions in his Spanish campaign, Adjutant Muse and Jacob Van Braam, were employed as his instructors—the former in the manual of arms and tactics; the latter in fencing and general sword exercise. Thus the quiet country house at Mt. Vernon, became a *salle d' armes* and rang with noisy exercise from morning until night, as one or other of the professors of the art of war coached his pupil for the expected service.

Washington's study and service were soon sadly interrupted by the illness of his favorite brother, who was advised to spend the approaching winter in a warmer climate, as the only possibility of saving his life. Consequently the two went together to Barbadoes whence, after remaining some time, Lawrence determined to remove and spend the remainder of the winter and the spring at Bermuda, and George returned to Virginia to escort the sick man's wife to his side. The determination that Mrs. Washington should attempt the journey was, however, altered. Lawrence remained at Bermuda until summer, when he returned to Mt. Vernon, only to die on the 26th day of July, 1752. He left a very large estate to an infant daughter, with the provision that, if she should die without issue, it was to belong to his widow for life and then pass to George. The latter was made one of the executors, and from that time, the charge of his brother's estate was added to his responsibilities. Heavy as was this blow to Washington, matters of grave importance forbade that he should indulge his grief. He was soon re-appointed adjutant-general and assigned to the northern and most important district of the colony. The duties of the place engrossed him, until still graver responsibilities were placed upon his shoulders.

A great council between the mixed tribes, that had emigrated from the northeast and settled in the Ohio valley, and the representatives of Virginia, had concluded an alliance between the people of that colony and the majority of the Indians of the region. Of the important chiefs, only the sachem of the Six Nations was absent. The principal chief of the mixed tribes, Tanacharisson, generally termed the Half King by reason of his subordination to the Iroquois confederacy, was, as he had been from the first and

always continued, faithful to the English. The Indians were very indignant at the advances made by the French in their territory, and the English, on their side, were filled with apprehension for the safety of their settlements, which had been made under the inducements held out by the Ohio company. The French had given notice that all English found trading west of the Alleghanies would be made prisoners, and their goods confiscated; and these threats had been carried into effect in several instances. Hence the Half King went to the post at Sandusky and made a personal protest against the advances of the French, and a demand for the removal of their troops and posts from his territories. His protest and he himself were received with the utmost contempt, and he was dismissed to his home, very angry and much humiliated, carrying with him the wampum speech belt which had been the symbol of his amity with the French. The English had now apparently no recourse but force. The French were evidently making an effort to connect the gulf and the lakes by a chain of posts, to set up defenses at all strategic points in the valley, and thus, while so much time was being wasted in idle diplomacy, to establish themselves beyond the danger of being ousted.



REDOUBT AT PITTSBURGH, BUILT IN 1764.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EXPEDITION TO FRENCH CREEK.

YET one more effort was made to come to a pacific settlement. A messenger, Captain Trent, was sent to the French commander in the valley, to demand the withdrawal of his forces and traders from the territory of the king of England. Trent proved a coward and, finding that the French had already begun active operations, by an attack upon the friendly Indians at Piqua, returned to Virginia without having even made an attempt to fulfill his mission. This placed the Governor and the Ohio company in a quandary. For a long time no one could be found, willing to undertake the hazardous task of fulfilling Trent's abandoned mission. At last Washington volunteered and his services were eagerly accepted. He received his credentials on the 30th day of October, 1753, and set off on the same day upon his toilsome and dangerous expedition. According to his instructions he was to proceed first to Logtown, confer with the Half King and other friendly chiefs, then push his way with all despatch, accompanied by such escort of Indians as he could obtain, to the headquarters of the French commandant, deliver his written communication, receive an answer, if one were furnished within a week, then make the best of his way homeward. He was also charged to make every observation and inquiry possible without exciting suspicion, directed to ascertaining the force of the French, the number and situation of their posts, and the facilities which they might possess for a movement, by land or water, upon the English frontiers. This was no light charge for a man experienced in affairs of the kind; for one of but twenty-two years, and utterly without such experience, it seems almost absurd.

Washington proceeded at once to Logtown; the chiefs expressed themselves as devoted to the cause of their "English brothers," said they would accompany him and return all speech belts to the French, and give him all the assistance in their power. He was, after the fashion of

young men, impatient to take them at their word and proceed at once, but he soon found that he was in danger of offending the ideas of the most dignified and punctilious diplomatists in the world. Hence, chafing with inward impatience, he was fain to bide his time during the three days consumed by his allies, in discussing the expedition, collecting their important belts, and making preparation. At last, much to his relief, they announced their readiness to proceed, but also said they had decided that but three of their number and a hunter should accompany him, as a greater escort would be likely to excite suspicion. There was probably more reason for this temporizing than the mere desire to conduct affairs of state in a decent and orderly manner. The situation of the Indian tribes of the Ohio valley was critical in the extreme, and they were the first to recognize the fact. They were hemmed in on either side by civilizations foreign to their traditions, and which they could but recognize as superior to their own rude devices of war. These two alien forces were in antagonism with each other, and for what? Even an Indian could discern that the wooded hills, the rich plains and the broad streams of the central valley, formed the object of the strife. It is not improbable that the wisest of them recognized the uselessness of armed struggle against the white invader. At all events they felt the danger which threatened their race; they saw impending a struggle, of which their possessions were to be the scene, into which they must almost inevitably be drawn, and which was likely to result in the expulsion of one or the other contestant from the land.

It did not require the perspicuity of a Talleyrand, to see that, under such circumstances, the question of alliance was a very important one; if made with the victors, it promised the Indians, for the time being at least, security in their homes and lands; if, on the other hand, they should range themselves with the losing side, there seemed nothing before them but spoliation, exile and death. What did they care for French or English? One was the upper, the other the nether millstone; their people, like grains of wheat, were falling between the two, to be mercilessly crushed and destroyed. What were their treaties worth, that they should be kept? These people, one and all, were invaders of a continent, theirs from time immemorial; already the whole sea coast had been wrested from them, and now there was to be a war, to determine which of their despoilers was to possess other lands to which only they had claim.

There is little doubt that the Half King and his colleagues thought well before they took the step that should irrevocably commit them to antagonism with the French. They knew that, should they go to the lake forts, and offer their friendship and alliance, they would still be received with open arms, loaded with gifts and protected, so far as the French power could protect them. The French had been much more active than the English; they were already strongly placed in the valley, and had the advantage of being

able to move a large force by water into its very heart, while the English, before they could gain the same ground, must make the weary and difficult march over the mountains, subjected at every step to ambuscades. All these considerations were doubtless weighed, during those three days. What turned the balance in favor of the English will never be known, but turned it was and very fortunately, for the service of the Half King and his warriors was of inestimable value in the war that followed.

Before setting out from Logtown, Washington obtained some interesting and important information. From an Indian trader named Frazier, who had recently been driven by the French from the Indian village of Venango, where he had a trading store and gun shop, was acquired a very just idea of the force of the French, and the further information that their commander had recently died, and that they were now in winter quarters. Three French soldiers, who had set out from New Orleans for the upper river posts, with a convoy of provisions, having deserted, passed through Logtown and gave him a very full statement of the number, position, and strength of the Mississippi defenses. From the Half King he learned that the French were concentrating their forces at the headwaters of the Allegheny, preparatory to descending the river in force, in the spring, by means of bateaux and canoes. "They have built," said Tanacharisson, "two forts, one on French creek, and the other at its mouth, fifteen miles distant, and connected the two by a wagon road." The direct way to these forts, at one of which the commander would be found, was impassable, by reason of recent rains, and it would be necessary to go by way of Venango, which would so prolong the journey as to require six days for its accomplishment.

On the 30th day of November the little party set out upon its march, over roads in the worst possible condition—so bad, indeed, that Venango, though but seventy miles distant, was not reached until the 4th day of the following month. There they found the French flag flying, and, as officer in command, the same Joncaire upon whom the French had relied to break up the grand council at Logtown. Joncaire was at first evidently willing to be regarded as in command of the Ohio, but, finding the mission to be one of real importance, referred them to his superior officer at the next fort. He received the party with the greatest politeness, and invited Washington and his interpreter, Van Braam (the quondam master of fence), to dine with himself and his brother officers that evening. At the appointed time all sat down to a very jovial meal; the bottle passed freely; Washington having the good sense to drink no more than courtesy demanded, for the most part leaving Van Braam to represent him in that particular, an office for which the taste and capacity of the old Dutchman amply qualified him The Frenchmen were not so discreet, and, after the meal had advanced to a certain point, became very communicative regarding the plans and intentions of their superiors. They avowed their determination to take posses-

sion of the Ohio, to drive out all settlers and traders, and to establish the supremacy which they claimed as belonging to France by virtue of the discoveries of La Salle.

Washington had wisely, and, thus far, successfully, endeavored to prevent his Indian companions from falling into Joncaire's company. In the morning, probably through Van Braam's indiscretion, Joncaire found that the Half King was one of Washington's escort. He expressed the greatest surprise that the sachem should come to Venango without visiting him, and insisted that he and the two chiefs that were his companions, should at once be brought to his quarters to share in a feast. The three came, and Joncaire, understanding as he did every phase of the Indian character, plied them alternately with gifts and liquor until Tanacharisson was, metaphorically speaking, under the table, his confreres in a state not much to be preferred, and all loud in maudlin praise of French liberality and friendliness. From all this Washington escaped at last, richer by much information, poorer by the dubious condition and loyalty of his red allies.

Upon the following day the Half King came to him very much ashamed of his exploit, and full of protestations of good faith. At this point an immediate movement seemed easy, but, a heavy rain storm coming up, it was necessarily delayed, and the Indians of the party subjected still farther to influences that Washington could not but know were very dangerous. Tanacharisson declared that he intended to make his speech, relinquishing the friendship of the French and returning the speech belts, to the subordinate, Joncaire, rather than to the general officer, and persisted, in spite of Washington's objections, in at once so doing. Joncaire very cleverly managed to evade acceptance of the belts, and referred the chief to the commandant on French creek. During the whole of that day and the next, the party was detained at Venango, by solicitations of Joncaire, directed at the Indians, and when, on the morning of December 7th, they set out, it was only to find themselves accompanied by a French officer, named La Force, and three soldiers, who pleaded some excuse for the journey, but evidently went as a foil to Washington's influence with the chiefs.

Four days more were occupied in reaching the fort, which was found to be guarded by strong palisades and armed with artillery. A new commandant—the Chevalier Legardeur de St. Pierre,—was found in charge. He received Washington with all the ceremony usual to such an occasion, and thus gave the young man his first view of civilized diplomacy. The chevalier declined to receive or examine the papers presented, until the arrival of the officer whom he had lately relieved. This occurred within a few hours, when the communication of the Governor was received by the two, who retired to a private room and read it, by the assistance of their translator. After this was over Washington and Van Braam were called in and the translation compared and corrected. The purport of

the letter was, as has been indicated, a simple demand for the withdrawal of French forces, and the relinquishment of French occupancy of "the western portion of the colony of Virginia, so notoriously known to be the property of the crown of Great Britain." The letter closed as follows: "I persuade myself you will receive and entertain Major Washington with the candor and politeness natural to your nation, and it will give me the greatest satisfaction if you can return him with an answer suitable to my wishes for a long and lasting peace between us." It must be said, in justice to the Chevalier de St. Pierre, that he did receive and treat Washington with the most distinguished courtesy. The two days following were consumed in council by the French officers, while Washington made notes regarding the strength of the fortifications, and the number of canoes already prepared and those building, for use in conveying an army down the river in the spring. His men were also instructed to be observant, and it is safe to say that there was little of detail or floating information that did not come into their possession.

On the evening of the 14th Washington received a sealed letter in answer to the message of Governor Dinwiddie. In the meantime (and this was probably the secret of the detention, for the letter was not such as to have required so much consideration) every effort had been made to seduce the Indian escort from their faith with the English. Washington, discovering this fact, urged the Half King to make an immediate return of his wampum speech belts and so cut loose from French influence. He at last succeeded in arranging a private audience between the chiefs and the commander, and Tanacharisson tendered the belts in a speech very similar in import to that made at Fort Sandusky, and to the one delivered to Joncaire. The chevalier, by the most consummate finesse, evaded accepting the belts, and gave, instead, many protestations of friendship and the promise to send a large quantity of valuable presents to Logtown, when the chiefs should return. The efforts of the French were successful in detaining the party until the 15th, when they at last departed, Washington's canoes liberally stored with liquors and provisions, the Indians loaded with presents and a large amount of gifts, in addition, packed in canoes and under charge of French soldiers, to be distributed to the tribe at Logtown. It was not until the 22d that the canoes reached Venango, where the pack-horses were in waiting. There Washington, sorely against his will, was obliged to leave the chiefs in the doubtful society of Joncaire, one of them, White Thunder by name, having met with an accident that incapacitated him for travel. The Half King assured him, however, that he knew the French too well to be misled by anything they might do or say, and that there need be no fears of his loyalty, and these protestations, unlike many made by the Indians, proved to be sincere.

Washington pushed on with his little train, but his pack-horses, over-

laden and obliged to plunge through snow and mud, soon began to show signs of failing. He gave up his own saddle-horse for the service, and marched on foot to a point on the southeast fork of Beaver creek. At this place, becoming impatient of the slow progress made, he donned an Indian dress, strapped a pack upon his back, and, accompanied by the woodsman Gist, heretofore mentioned, who was one of his party, struck through the woods on foot, in a line as nearly as possible directly toward the settlements.

Soon after thus leaving his little escort Washington and his companion fell in, at a place bearing the unpromising name of Murdering Town, with a number of Indians who, while expressing the utmost friendliness, betrayed by their questions that they were already possessed of information that could only have come from the French. Hence it was with much regret that he acknowledged the necessity of engaging one of them as a guide, for the journey through the trackless and unknown wilderness that lay before him. He was, however, compelled to make such acknowledgment and to trust his safety to such doubtful leadership. Pushing on, through the thick woods, the Indian in advance, Washington soon became satisfied that the direction taken was not the right one. He tasked the guide with treachery, but received only surly and unsatisfactory answers. For some time the march was continued in the same direction, when, being lame with much walking, Washington suggested going into camp. The Indian objected, on the ground that the light of their fires would be likely to attract some wandering band of hostiles, and said that if they would but continue a little farther they would reach his own lodge, where they could sleep safely. So they pushed on. Night began to gather and soon, in the shade of the dense woods, it was almost impossible to see their way. Emerging at last into a clearing, or natural opening, the young leader peremptorily ordered a camp to be arranged, saying that he would go no farther. In the opening, the stars shining upon the snow rendered objects at some distance distinctly visible. The Indian walked a few paces in advance of his companions and, turning, suddenly presented his rifle and fired. Washington, finding himself safe and ascertaining that Gist had also escaped, pursued the treacherous savage, and, joined by Gist, the two captured the fugitive when in the act of reloading his gun. Gist, with the instinct of a veteran backwoodsman, was for shooting the captive at once, but Washington forbade his doing so, and the man was deprived of his rifle, compelled to build a fire and assist in cooking a supper, then, after being taken some distance in a new direction,—that in which Washington believed their true course to lie, was dismissed, probably very much puzzled at the clemency of his captors. Gist insisted that, as they had been so unwise as to liberate the man, they must needs push on during the night, so that they might be out of the neighborhood before he could

obtain assistance and return. Hence, though Washington was partially disabled and both were terribly fatigued, they tramped on in the darkness, with nothing better than a guess of their direction, until, just at daybreak, they reached the bank of the Allegheny. Much to their disappointment they found that, in spite of the intense cold, the stream was not frozen, except for a short distance on either hand—these margins skirting the swollen and turbid current, which carried with it great blocks and masses of ice. In spite of a day and night of incessant marching, which had nearly prostrated both with fatigue, Washington and Gist fell to work with their only tools,—a small hatchet and their hunting knives,—to make a raft. Logs were cut, shaped, and fastened with grape tendrils, but so slow was the progress made, that darkness found the work but just completed, and it was necessary to wait for morning before the raft could be launched. At daybreak this difficult work was accomplished, and the perilous operation of propelling the frail affair across the river with poles was begun. In mid-stream the raft, striking a great cake of ice, gave way, the logs separated and the two passengers fell into the bitterly cold water. Fortunately each seized a log and, as if in the especial care of Providence, the logs and men were floated upon an island lying in mid-stream, a short distance below where the accident occurred. Their guns, powder, and blankets, too, were saved, and they succeeded in erecting a bark shelter and building a fire upon the island, where they were at least safe from the Indians. Gist's hands and feet were frozen, but Washington suffered no ill effects from his bath and exposure. Upon awaking in the morning, they discovered that the stream was frozen quite across, and were able to walk to shore without difficulty. Before night they reached the house of Frazier, the Indian trader on the Monongahela, at the mouth of Turtle creek. There Washington was detained for three days before he could buy a horse, which, having obtained, he pushed on across the mountains, stopped one day with the Fairfax family at Belvoir, then hastened on to Williamsburg and delivered to the hands of Governor Dinwiddie the papers obtained from the French commandant. The reply of the Chevalier de St. Pierre was the only one a military officer acting under instructions could make—polite, politic, evasive. After saying that he would transmit the communication of Governor Dinwiddie to the Governor of Canada, in whom, rather than in him, it would be becoming to speak for the king, concerning the merits of a matter so important, he wrote, referring to his personal action:

"As to the summons you send me to retire, I do not think myself obliged to obey it. Whatever may be your instructions, I am here by virtue of the orders of my general; and I entreat you, sir, not to doubt one moment that I am determined to conform myself to them with all the exactness and resolution that can be expected of the best officer."

The publication of this letter and of the journal kept by Washington

during his journey, created the greatest excitement, both in the colonies and in England. War was now inevitable, and the mother country was for the first time awakened to the necessity for speedy and decisive action as the only means of preserving her imperilled American possessions.



BRADDOCK'S BATTLEFIELD AS IT APPEARS TO-DAY.

CHAPTER V.

WASHINGTON'S FIRST CAMPAIGN.

WASHINGTON awoke to find himself a marked man; everywhere in Virginia he was looked upon as the leader of the rising generation in the colony, while in England his name was heard in every club and drawing-room, and was prominent in the deliberations of grave cabinet councils.

Immediately upon the receipt of his report, it was determined that active steps be taken to forcibly oppose the further advance of the French, and, to this end, the same Captain Trent, who had proven himself so cowardly and incompetent upon a former expedition, was dispatched to the frontier, to raise a company of one hundred men, with orders to proceed to the point near the junction of the Allegheny and the Monongahela, where the Ohio company was engaged in erecting a fort; Washington was commissioned to raise a like force at Alexandria, and, forming a junction with Trent, to assume command of the entire body. An application was made to the sister colonies for aid in the movement, but the same lack of unity and harmony that had frustrated other efforts of the kind, proved equally efficacious in this case, and no substantial result was obtained. Governor Dinwiddie met with great difficulty in persuading the Virginia House of Burgesses to vote funds for the military chest, and it was only with infinite pains that an appropriation of the beggarly sum of ten thousand pounds was grudgingly made, "for the purpose of protecting settlers on the waters of the Mississippi." Upon securing these funds, Dinwiddie concluded to increase the levy of men to three hundred, and the command of all was again offered to Washington, but he modestly declined it, preferring to retain his original commission, raise a company and then to act under orders. Colonel Joshua Fry was consequently placed in charge of the anticipated expedition, and Washington was made second in command, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel. As the event proved, the

younger officer was destined, in spite of his preferences, to assume the practical command of the force, and to bear the brunt of much unjust criticism.

Preparations for the march were not rapidly advanced until Governor Dinwiddie adopted, for the first time, an expedient that has often since served the American people in their times of need. He made a proclamation setting aside two hundred thousand acres of land on the Ohio river, to be divided as bounty among the soldiers volunteering for this service against the French. As a consequence of this measure, Washington was enabled to march from Alexandria for the new fort, on the 2nd day of April, 1754, with one hundred and fifty men of his regiment, leaving the advance of the remainder in the hands of his superior officer. The instructions given the leaders of the force, are thus formulated by the somewhat imaginative Abbott: "March rapidly across the mountains; disperse, capture, or kill all persons, not subjects of the king of Great Britain, who are attempting to take possession of the territory of his majesty on the banks of the Ohio river or any of its tributaries." This was a serious undertaking, and was no doubt so regarded by the young officer, who led his undisciplined and ill equipped little band across the steep and rugged way that lay between the home of the rather pragmatical and pompous Governor and the objective point of the march. It now seems ridiculous that so inefficient and slender a force should have been sent out for the execution of such sounding orders, but so it was, and perhaps even Washington, counting upon a shelter in the new fort, may have been sanguine of success. It is impossible to recount at length the history of this expedition; vexed, hampered, and crippled by the economy of the Burgesses, the insufficiency of every manner of equipment and the imbecility of his fellow-officers, Washington's lot was hard indeed. At Winchester he was obliged to impress teams and wagons for transportation, and even on those terms could obtain but few. Pushing on to Wills creek, cutting a road as he went, that the wagons and artillery to follow with the main body might pass, he arrived at that trading post of the Ohio company, only to find that Captain Trent had given another evidence of his incapacity by entirely failing to provide pack-horses for the army, as he had undertaken to do. Before reaching Wills creek a report had come to Washington, that Captain Trent and his entire force had been surprised and captured by the French, and that the partially completed fort was in the hands of the enemy. Upon arriving at the trading-post Trent was found; the story of the capture he said had reached him as well, but he could not say as to its truth, as he had left the camp several days before, and the men were then safe and working busily at the fort. This cool dismissal of the matter left Washington in much anxiety, for the time, but all doubt was soon dispelled by the arrival at Wills creek of the fifty men from the fort, bearing their working tools, and under command of an ensign. The

story of their experience was short, but it pointedly illustrated the stupidity of the English, and the superior sagacity of the French. While working upon the fort—not yet half finished—they had been surprised one morning by the arrival of about one thousand French soldiers, under command of Captain Contrecœur. This force was drawn up before the fort, its artillery planted, and a summons sent in for the surrender of the works within one hour, with the added statement that if surrender were not so made, fire would be at once opened. Captain Frazier, the second in command, had imitated his superior officer and gone to his home, ten miles distant, leaving the command in the hands of the young subaltern referred to. When the demand for surrender came, the latter sought the French commander and endeavored to gain time by pleading insufficiency of rank. Captain Contrecœur was, however, inflexible, and the young officer was perforce obliged to accept the best terms he could—freedom for himself and men to retire with their tools.

Washington now determined to push forward to the company's advance storehouse, at the mouth of Redstone creek, fortify himself, and await reinforcements. He sent an urgent message to the Governor of Virginia, reciting the condition of affairs, and dwelling upon the immediate necessity for men, stores, artillery, and ammunition, if he were to cope with the superior and better disciplined force of the enemy. He also sent messages to the Governors of Maryland and Pennsylvania, soliciting aid, and runners to the friendly Indian tribes with the same mission. He then pushed on, cutting his road as he went, and moving, of necessity, so slowly that, setting out on the 29th of April, he had, on the 7th of May, only reached the prairie called Little Meadows, twenty miles from his starting point. Thence he advanced in the same laborious manner, until he reached the banks of the Youghiogheny river, where the necessity of building a bridge caused a long delay. Pending the completion of the work, Lieutenant-colonel Washington again wrote to Governor Dinwiddie, beseeching him to send the assistance so necessary to success, representing that the enemy was holding his position in force, having received large reinforcements of French and Indians, that more Indians were moving to join him, and that he was throwing all his energies into the erection of a fort at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela, which, if completed and equipped, would be practically impregnable, save to artillery.

During the building of the bridge, and on the 23d of May, came word that half of the French force at Fort Duquesne had been detached for some active service; then followed a message from the Half King that this detachment was made with the purpose of attacking the American force, and, on the heels of this second message, a report that the French were crossing the river in force, at a point but eighteen miles distant. Washington at once retired to Great Meadows, threw up intrenchments, sent out a

reconnoitering party, and prepared for the expected attack. Nothing of moment occurred on that night, or during the following day, save that news came that La Force, with a body of French numbering fifty men, had been seen prowling in the neighborhood. At night came another message from the Half King, who was encamped, with some of his people, not far from the Virginian force, that he had discovered the tracks of two Frenchmen, leading in the direction of the French fort. These Washington caused to be traced backward, by Indians, with the result of discovering the camp of a French detachment, in a retired bottom, a few miles from the Virginian position. He held a council with the Half King, and decided to make an effort to surprise the enemy at daylight—the colonial and Indian forces so approaching as to arrive from different directions at nearly the same time, and thus, cutting off retreat at both sides, either to insure a victory by arms, or to compel a surrender. The men consequently set off through the thick darkness of the forest, the rain falling in torrents, and the moaning wind effectually drowning the noise of their stealthy march. Washington and his Virginians were first on the ground, and first discovered by the French. As to what next occurred, accounts disagree, some historians maintaining that, as soon as the French recovered from their surprise, they seized their guns and opened fire upon the approaching force; others holding that the English fired the opening volley, which was the first of the bloody war between France and England, for supremacy upon American soil. The firing continued very briskly, upon both sides, for some twenty minutes, when the French, being outnumbered, broke and ran, and all were killed, wounded or captured, save one, who escaped unharmed, to bear the tidings to the fort. Jumonville, the French commander, and a very gallant young officer, was killed at the first fire. Among the prisoners were two officers, named Drouillon and La Force, the latter esteemed to be one of the most mischievous of the many men employed by the French, as go-betweens, in dealing with the Indians, and as scouts and spies upon the movements of the English. All these prisoners were dispatched to Virginia, under guard, with a letter to the Governor, requesting that they be treated as prisoners of war — Drouillon and La Force being especially recommended to the consideration which their rank and position deserved. At the same time, Washington thought it necessary to inform the Governor, by a private messenger, of the peculiarly artful and dangerous character of La Force.

As if to increase the difficulties of his situation, news came of the death of Colonel Fry, commander of the expedition, and, though the Governor wrote that a successor had been appointed in the person of Colonel Junes, Washington saw little prospect of being relieved from the responsibilities of his position, and it indeed proved to be the case that neither Colonel Junes nor the force which accompanied him ever saw service in the campaign.

The arrival of the men who had been under Fry's immediate command, increased the force at Great Meadows to three hundred, and also added the few light swivels that had been so toilsomely dragged over the mountains. A letter to Washington from the Governor announced that an independent company of one hundred South Carolina troops, under the command of Captain Mackay, would soon join him. With their arrival, which occurred soon after, began the series of unfortunate misunderstandings as to the matter of precedence between royal and colonial officers, that so greatly impaired the efficiency of the English service during the war that followed. Captain Mackay held a royal commission, and soon made it evident that he did not intend to recognize Washington's rank under the commission of the Governor of Virginia. His men shared the feeling, declined to submit to the discipline of the camp, or to assist in the arduous labors of fort-building and road-making, in which the Virginians were engaged; they encamped apart, maintained their own organization and routine, and, though blessed with most excellent appetites, were never, throughout the campaign, other than an incumbrance. As if all these vexations were not enough, provisions fell short, and the young commander saw that but two courses were open to him—a bold advance, which might result in victory, or a retreat, which could not fail to demoralize the army, alienate the Indian allies, and gravely imperil the ultimate chances for the maintenance of the English title to the Ohio valley. Having completed his stockade at Great Meadows, afterwards known as "Fort Necessity," and, leaving the South Carolina men as its garrison, he therefore pushed forward with the Virginia force, hoping to make Fort Duquesne by forced marches, and strike an effective blow before the fort could be reinforced or completed.

He had advanced but thirteen miles when news was brought, by friendly Indians, that a large additional body of French had arrived at Duquesne, and that a considerable detachment, with Indian allies "as numerous as pigeons in the woods," was advancing to attack him. His situation was truly perilous; Fort Necessity could be reached from Fort Duquesne by two roads, which united at the former point; there was reason to fear,—and the event justified the idea,—that the French would move by the second road, place a strong force in his rear, and, hemming him into the narrow and precipitous way, along which his line extended, cut his little force off from all possibility of escape. Hence a forced retreat was at once commenced, with the hope of reaching Wills creek. The South Carolina troops were sent for, and, by the combined aid of the exhausted horses and the Virginians (the South Carolinians refusing to assist) the guns and baggage were transported as far as Fort Necessity, where the little band arrived on the 1st of July. The men fairly refused to drag the guns another step, and there was no alternative but to make a stand at the fort. The work of digging a ditch about the palisade was at once commenced,

word of the peril of the force and the pressing need of reinforcements was sent to Wills creek, and every possible preparation made for a vigorous defense.

Before the ditch was completed, Washington's Indian allies deserted him, being terrified at the idea of risking their lives and those of their wives and children in so desperate a contest. On the following morning—that of the 3d—Captain de Villiers, brother-in-law of De Jumonville, who had commanded and fallen at the former skirmish, appeared before the fort with a force of about five hundred French, and an Indian contingent of one thousand men, and at once began a furious attack. Washington drew his men up outside the fort to receive the enemy, and sometimes in that order, sometimes in the ditch, and sometimes in the fort, his men stood the terrible fire of a force which five times outnumbered them, until nightfall ended the fight. Then came a flag from De Villiers demanding a parley, and proposing terms of capitulation. Unfortunately the only officer of Washington's fort who was thoroughly master of French was wounded, and Van Braam, who had before served in that capacity, acted as interpreter. The first proposal and the second were rejected as being ignominious; the third was submitted, translated, carefully considered, and at last accepted. It provided that the fort should be surrendered, that its garrison should be allowed the honors of war—to retain their small arms and baggage, and be permitted to march out of the fort with colors flying and drums beating. Their cannon were to be destroyed—indeed, as all the horses were killed they could not be removed; and the French, on their part, guaranteed that the evacuating force should be allowed to return, without molestation, to the inhabited portion of Virginia.

These were surely honorable terms; it was upon one clause that a vast amount of most unjust abuse of Washington was, years afterward, based, all, however, with a deliberate desire to injure him, for the benefit of his political enemies. As has been said, the articles of capitulation were in French. In one portion the death of Jumonville, already related, was referred to as "*L' assassinat du Sieur de Jumonville.*" This sentence, literally rendered, of course branded Washington as guilty of the *murder* of Monsieur de Jumonville, but Van Braam, a Dutchman, understanding the full force of neither French nor English, rendered it simply "the *death* of Monsieur de Jumonville." Under the misapprehension thus arising, Washington agreed to the terms of surrender. In accordance with these the shattered band of colonial soldiers marched out of Fort Necessity on the following morning, and, bearing their wounded, moved slowly and wearily toward Wills creek. The killed and wounded of the Virginian force numbered fifty-eight, of a total of three hundred; what were the losses of the independent company and the French force has never been stated.

It is unnecessary to farther follow the history of the campaign. The

force reached Winchester, after great hardships, and was ordered to remain there and recruit. Washington, after making his report, hastened to Mount Vernon to attend to his business, which had been sadly neglected. The intrinsic importance of this unfortunate and abortive expedition was perhaps not such as, in itself, to warrant the somewhat minute account here given, but in other respects—in its effect in molding the mind of the young commander, in the experience which it gave him in managing men, in meeting and overcoming difficulties, and in the addition to the hardening process already well begun in the course of his earlier frontier life, its value was incalculable. The expedition was an admirable preparation for the experiences through which Washington was destined to pass during the war of Independence; then, as later, he led a small force against one vastly greater in number; a body of raw recruits against an army having every advantage of discipline; an ill equipped, poorly armed, hungry, tattered body of men, against one in every such particular the reverse of his own. He had, too, much the same obstacles arising from incompetency among his fellow officers, jealousy and questions of precedence cropping out at moments of supreme peril; imbecility and lack of encouragement on the part of governors and legislators—the same weary and disheartening catalogue of troubles and dangers to face, and in the midst of it all, then as twenty years later, he was firm, self-contained, brave, modest, self-denying, and God-fearing, and, considering the stake, the smallness of the forces engaged and the limited opportunities for distinction, the boy of twenty-two, who brought his handful of men in safety from the perils that menaced it at Fort Necessity, was deserving of no less honor than he who cheered, sustained, and kept coherent the freezing and starving army at Valley Forge.

Another and historically more important view of the expedition, arises from the attacks then at intervals, and for years afterward, made upon the character and discretion of Washington, by reason of the affair in which Captain De Jumonville lost his life. The fact that La Force, the French emissary, had upon his person, when captured, letters demanding the withdrawal of the English force from the territory to the west of the Alleghanies, was at the time urged by the prisoner, and has since been distorted by enemies of Washington, to indicate that De Jumonville and his party were bound upon a peaceful mission to Washington, and that the attack upon them was a breach of military rules, and precipitated a bloody war.

Let us glance at the circumstances. But a few days before, a party of Virginians, working in the construction of the fort near the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela, had been compelled, under threat of armed attack, to retire from the fort and from the neighborhood. This was an act of war, and began the struggle as definitely as if it had been preceded by a formal declaration, and had resulted in the loss of a hundred lives. Then, when the force commanded by De Jumonville, bearing the letter

referred to, advanced from the French camp, it did not move directly to Washington's position, approach under cover of a flag of truce, deliver its message, as it could and would have done had its ostensible mission been its real one; on the contrary, De Jumonville kept his men in the vicinity, but, as he supposed, concealed from the English commander. He bore with him instructions to observe the position, force, and armament of the English, and return tidings to his superior, and this he did, as the trail of the two couriers, which finally betrayed him, clearly shows. There can be no question that he came first on an errand of observation—that he was a spy; second, the evidence indicates that, had circumstances promised success, he was prepared to attack the main body of Washington's force, or any portion of it that fell in his way; third, that the letter demanding the withdrawal of the English force was intended for the very purpose it was made to serve,—as a shield in case of capture. The matter of the mistranslated phrase in the capitulation, has already been explained; on the face of it, it is not likely that Washington, opposed by a vastly superior force, with defeat and annihilation staring him in the face, would have twice sent back a messenger, bearing terms of capitulation which he refused to accept, by reason of some matter of detail or military etiquette, only to knowingly accede to the terms of a third that branded him as a murderer. Upon Washington's return from the campaign he received a vote of commendation and thanks from the Virginia House of Burgesses, which body had all the facts in the case before it; this fact alone clearly indicates the contemporary opinion of his action, as expressed by a body which had shown anything but a warlike spirit. Washington himself gave an answer clear, pointed, and decisive, to the imputation placed upon him, before the stigma had had time to attach. In a letter to a friend he reviewed the occurrences of the expedition, and so thoroughly cleared himself from all blame that even his enemies were for the time silenced, and did not venture to revive the charges, until the lapse of years had, as they supposed, caused the facts to be forgotten. What was said, or thought, of Washington, by such of his contemporaries as could not endure his success, is of little consequence —the misfortune is that French, and some later English, historians have perpetuated what was originally but a calumny, invented by political enemies, and that, among American historians, some have been found ready to become the apologists of what they assume to have been Washington's "youthful indiscretion," rather than his champions—when the act which is made the foundation of this adverse criticism, was clearly justified by the circumstances.

During the winter that followed the return of the little force from the Duquesne campaign, a serious affront was offered to the officers of the colonial troops by an order "settling the rank of officers of his majesty's forces, when serving with the provincials of North America." The salient

point of this order was conveyed in the following provisions: "That all officers commissioned by the king or by his general in North America, should take rank of all officers commissioned by the governors of the respective provinces; and, further, that the general and field officers of the provincial troops should have no rank when serving with the general and field officers commissioned by the crown; but that all captains and other inferior officers of the royal troops should take rank over provincial officers of the same grade having royal commissions." This alone was sufficient insult, but Governor Dinwiddie, with the foresight of a bat and the sagacity of a hare, conceived a brilliant plan for preventing any further question of precedence between Virginian and other colonial officers, by reducing the entire force of his own province to a series of independent companies, which action left no military office higher than that of captain to be filled. Hence Washington had the alternative of accepting a captain's commission, which placed him under the command of the rawest captain of the regular service who chanced to cross his way or of resigning from the army. He chose the latter course, and retired to Mount Vernon, expecting to devote himself entirely to his private affairs. Another cause of his displeasure was the discovery that the French officers captured during the campaign, and whom he had particularly recommended to the courtesy of the Governor, had been treated with shameful indignity, confined in prison like common criminals, and that La Force, who had escaped and been recaptured, was, upon his return, fettered and chained to the floor of his cell. According to the terms of the capitulation at Fort Necessity, Washington had pledged the immediate release of these prisoners, their safe return to the fort, and had left two of his officers with De Villiers as hostages. In spite of all these facts, and the clear obligation resting in honor upon Virginia, Dinwiddie, with an obstinacy and disregard of all military rule that frequently marked his conduct, refused to carry out the pledge of his officer. Washington was sought out at Mount Vernon by many friends and public men, who hoped to devise some plan by which his services might be preserved to the province without loss of dignity on his part. The Governor of Maryland, appointed by the king commander in chief of his majesty's forces engaged against the French in America, offered him a colonel's commission with the pay and duties of a major. All these overtures and offers were, however, rejected with simple dignity, and, for the time, his retirement from military life seemed likely to be permanent.

CHAPTER VI.

THE BRADDOCK EXPEDITION.

THE report of Washington's campaign had aroused the English cabinet to an appreciation of the dangers that threatened British interests in America. Measures were taken to equip and dispatch a force sufficient to settle at once and forever the controversy in favor of England. The plan of operations in America had a four-fold object, being directed to the expulsion of the French from Nova Scotia; from their position on Lake Champlain; from Fort Niagara, and from the Ohio valley. Major-general Edwin Braddock was appointed commander in chief of all forces in America, and elected to take personal charge of the expedition to the borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia, primarily directed at Fort Duquesne. For this service two English regiments, of five hundred men each, were landed at Alexandria, and with them came a large train of artillery and a superfluity of stores and baggage. Each of these regiments was to be increased by the addition of two hundred Virginia recruits, and the whole supplemented by as large and efficient an Indian contingent as could be obtained.

Soon after his arrival in America, General Braddock, having heard much of the competency and experience of Washington, sent an invitation to the young provincial to become a member of his staff. Although the place offered neither pay nor command to Washington, he could not resist accepting it, as it promised so rich an opportunity for studying the art of war, as practiced by those with whom war was a trade. Then, too, the spirit which animated the old De Wessyngtons, in their border service, seemed revived in him. Gunpowder and arms allured him with the fascination that the drawing room and dancing hall have for other men.

It is not the purpose of this narrative to follow either the preparation or prosecution of the Braddock campaign, but simply to give such details as may have a direct bearing upon the life and reputation of Washington.

Yet a few words as to General Braddock's personal peculiarities may not be amiss, for to them, more than to any other reasons, may be ascribed the disastrous result of what might otherwise have been a brilliantly successful expedition. General Braddock was, by nature and training, a martinet; his especial standing in the English army was due to his reputation as a disciplinarian; he believed,—as did many others, until the American revolution proved their mistake,—that, against provincial levies and Indian auxiliaries, alike, the British regular was invincible. He believed that a mountain campaign in America would succeed, if conducted on the principles applied in holiday manœuvres in Hyde Park. The contempt which he felt for provincials and Indians could not be limited to his enemies; provincials and Indians were a portion of his own force. This undervaluation of American auxiliaries led him to reject offers of service from white scouts, and to ignore the counsels of Indian allies, thus offending both, and losing an effective defensive arm, that would have protected his force from disastrous surprise, and perhaps have allowed him to dictate the terms of battle with the French at Duquesne, as he might have done at Versailles, had his service led him thither. It was to such a general that Washington, the practical and experienced, but unscientific young officer, was attached.

From the first, the young Virginian, undazzled by the magnificent military display and perfect drill of the regulars, was appalled at the plan of operations adopted. In spite of the fact that a practicable military road had been made, during the previous year, extending from the eastern base of the Alleghanies almost to Fort Duquesne, Braddock insisted upon proceeding by a different route, and making a road as he went. Although his march must necessarily extend, a slender line, four miles in length, through a densely wooded, steep, and difficult country—though he was advised by those fitter to judge than he that he would be constantly dogged and menaced by bands of Indians, and that his line was, at any time, liable to be attacked and cut from an ambuscade, he insisted upon proceeding as if he were conducting an expedition in the heart of civilized Europe; rejected the advice of Benjamin Franklin, Washington, and others; refused to effect the curtailment of his line by ordering his officers to diminish their baggage to the actual essentials of the campaign, and rejected—almost repulsed—the offers of assistance from whites and Indians, who would, as has been said, if invited to serve, have protected his flanks and allowed him to form his troops before the French fort, with all the formality dear to his heart.

Braddock marched from Alexandria on the 20th of April; reaching Fort Cumberland, he remained until the 20th of June, awaiting transportation for his baggage and equipage—then he set out, dragging along at a snail's pace, his four thousand men finding it impossible to make much headway against the difficulties of mountain road making. Before long the general was compelled to swallow his pride and appeal to Washington for advice. This

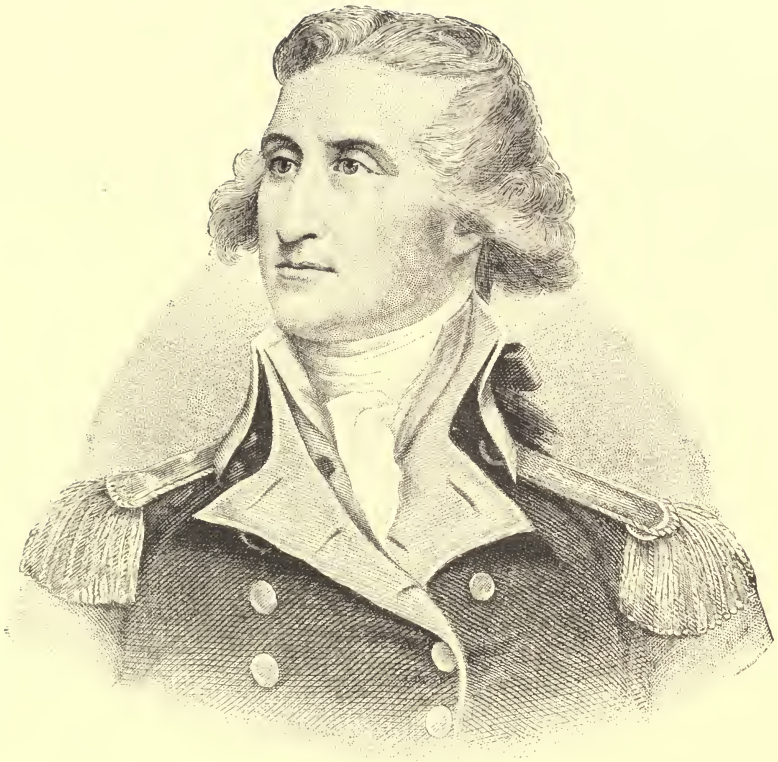
Washington modestly gave. The garrison of the fort was known to be weak, and French reinforcements were supposed to be coming. He urged that twelve hundred men be detached, stripped of all impedimenta, and advanced by forced marches, to strike an effective blow at the fort before its defense could be strengthened. The remainder of the force, guarding the baggage and supplies, could follow, and be on the ground in time to resist any retaliatory attack.

On the 19th of June, the advance expedition set out; but, in equipment and spirit, it was little calculated to succeed; the officers could not be induced to greatly diminish the amount of their baggage, and it was, consequently, not much less cumbrous than that of the united force had been. Washington wrote of the affair, after it was over: "I found that, instead of pushing with vigor, without regarding a little rough road, they were halting to level every molehill, and to build bridges over every brook, by which means we were four days in getting twelve miles." General Braddock commanded this advance in person, and it was with great regret that Washington, who had been ill for nearly a week, and compelled by weakness to leave his horse and ride in a wagon, succumbed to the hardship of these arduous twelve miles, and dropped out of the line to await the arrival of the rear guard, and to obtain the medical treatment and the rest that he felt to be essential to his recovery. A guard and a physician were left with him, and he obtained a promise from Braddock that he should be brought up with the advance, in time to participate in any attack that might be made upon Fort Duquesne.

The illness of Washington continued, and it was not until the 3d day of July that he was deemed sufficiently mended to set out in an army wagon with the advance force of the rear guard, which had just come up. Even this long delay did not, however, prevent his reaching Braddock's immediate force before its snail-like march was quite ended. The detachment had been a month on the march, and had traveled but little more than a hundred miles, when Washington rejoined his general on the 8th of July, at his camp on the east bank of the Monongahela, and fifteen miles from Fort Duquesne. It had already been determined to attack the fort as soon as the troops could be sent forward for the purpose, and the morning of the following day—the 9th—was set for the advance. Thus Washington was just in time to participate in the expected attack, and, though weak from long illness and his trying wagon trip, he was early in the saddle, and reported for duty. The plan of Braddock was to move his men by a ford near the camp, to the west bank of the river, march some five miles down the stream and recross by a second ford. The advance was ordered forward before daylight to cover the second ford while the main body should cross. The men moved off, as if for a parade, marching in a long and entirely unguarded line—their colors flying and band playing. Washington could

not conceive that the wily French would allow a superior force to approach and attack them in order, when there existed so good an opportunity for crippling or destroying it as was presented by this line of advance. Hence he urged—almost implored—Braddock in some manner to protect his flanks; to at least throw out scouts and to guard against surprise. All was, however, in vain. Braddock could not bend his pride to accept so much as a suggestion, in the face of a battle, from a young provincial officer; hence the line moved gaily forward, as confident of success, as fearless of danger, as any body of men that ever advanced to battle. The crossing of the army consumed the entire morning. About 1 o'clock in the afternoon it was completed, and the advance toward Duquesne began. The British force was divided into three sections, first, the working party and advance guard, protected by four small flanking parties; then, some distance behind, the main body of regulars, commanded by Braddock in person; last, the Virginians and other provincials. The march was but just begun, when the advance guard, while passing along a portion of the road bordered on one side by the river, on the other skirted by a heavily wooded hill, was startled, first by a succession of yells, then by a most deadly fire, coming from unseen enemies, among the woods on the right. Washington's fears of an ambuscade had been justified. The English at first held their ground well; a file of French and Indians advancing in order gave them encouragement; they were ready enough to fight an enemy whom they could see and measure. They fired upon the advancing line, and the young officer commanding it fell at the first volley. Meantime the fire from the hidden Indians in the woods, and the terrible uproar that accompanied it, grew worse and worse. Gage, commanding the advance, formed his men on the road and ordered a charge to dislodge the Indians, if such were possible; the soldiers, brave as they were at warfare of their own kind, would not advance a step to meet what seemed to them the certainty of death. The order of battle gave the Indian sharpshooters every advantage, and it seemed that scarcely a shot failed of effect. A body of men was sent on to reinforce the advance guard, of which nearly every officer and the majority of the men were killed or wounded. While this effort to form the reinforcements was making, the advance guard broke and fled in the wildest confusion, falling back upon the other force and throwing them out of all order and beyond the possibility of control.

At this point Braddock came up, and, under his orders, a renewed effort was made to rally and form the men, and make an advance upon the enemy, but it failed in turn. The soldiers were hopelessly panic-stricken, and huddled together to be shot down by the score. The Virginia troops, nearly all experienced in Indian warfare, dispersed behind trees and rocks, to meet the enemy after their own fashion, thus serving as the only protection to the miserable regulars. Within a short time after the battle began,



G. Washington

only Washington of all Braddock's aides remained alive and unwounded. He was everywhere, carrying orders, encouraging, directing. He strove to induce Braddock to order the men to imitate the Virginians and fight from cover, but even in the midst of the awful scene about him, the commander's ideas of discipline revolted at the thought, and he refused to accede, driving back with his own sword those about him who attempted such expedient independently. Washington showed the greatest coolness. Moving, as he did, on horseback, he was a marked man for the sharpshooters; two horses were killed under him, his hat and coat were pierced by bullets, and not another mounted officer escaped death or wounding, yet he was untouched. Dr. Craik says of him, in his diary of the campaign: "I expected at every moment to see him fall. His duty and situation exposed him to every danger. Nothing but the superintending care of Providence could have saved him from the fate of all about him."

Braddock made the last and only atonement in his power, for the obstinacy and folly that had brought the disgrace and disaster of the day upon the English arms. He fought like a hero; from his place, at the central point of danger, he put forward every effort within his power to rally the men and save the day. All was in vain, and he must have seen the hopelessness of his efforts before—having previously lost three horses in the fight—he fell, mortally shot through the lungs. Let Irving tell what followed: "The rout now became complete; baggage, stores, artillery, everything was abandoned. The wagoners took each a horse out of his team and fled. The officers were swept off with the men in this headlong flight. It was rendered more precipitate by the shouts and yells of the savages, numbers of whom rushed forth from their coverts, and pursued the fugitives to the river side, killing several, as they dashed across in tumultous confusion. Fortunately for the latter, the victors gave up the pursuit in their eagerness to collect the spoil."

Beyond the river a little body of men, more reasonable than their fellows, were halted about the dying general and his wounded *aides-de-camp*. An attempt was made to form a camp at that point, throw up entrenchments and await reinforcement by the rear guard, which, with the heavier baggage and artillery, had not yet come up. No sooner, however, were the men posted and an attempt at restoring discipline made, than one by one they deserted, until the few faithful ones were obliged to join the retreat, bearing the wounded with them.

The force engaged in the battle on the side of the British was eighty-six officers and about twelve hundred men. Of these, twenty-six officers were killed and thirty-six wounded, and of the rank and file about seven hundred were killed or wounded. Washington being among the few unwounded officers, and knowing very thoroughly the country over which the army had recently passed, was directed to hasten to Captain Dunbar's camp,

forty miles distant, obtain men, wagons, and supplies, and return with all haste. He found the camp in confusion, the news of the disaster having been conveyed by the flying wagoners. Order being restored, his directions were carried into effect, and he set out at early morning of the following day, and met the escort at a point but thirteen miles from the camp. Turning about, the sad cavalcade moved to Great Meadows where, on the 13th, Braddock died.

No campaign was ever so recklessly conducted; few more crushing and irreparable defeats of a disciplined force, by one much less in number, are recorded; there is no question that Braddock, had he been content to accept advice, and make the necessary departure from formal military rule, might have averted it all, and raised the British flag over Fort Duquesne, with little loss, instead of resting in an unmarked grave, hastily hollowed and filled by the flying soldiers. Yet the fault was by no means all his own. Much of the responsibility should rest upon the ignorance and obstinacy of the English cabinet; ingnorance in the war office of what the smallest reflection should have made evident, that the methods of a campaign in the wilds of America must be adapted to the conditions of the country and the manner of warfare which the enemy might adopt. Braddock received the command because he was deemed a fine disciplinarian and a master of the theory of European warfare; he died a defeated and broken-hearted man, because he was too good a disciplinarian and too accomplished a theorist to fight with savages, who knew no discipline, and confounded his theory. Another potent agent in compassing his defeat was the contempt in which, in common with all regulars fresh in the American service, he held alike the assistance and enmity of provincials and Indians. He shared the belief which generations of ballads and after dinner speeches had made almost a part of the religion of his people—that the British sailor on the sea, and the British soldier on the land, were invincible. This belief, then so rudely assailed, was destined to meet with many a shock within the following sixty years, yet after a century it had not ceased to be in a manner a portion of the national creed, as exhibited in the campaigns in Afghanistan and Zululand.

After the death of Braddock, the command of the force devolved upon Colonel Dunbar and he, collecting the mangled and disorganized remnants of the regular regiments, marched them at midsummer to Philadelphia where they went into "winter quarters." The Virginians, or such of them as survived the disaster, returned to Fort Cumberland, and thence to Winchester.

Washington had imbibed a sovereign contempt for the English officers, during their march across the mountains; he could not conceive how such devotion to personal appearance and comfort; such levity and vanity as they showed, could be consistent with bravery and efficiency in the field.

This opinion he entirely changed, after witnessing the heroic demeanor of these very dandies and *bon vivants*, upon the Monongahela. Of the rank and file he could not, however, afterwards speak with patience, and with his words concerning their behavior at the battle, this chapter and the history of the campaign may appropriately close: "They were struck with such an inconceivable panic," he wrote Governor Dinwiddie, "that nothing but confusion and disobedience of orders prevailed among them. The officers, in general, behaved with incomparable bravery, for which they greatly suffered, there being upwards of sixty killed and wounded—a large proportion out of what we had. The Virginia companies behaved like men and died like soldiers, for, I believe, out of three companies on the ground that day, scarce thirty men were left alive. Captain Peronny and all his officers, down to a corporal, were killed. Captain Poulson had almost as hard a fate, for only one of his escaped. In short, the dastardly behavior of the regular troops (so-called) exposed those who were inclined to do their duty to almost certain death; and, at length, in spite of every effort to the contrary, they broke and ran as sheep before the hounds, leaving the artillery, ammunition, provisions, baggage, and, in short, everything, a prey to the enemy; and, when we endeavored to rally them, in hopes of regaining the ground, and what we had left upon it, it was with as little success as if we had attempted to have stopped the wild beasts of the mountains, or the rivulets, with our feet; for they would break by in spite of every effort to prevent it."

CHAPTER VII.

TO THE FALL OF FORT DUQUESNE.

WASHINGTON, returning to his home, was received with every mark of confidence and honor by the House of Burgesses and the people. He had before been regarded as the foremost soldier of Virginia, and the bravery and discretion displayed by him, during the Braddock campaign, had convinced the people that, had his counsel been accepted, the result would have been far different, and thus he was confirmed in their esteem. It was evident that steps must be immediately taken to protect the frontier, exposed, as it was, by this second defeat, to the depredations of both French and Indians, and the House of Burgesses, now thoroughly aroused, made provision for the raising of a force of one thousand six hundred men. Washington was made commander in chief of all the military force of the Province of Virginia, with the unusual and especially conceded privilege of naming his own field officers. Making arrangements for an efficient recruiting service, he at once proceeded to the frontier, to mature a plan by which, with the slender force at his command, he might protect the settlers and repel the invading enemy, along the nearly four hundred miles of wild and exposed border. He was none too soon. Before he had reached the seat of government, on his return from this inspection, he was overtaken by a messenger who bore news that a band of Indians had crossed the mountains and was burning, robbing, murdering, and scalping, throughout the newly populated regions beyond the Blue Ridge. Dispatching word to his recruiting officers to send on their men with all haste to Winchester, Washington himself hastened to that place, which he found given over to panic and confusion. But few troops were in the district, and they, too weak to proceed against the enemy, were blockaded in their own forts. No effort could induce the militia to rendezvous and obtain safety by a united defense; each thought only of himself or his family, and hastened to join the terror-stricken stampede to the eastward. A most

pressing request to the militia commanders on the east of the Blue Ridge, that they should send their men to protect the settlements on the frontier, was so tardily answered that, before a blow could be struck, the marauders had recrossed the mountains laden with scalps and plunder, and leaving the valley behind them almost totally desolate. It is not the purpose of this biography to follow minutely the history of Washington's connection with the Virginia forces, as commander in chief. Dinwiddie had been compelled, by public opinion, to appoint him to the place, when he would have preferred to name a personal friend of his own. For this or some other reason, the administration of the province was always slow in supporting him. The words of his own letter to a friend give the best possible idea of his situation. In speaking of this misunderstanding he says: "Whence it arises, or why, I am truly ignorant, but my strongest representations of matters relative to the peace of the frontiers are disregarded as idle and frivolous; my propositions and measures, as partial and selfish; all my sincerest endeavors for the service of my country, perverted to the worst purposes. My orders are dark, doubtful, and uncertain; to-day approved, to-morrow condemned; left to act and proceed at hazard; accountable for the consequences, and blamed without the benefit of a defence. However, I am determined to bear up under all these embarrassments some time longer, in the hope of better regulations, under Lord London, to whom I look for the future fate of Virginia."

Washington's theory as to the most promising method of defending the frontier against the incursions of the Indians, to-day seems so unquestionably the only practicable one, that we wonder how even jealousy could have failed of stamping it with instant approval. The original force proposed to be raised, previous to his assumption of the command, was one thousand six hundred troops; in fact, the effective troops never exceeded one thousand two hundred in number, and often fell as low as seven hundred. With this handful of men, the Governor insisted upon maintaining a defensive warfare along a frontier three hundred and sixty miles long. Washington maintained that success, under such circumstances, was not even to be hoped for. Fort Duquesne, at that time the centre of the French force, and consequently of Indian disaffection in the Ohio valley, was but slenderly garrisoned. The French were too seriously menaced in Canada and Nova Scotia to render its reinforcement likely; their vessels, bearing provisions and ammunition, were constantly cut off by British men-of-war and privateers, and everything seemed to promise success to a sharp, active, and determined movement against it. Duquesne once cut off, there would be no point south of Lake Erie from which the French could offensively operate, or could move to retain their influence with the Indians. Across the Alleghanies, Braddock's military road was still in good condition, and a movement could be made which would, in three days, place a force of one

thousand five hundred men before the fort, with eighty-six days' provisions, opposed to only about half that number, including French and Indians, and they poorly equipped and short of supplies. A movement of such a force across the mountains could scarcely fail of the destruction of the French power on the Ohio, but even if it did not so result, it would absolutely necessitate the recall of the Indians who were ravaging the borders of Pennsylvania and Virginia, and would thus, by one concentrated expedition, result in accomplishing what was contemplated in the raising of the Virginian army, while promising still more important advantages. This was Washington's view. Dinwiddie, however, insisted upon maintaining his policy of defensive action. The commander in chief then begged for two thousand men, saying that, with them he could build and maintain a chain of twenty-two forts across the frontier, manning each with about eighty men, and could, in a measure at least, prevent the inroads of the savages. With seven hundred or one thousand two hundred men he declared that but one result could be looked for—that, the driving of all English settlements eastward, the destruction of houses and villages, the murder of settlers, until the Blue Ridge should be once more the western frontier of English settlement. Washington's predictions proved to be correct; incursion followed incursion; the valleys between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghanies were again and again ravaged, until the settlers, despairing of succor from Virginia, whence they had reason to expect it, were glad to give up everything but life, and fly to the safety of the more populous East. At Winchester a few of the bolder settlers remained; there were troops in the scattered garrisons, and Lord Fairfax continued, like a feudal noble of the middle ages, to maintain his establishment by arming his servants; aside from these exceptions the whole region was desolate.

The coming of Lord Loudoun, who was at once Governor of Virginia and commander in chief of all military forces in the colonies, did not, as Washington had hoped, improve the condition of affairs. The new Governor had determined to concentrate all his strength in an effort to reduce the French power in Canada, leaving only a pitiful force of twelve hundred men for the protection of all the Southern colonies. So far from being better equipped for self-protection, Virginia was impoverished by a requisition, calling upon her to furnish four hundred men for service in South Carolina. So matters continued until, early in the year 1758, Lord Loudoun gave place, as commander in chief, to General Abercrombie; the office of Lieutenant-governor was temporarily held by Mr. John Blair, a warm friend of Washington; Brigadier-general Forbes assumed command of the southern department, including Virginia, and, above all, William Pitt, that great, wise, and fearless statesman, was prime minister of England. Washington believed that an aggressive policy might at last be expected, and awaited with impatience the first indication from which the plans of the new admin-

istration might be inferred. Such an intimation was not long in coming and, in May of that year, Washington received orders to assemble his entire available force at Winchester. This, after the invariable annoyances arising from a lack of funds, arms, and supplies, he succeeded in doing, when he was chagrined, beyond measure, to learn that his commander had determined, in spite of the existence of the practicable road opened by Braddock, to move to Fort Duquesne by a new route, across the mountains, every mile of which would necessarily be cut through an unbroken forest, every considerable stream bridged, and the prospect of reaching the objective point of the expedition before the setting in of winter, reduced to the merest shadow. Colonel Bouquet, the second in command, wrote to Washington for advice in the matter, and received in return a modest, yet plain statement of opinion, of which the following is a portion:

"I shall most cheerfully work on any road, pursue any route, or enter upon any service that the general or yourself may think me usefully employed in, or qualified for; and shall never have a will of my own, when a duty is required of me. But, since you desire me to speak my sentiments freely, permit me to observe that, after having conversed with all the guides, and having been informed by others acquainted with the country, I am convinced that a road to be compared with General Braddock's, or, indeed, that will be fit for transportation, even with pack-horses, cannot be made. I own I have no predilection for the road you have in contemplation for me." In spite of Washington's warmest protestations and arguments, the English officers remained immovably determined in carrying on the campaign in their own way. The young provincial was justly indignant at the stupidity that could deliberately choose failure, where success was so easy, and at the obstinacy that clung to a fallacy, after it had been fully exposed. In a letter, written from Fort Cumberland, during the month of September, he betrayed his feelings on the subject with unwonted freedom. He said: "We are still encamped here, very sickly and desperate at the prospect before us. That appearance of glory which we once had in view —that hope—that laudable ambition of serving our country and meriting its applause, are now no more; all is dwindled into ease, sloth, and fatal inactivity. In a word, all is lost, if the ways of men in power, like certain ways of Providence, are not inscrutable. But we, who view the actions of great men at a distance, can only form conjectures agreeably to a limited perception; and being ignorant of the comprehensive schemes which may be in contemplation, might mistake egregiously in judging of things from appearances or by the lump. Yet every fool will have his notions—will prattle and talk away; and why may not I? We seem then, in my opinion, to act under guidance of an evil genius. The conduct of our leaders, if not actuated by superior orders, is tempered with something I do not care to give a name to. Nothing now but a miracle can bring this campaign to

a happy issue." Washington's letter then rehearses his opposition to the scheme for the building of a new road, and concludes as follows: " . . . but I spoke unavailingly; the road was immediately begun, and, since then, from one to two thousand men have constantly wrought upon it. By the last accounts I have received, they have cut to the foot of Laurel Hill, about thirty-five miles; and, I suppose, by this time, fifteen hundred men have taken post ten miles farther, at a place called Loyal Hanna, where our next fort is to be constructed. We have certain intelligence that the French strength at Fort Duquesne did not exceed eight hundred men on the 13th ultimo, including about three or four hundred Indians. See how our time has been misspent—behold how the golden opportunity has been lost—perhaps never to be regained. How is it to be accounted for? Can General Forbes have orders for this? Impossible! Will then our injured country pass by such abuses? I hope not. Rather let a full representation of the matter go to his majesty; let him know how grossly his glory and interests, and the public money have been prostituted."

Washington contemplated two results from the tardy policy of the general; first, that the army would be compelled to endure the suffering of a winter passed in the woods, and, being unable to make effective progress until late in the spring, the French would have ample time to reinforce Fort Duquesne, and, to make the matter worse, that the southern Indian tribes, who had thus far remained true to their treaties with the English, would be drawn away, menacing the army and the colonies with a new and unnecessary danger. How nearly true his forecast proved to be we will now relate.

During September Major Grant, under orders from the general, made a reconnoissance about Fort Duquesne, with a force of eight hundred men. The result of his over-boldness was an engagement with the garrison, from which the English retired, having lost twenty-seven men killed and forty-two wounded. On the 5th of November the army reached the terminus of the road at Loyal Hanna, forty-five miles from Fort Cumberland. A council of war being held, it was determined that it was alike impracticable to make a further advance before the spring, and to place the army in winter quarters in the heart of the wilderness. The conclusion had been reached that it would be necessary to return to the frontier and set out anew in the spring, when word came of the exceeding distress of the French garrison, who lacked provisions, clothing, and ammunition, and had little prospect of an immediate relief. Washington urged a forced march to attack the fort and, taking the matter under his personal charge, completed a passable road by the 25th of November and, on that day, the English became masters of the much dreaded and long coveted fortress, which had been deserted by its garrison, after they had destroyed its cannon and set fire to the fort itself. The flames were extinguished, the works were restored, English cannon

replaced the wrecked artillery of the French, the fort was re-christened Fort Pitt, in honor of the great minister, and the question of supremacy in the valley of the Ohio was settled forever, in favor of the English race. Washington, leaving a detail of two hundred men as a garrison for the fort, conducted the remainder of his force to Winchester, and, parting with it there, proceeded to the capital, where he took his seat in the General Assembly, to which he had shortly before been elected.

The reduction of Fort Duquesne released Virginia, not only from the danger of French invasion, but insured the good behavior of the Indians, and Washington at last felt that he might, without dishonor, retire from the army, as he had long desired, thus gaining opportunity to recover his health, which was much impaired by repeated and arduous campaigns, to devote some time to neglected business interests and, most of all, to escape the constant annoyance to which a provincial officer was subjected by reason of the rules of precedence to which reference has been made. Hence, at the end of the year he resigned his dual office of colonel of the First Virginia regiment, and commander in chief of all the forces of the colony, and laid down his sword, only to again wear it when there came the supreme call for a man who might lead the revolting colonies in the struggle against the mother country.

The value of this hard and thankless service against the French, to Washington and to his country—who can measure it? Not only by the disciplining and developing of his own mind and the increase of his direct knowledge of the art of war, but in the familiarity which he acquired with the methods and the weaknesses of the army and the military system which he was to oppose, a familiarity which, when practically applied, enabled him, with a small, undisciplined, and ill-equipped army—often starving and freezing from sheer paucity of supplies, to harass, worry, and annoy the finest armies in the world to ultimate demoralization and defeat. More than all, it had assured the maintenance of his mental equipoise, in the face of disaster in the field and disaffection in the councils of those who should have been his friends; it had prepared him for the discouragements, the intrigues, and the cabals of the Revolution. Accident—mere blind good-fortune—may make a victorious commander a hero; only he who is exceptionally wise and able, can win reputation from defeat. Of the three campaigns in which Washington participated, during the French war, two ended in disaster—the third in a success due to extraneous circumstances, rather than to any merit of commanders or bravery of men, yet from so unlikely a military experience, Washington emerged with an uncontested reputation as the foremost soldier in bravery, wisdom, experience, and fertility of expedient, in all the colonies.

It is not within the scope of this biography to further follow the details of the French war, so-called; the story of the vigorous prosecution of the

war in the north; of the fall of Fort Niagara, the bloody battle at Fort George, on the lake now bearing the same name; the capture of Ticonderoga; the investment of Quebec, with the death of Wolfe and the yielding of the city to the English; the last stand and final surrender of Montreal, and the peace that gave to England, for the time, undisputed title to the continent of North America—of all these it would be interesting to write, but, though the first volley in the encounter between the forces of Washington and De Jumonville opened the war, Washington had no active part in it after the occupation of Duquesne by the English, and hence our concern with it as well is at an end.



MARTHA WASHINGTON.

CHAPTER VIII.

MARRIAGE AND HOME LIFE.

THUS far these pages have told little of the private life of Washington, save as it appears by glimpses in the struggles, labors, disappointments and successes that so often interrupted it. Indeed, there is little of real boyhood, or of the small pleasures and hopes of youth, to tell. Washington made but a single step from the school-room to the field, seeming to open fully and at once from an exceptionally serious and thoughtful childhood to the full stature of the noble manhood that was his own. It is difficult to mark the development that intervened between the setting out upon that first journey into the wilderness and the surrender at Yorktown. Development of course there was, but so reserved was the character of the man, so chary was he of the utterance of sentiment or the expression of enthusiasm, so few are the recorded utterances that have no direct and serious bearing upon the business of his life, that the growth is all below the surface and we may only judge of its extent by the results that it compassed. Yet Washington was not without an element of romance, under all the practicality of his nature. When only a boy of fifteen he had a love affair—with whom, no one will ever certainly know, for his natural secretiveness led him to refer to her—never name her. (Supposed to be the mother of Henry Lee—"Light Horse Harry.") He treated this new ailment of his with all the seriousness with which he later planned a campaign or directed a battle; he was not ashamed of it—he had none of the bashfulness of boys who are sophisticated in skirts and become men of the world in short trousers. His correspondence with his young friends is full of allusions to this "lowland beauty," and in his copy-books are a few awkward and unmusical rhymes, in which, after the ordinary boyish fashion, he bewails the fate that keeps him from the fair unknown.' Action, however, cured him, as it has cured many a man of the same ailment, and after he became a friend and later entered the service of the bluff old

Lord Fairfax, we hear nothing more of the mysterious maid. It was not until 1756 that he again felt the irritating sensation of love. He was at that time colonel of the First Virginia regiment and commander in chief of all the forces of the colony, yet he found his authority questioned by a captain in command of a fort within the colony, on the ground that the latter held a king's commission. Out of all patience, Washington set out on horseback for Boston, there to submit the question to the arbitrament of the commander in chief. He was successful in his principal mission, but at grave expense in peace of mind, for he lost his heart to Miss Mary Phillipse, who was an inmate of the family of a Virginia friend of Washington, then a resident of New York, she being a sister of the latter's wife. The young lady was a niece of an aristocratic and wealthy gentleman, and one of the two presumptive heiresses of his estate. Washington certainly laid close siege to the young lady's heart; he as certainly took a sudden departure for Virginia, but whether, as Irving kindly holds, called to the field by the summons of duty, or urged by the gloomy prospect of his suit, history cannot say. At all events he deserted the ground, and Captain Morris of New York won the young beauty, with her broad acres, and, from the two, sprang one of the most distinguished families of the State. By an odd coincidence, the seat of the Morrises on the Hudson became the headquarters of Washington during one of his revolutionary campaigns. So ended his second *affaire du cœur.*

After Washington's assignment to duty with the Forbes expedition his men, having been mustered, were without arms, ammunition or equipment. Repeated representations of the state of affairs having failed of eliciting a satisfactory response from the colonial government, Washington was ordered to proceed to Williamsburg, and urge in person the necessity of placing the troops upon an effective footing. Mounting his horse, and taking a single servant, he set out for the seat of government. Upon the road he fell in with a Mr. Chamberlayne, a Virginia gentleman, whose estate lay hard by, and who insisted with characteristic hospitality, that Washington should pause at his house for dinner. The latter was in great haste to reach Williamsburg, and only when resistance began to seem discourteous did he yield assent to the invitation. His resolve proved a most fortunate one. At Mr. Chamberlayne's table he met a young and charming widow, Mrs. Martha Custis, whose husband, John Parke Custis, had died three years previously. She was a daughter of John Dandridge and, by blood and marriage, was a member of two families of the simon-pure Virginia aristocracy. Perhaps Washington had met her before. At all events it is evident that he succumbed at once to her charms, which were assuredly sufficient to excuse so ready a surrender. All his eagerness to press on to Williamsburg vanished. His horse, which he had ordered his servant to bring to the door immediately after dinner, walked contentedly

back to the discussion of hay and corn in the stable, and Washington, for the first and only recorded time of his life, enticed by pleasure, paused in the path of duty. In the morning he proceeded to Williamsburg; but the young widow resided at her seat, the White House, but a few miles from that city, and before Washington's mission was accomplished, his horse knew every pebble in the road that lay between. For the first time since his military experience began, the young commander had now the opportunity of pursuing his favorite theory of offensive warfare—untrammeled by the imbecility of legislators and the clogging etiquette of service. This he improved to the utmost, bearing in mind, no doubt, the disaster that resulted from his temporizing policy with Miss Phillipse, and as a result, before he turned his back upon the White House to proceed to Winchester, the fair widow was his promised wife, and the wedding was set to occur immediately after the close of the coming Duquesne campaign. On the 6th day of January, 1759, the marriage took place at the White House, and Washington thus laid down his service of the king to assume a domestic allegiance that nothing ever served to shake. Mr. Custis had left for equal division among his widow and children a large landed estate and more than forty-five thousand pounds sterling. Washington's estate had prospered, in spite of his inattention, and he was a man of wealth sufficient to enable him to maintain his state with the best in the land. For a few weeks the newly married couple remained at the seat of the bride; then they removed to Mount Vernon, the noble estate which had come to Washington from one of his brothers, and there established themselves in the comfort of a tranquil country life, which, for the greater part of two decades, was only to be interrupted by the duties of Washington as a legislator, and by occasional calls of business and pleasure.

One argument in favor of the effectiveness of the laws of heredity is found in the devotion of Washington to two modes of life—the military and that of the landed gentleman. He was first, last, and always a soldier, when military duty was to be done; failing that he was a planter. He loved the quiet and order of rural life. He improved his estate by personal attention when others of the *jeune noblesse* of Virginia allowed theirs to deteriorate from neglect and loaded them with mortgages, to satisfy the demands of lives of prodigality. Even with the details of his plantation work, sometimes actually in the manual execution of his own orders, Washington was associated. His establishment was conducted with all the wide-doored hospitality that marked the Virginian life of the day; his table was furnished in the finest and most abundant manner, and was served by the best of servants. His wife went forth upon her stately round of visits in a coach and four, with footmen and outriders. Washington himself rode the choicest of English thoroughbreds, hunted after the finest hounds, rode upon the river in a beautiful barge manned by a crew of picked and uniformed slaves. His friends, even the venerable Lord Fairfax who had given him

his first lessons in the chase, often came to Mount Vernon, and the stables were amply supplied with mounts for all. Sometimes a British man-of-war anchored in the Potomac—then there were successive feasts at Mount Vernon, Belvoir, and other seats, with reciprocation on the part of the royal officers.

Back of it all, aside from the demands of his estate and the numerous private trusts committed to his care, Washington had not a little of public business, to serve as a foil to the free and happy home life we have described. As a member of the House of Burgesses he was much at Williamsburg, the seat of government; public missions often led him to Winchester and other points in the province, and sometimes he was called even farther—to Philadelphia or to Annapolis, the ultra conservative and aristocratic seat of the province of Maryland, where he, recognized as the foremost Virginian, and his highbred and brilliant wife were prominent in the gaiety with which the officers of the province surrounded themselves.

This is, in brief, the life that, from the fall of Duquesne to the sounding of the alarm that heralded the Revolution, engrossed the future leader of the people. Was ever an atmosphere less suited to fostering republicanism; was ever a man more fitted by association, education, taste, and interest to be a royalist, a tory, a recreant to the interests of his native soil?

With these words this record leaves what may be termed the first of the three periods of Washington's public life. He has served his apprenticeship and now awaits only the summons of the bugle, to move to his country's aid in a service destined to mark him as the one man in history who has been the creator of a popular government that has stood the shocks of a century.

CHAPTER IX.

RIPENING OF THE REVOLUTION.

ALTHOUGH the surrender of Montreal in 1757 ended the actual hostilities between France and England, it was not until 1763 that a formal peace was concluded, at the convention of Fontainbleau. Thus, for the first time in ten years, the colonies seemed secure from any other warlike danger than that, always present, from the unstable and treacherous Indians. This very peril took definite form in May of that year, when the border Indians united in a conspiracy to simultaneously attack and overpower all the English forts from Detroit to Fort Pitt—the re-christened Fort Duquesne. This uprising resulted in the temporary loss of some of the smaller defences, and in a bloody massacre of settlers, but proved abortive as to its principal object. Washington's retirement to private life prevented his taking part in the defensive movement which followed, and his ardent desire to be allowed to remain a planter and a country gentleman, bade fair to be indefinitely gratified.

The seeds of discord between the colonies and the crown were, however, already sown, and the great agitation that led to a revolution which resulted in establishing the greatest republic of the world, was even then begun. England's policy toward the colonies is too well known to call for more than passing mention. At the time of which we are now speaking, the regard of the home country for her American dependencies was that of a purely commercial nation for a business investment. It is a matter of astonishment that there was mingled with this mercenary view so little feeling of kinship or sympathy. England neither gave to America the respect accorded to a foreign ally, nor the affection naturally subsisting between people of common blood and traditions. In America the feeling toward the mother country was still one of respect and love; long after the unjust policy of the crown had aroused an active resistance and that resistance had evoked a measure of retaliation, many Americans of the best class habitually referred to England as "home," and at no time until months after

the seizure of the American magazines and the first bloodshed at Concord, was it beyond the power of England, by simplest justice in legislation and executive action, to have closed the breach, and thus, for many years, prolonged her dominion in America.

The first public evidence of ill-feeling between the people of the old England and the new, came from those British merchants, who held the paper currency of the colonies, issued during the prolonged war, and found it depreciated upon their hands. The result of their outcry was an order declaring colonial scrip not legal tender for the payment of debts. This action greatly embittered a public feeling adverse to English commercial interference, already created by successive acts of restrictive legislation, thus, in effect, tersely stated by Irving: "Her (England's) navigation laws had shut their ports against foreign vessels; obliged them to export their productions only to countries belonging to the British crown; to import European goods solely from England, and in English ships, and had subjected the trade between the colonies to duties. All manufactures, too, in the colonies, that might interfere with those of the mother country, had been either totally prohibited or subjected to intolerable restrictions." In short, it was sought to make the colonies separate and isolated communities of agricultural producers, which should sell their raw material to English merchants, without competition, thus giving one profit, and, by compulsion, purchase from the same men their manufactured goods, thus paying another. It was the same policy that, applied to Ireland, has made one of the most highly favored people in Europe a nation of tatterdemalions and paupers. It is not strange that this narrow and unjust policy called forth the violent opposition that it did, yet there was still stronger cause for protest in store.

Though the subject of direct taxation of the American colonies had often been broached, the instant antagonism aroused, the firm stand taken by the Americans that no body in which they were unrepresented had a right to tax them, had thus far dissuaded the crown from adopting so arbitrary a measure. The close of the French war, however, leaving England secure in her sense of American proprietorship, brought a decided change of policy. British ships-of-war in American waters became floating and armed custom-houses, every naval commander was especially instructed to direct his effort at the breaking up of smuggling, and the result was the destruction of a very profitable, though prohibited, trade between the American colonies of England and Spain. An effort was made to search houses and stores in Boston, in quest of contraband sugar, the case was tested in the courts, as a matter of constitutional right, with the result of exciting the popular indignation to the highest pitch, and arousing the first active opposition to the authority of the crown. It was reserved for George Grenville, in 1764, then prime minister of England, to rush in where wiser men than



THE WYTHE HOUSE—WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS—WILLIAMSBURG, VA.

he had feared to tread. He procured the passage of an act of Parliament declaring the right of England to tax the American colonies. Following upon this he gave notice of his intention to press, at the next session, for the adoption of a system of stamp duties to be enforced in the colonies. This action was the logical result of a growing policy which had, within the four years preceding, led to the adoption of no less than twenty-nine separate acts of Parliament, looking to the repression of American commerce and industry. The outburst of indignation which followed its announcement, would have altered the determination of a wiser minister, and terrified one less obstinate and hot-headed. New England, possessing the most immediate commercial interest, took the lead; New York and Virginia followed her. Petitions were framed, signed, and sent to king and Parliament, and every possible indication of popular disapproval, united to press for a reconsideration. Yet, in March, 1765, the act was passed, providing that every instrument in writing, executed within the colonies, should be drawn upon stamped paper, purchased of agents of the crown, providing penalties for offenses against the act, and also that trials in all cases arising thereunder might be had in any royal, marine, or admiralty court, at any point within any of the colonies.

It may be stated here that the stamp act was never enforced, save to a very limited extent. The agents appointed to dispose of the paper, either shared the public feeling and refused to serve, or soon found it advisable to resign for their own safety. The first official protest against the iniquitous measure came from the conservative and loyal colony of Virginia. The House of Burgesses was then in session—Washington sitting among its members—a resolution was introduced by that fiery orator, Patrick Henry (then a young member of the House), declaring that the colony of Virginia had the exclusive right to tax its inhabitants and that whoever maintained the contrary should be deemed an enemy of the country. This position he defended in a speech that has passed into history as one of the most eloquent in the annals of American legislation. After little debate, and with small modification the resolutions were adopted, and the Lieutenant-governor, alarmed at the spirit displayed, at once dissolved the House. This was a signal for other colonial legislatures to act, and an entire unanimity was evinced by the adoption, throughout the country, of similar resolutions, and the expressed determination to resist the enforcement of the act to all extremities. On the 1st day of November, named as the time for the act to go into effect, there were everywhere demonstrations, the burning of royal agents in effigy, the tolling of bells, flags at half-mast, and other indications of both anger and sorrow.

Washington returned from the meeting of the dissolved House, deeply concerned for the safety of the colonies, impressed with the injustice of the English measures and, above all, as were most good men at that day,

anxious that the case should be so represented to England as to induce a reconsideration of the offensive acts, an adjustment of difficulties upon the basis of mutual interest, and the preservation of those relations under which he had been born and grown to maturity. Few men then thought of separation between the colonies and England, as a possibility; those few regarded it only as a remote contingency, and a very calamitous one as well. So slow is the Anglo-Saxon to assume, even in his own mind, the attitude of a revolutionist.

It was, indeed, a serious question that met Washington's consideration, and one which, to all appearances, could receive but one consistent answer, were he at all to regard his personal, pecuniary, or social interests. Every tradition of his family and colony, every environment of his life, every consideration of ambition, friendship, and taste, tended to the cause of royalty —to make him a tory. Here was he living upon a magnificent estate, rich, independent, respected; having received more than one indication of high consideration from the home government, intimately associated with men who, like the Fairfaxes, were fixed, though moderate, royalists; raising his tobacco year by year, receiving a good price for it in England, and caring little for the privilege of importing from any other than English ports. What had he to lose by a continuance or increase of the exercise of a control under which he had so greatly prospered; what could he possibly gain by identifying himself with the cause of a few scattered, poor, and weak colonies, with no better assurance of unity than the possession of a common grievance against the most powerful maritime, military, and commercial nation in the world? These questions came up to him and to the majority of representative Virginians, whose interests were like his, and so different from those of the commercial colonies of New York and New England. In a letter written April 5, 1769, to George Mason, Washington speaks of the non-importation agreement, then being warmly advocated, and later so generally adopted, in the following words, which give a clear statement of the difference of interest between New England and Virginia, and at the same time, show how carefully he considered the effect of such a resolve upon his own fortunes, thus emphasizing the significance of the warm adherence he later gave to that and to more radical movements:

"The Northern colonies, it appears, are endeavoring to adopt this scheme. In my opinion it is a good one, and must be attended with salutary effects, provided it can be pretty generally carried into execution. That there will be a difficulty attending it everywhere, from clashing interests and selfish, designing men, ever attentive to their own gain, and watchful of every turn that can assist their lucrative views, cannot be denied, and, in the tobacco colonies, where the trade is so diffused, and, in a manner, wholly conducted by factors for their principals at home, these difficulties are certainly enhanced, but I think not insurmountably

increased, if the *gentlemen*, in their several counties, will be at some pains to explain matters to the *people*, and stimulate them to cordial agreements to purchase none but certain enumerated articles out of any of the stores, after a definite period, and neither import nor purchase any themselves. I can see but one class of people, the merchants excepted, who will not, or ought not to, wish well to the scheme, namely, those who live genteelly and hospitably upon clear estates. Such as these, were they not to consider the valuable object in view, and the good of others, might think it hard to be curtailed of their living and enjoyments." The italics used in the words "gentlemen" and "people," are simply intended to indicate how naturally the mind of Washington, or that of any man sharing his position, at that time, made distinctions, quite out of harmony with the republican institutions which they were fated to establish.

The closing clause of Mason's reply to this letter is peculiarly interesting, as showing to how small a degree had penetrated any wider idea of the destiny of America than that sought to be inculcated by Great Britain, and, also, as clearly proving that, among Washington and his chosen friends, there had not, at that time, arisen any desire beyond that for a reconciliation of differences and a renewal of the relations temporarily interrupted. After expressing approval of the non-importation agreement, as an expedient, Mason says: "I am thoroughly convinced that, justice and harmony happily restored, it is not for the interest of these colonies to refuse British manufactures. Our supplying our mother country with gross materials and taking her manufactures in return, is the true chain of connection between us. These are the bonds, which, if not broken by oppression, must long hold us together by maintaining a constant reciprocation of interest."

It is impossible here to follow the minute history of the events which led up to the Revolution. Among other acts passed by Parliament was that providing that troops, "for the protection of the colonies," dispatched to America in time of peace, should be lodged and maintained at the expense of the colonies to which they were assigned, and another permitting the removal of a citizen of any colony, charged with treason or misprision of treason, to any other colony or to England, for trial. Boston had been, from the beginning of the agitation, regarded by England as a "hotbed of rebellion," and was the first to feel the force of the military billeting act. On the 28th of September, 1766, in consequence of repeated collisions between the people of Boston and the King's customs officers, two regiments of regulars, under General Hood, having been ordered from Canada, entered the city, and, there being no quarters provided for them by the people, some encamped upon the common, some were quartered in the State house, and others in Faneuil hall. Cannon were posted before the State house door, and every comer and goer was challenged by sentinels. The Assembly of Massachusetts had been before prorogued, on

account of its strong protests against the action of the crown, and did n again meet until May of the following year. When came the time f reassembling a message was at once sent to the Governor that th body could not, consistently with its dignity, take any action, so long a there was even an apparent military occupation of the capital, and reques ing that the troops be withdrawn beyond the limits of the city. Th request not being complied with, the Assembly adjourned to Car bridge; the Governor sent a message requiring provision to be mad for the maintenance of the troops; compliance was refused, and the bod was summarily dissolved. In May, 1769, the Virginia House of Burgesse was convened with great pomp, the King having sent out as Governo Lord Boutetourt, with ample provision for dazzling this aristocratic color into submission. The first act of that body was to pass a resolution co demning the course adopted for the coercion of Massachusetts; the secon to adopt an agreement of non-importation, proposed by Washingto Like the Assembly at Cambridge, the House at Williamsburg was prompt dissolved.

Pending the ripening of events, Washington made an expedition in the valley of the Ohio, to select land for appropriation to the payment bounties to the soldiers who served in the French war. He undertook th at his private cost, that long deferred justice might be done these men, a set apart lands which were, by his influence, later divided among the su vivors.

So matters stood when, on the 5th of September, 1774, the first Con nental Congress assembled at Philadelphia, in accordance with a plan agre upon by the various colonial bodies. The Virginia delegation consisted Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henr Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edward Pendleton—truly a magni cent group of men, well worthy the colony which sent them; well fitted meet the grave emergency of the hour. Every colony, save Georgia, w represented, and as a preliminary measure, it was determined to give eac colony a single vote upon any question which might come before the Co gress. The solemnity of this most momentous meeting was deepened by th circulation of a report that Boston had been cannonaded by the British flee which rumor bore all the weight of truth. The men gathered in the roo which may, better than any other, be called the cradle of American libert had taken their property, if not their lives, into their hands in so gatherin to condemn and oppose the action of Great Britain, and their words an resolutions were such as to leave no doubt that life and property were alik lightly held, as compared with the inestimable right of civil liberty. Th first resolution of the Congress was a re-assertion of the principles and pr tests that had been again and again framed and formulated by local asser blies and committees, and forwarded to the King and Parliament, withou

eliciting reply or remedy. The second was the adoption of a bill of rights, thus epitomized by Irving: "In this were enumerated their natural rights to the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property; and their rights as British subjects. Among the latter was participation in legislative councils. This they could not exercise through representatives in Parliament. They claimed, therefore, the power of legislating in their provincial assemblies, consenting, however, to such acts of Parliament as might be essential to the regulation of trade; but excluding all taxation, internal or external, for the raising of revenue in America. The common law of England was claimed as a birthright, including the right of trial by a jury of the vicinage; of holding public meetings to consider grievances; and of petitioning the King. The benefits of all such statutes as existed, at the time of the colonization, were likewise claimed, together with the immunities and privileges granted by royal charters, or secured by provincial laws. The maintenance of a standing army in any colony, in time of peace, without the consent of its Legislature, was pronounced contrary to law. The exercise of the legislative power in the colonies, by a council appointed during pleasure by the crown, was declared to be unconstitutional and destructive of the freedom of American legislation."

Then followed a specification of the acts of Parliament passed during the reign of George III., infringing and violating these rights. These were: The sugar act; the stamp act; the two acts for quartering troops; the tea act; the act suspending the New York Legislature; the two acts for the trial in Great Britain of offenses committed in America; the Boston port bill; the act for regulating the government of Massachusetts, and the Quebec act.

"To these grievances, acts, and measures," it was added, "Americans cannot submit, but in hopes their fellow subjects in Great Britain, will, on a revision of them, restore us to that state in which both countries found happiness and prosperity, we have, for the present only, resolved to pursue the following peaceable measures:

"1. To enter into a non-importation, non-consumption, and non-exportation agreement, or association.

"2. To prepare an address to the people of Great Britain, and a memorial to the inhabitants of British America.

"3. To prepare a loyal address to His Majesty."

The Congress remained in session fifty-one days; it sat, as has been said, with closed doors; it had no reporters, and, were it not for the official papers promulgated, and the fragmentary statements embodied in the journals of members, the world would have remained forever in ignorance of its proceedings. Of Washington's part in its debates we have no distinct record; he had no independent vote, and the account surviving tells us nothing of the attitude he assumed. Patrick Henry has, however, left

us an invaluable legacy in these words, spoken to a friend upon his return home: "If you speak of eloquence, Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, is by far the greatest orator; but, if you speak of solid information and sound judgment, Colonel Washington is unquestionably the greatest man on the floor." So far as Washington is concerned, this statement will readily be accepted as accurate, but Henry did himself an injustice. There exists, in the journal of more than one member, evidence that the first speech of the young Virginian in Congress, closing with the famous words: "I am not a Virginian, but an American," marked him as the most eloquent of his people. Who can say too much in praise of the wisdom, the bravery, the determination and yet the moderation of the body of men which composed that first Congress. The words of a wise and just opponent say more for them than could the warmest encomiums of friends and countrymen. He said in the House of Lords: "When your lordships look at the papers transmitted to us from America; when you consider their decency, firmness, and wisdom, you cannot but respect their cause and wish to make it your own. For myself, I must declare and avow that, in the master states of the world, I know not the people or senate, who, in such a complication of difficult circumstances, can stand in preference to the delegates of America assembled in general Congress in Philadelphia."

Gage had, in the meantime, adopted measures even more stringent than before, for the reduction of Boston to order and loyalty. He moved troops out of the city by night and took possession of the powder stored in a public magazine at Charlestown. In the morning a large force of armed colonists assembled, with the declared intention of marching against the city, but better counsels prevailed, and the affair ended with no worse result than the loss of the munitions and the spreading of the false report of the cannonading of Boston, already referred to. In Virginia the war feeling was thoroughly aroused. The independent companies, commonly in existence, were multiplied and increased, and Washington was constantly assailed for advice and counsel. He joined heartily in sympathy with the spirit of resistance, should such course prove necessary, and asserted his readiness to assume command of the Virginia troops in the event of war.

Early in the year 1770 Lord Grafton resigned the portfolio of prime minister of England, and Lord North was named his successor. The latter seems to have appreciated the grave dangers which threatened the English power in America, but not to have comprehended the fact that the matter had been reduced to a conflict for principle, not merely for pecuniary gain. Under his advice, all the duties levied in 1767, *save that on tea*, were removed —the latter being maintained for the assertion of the right of the crown to tax its colonies. He was urged to relinquish this exception, but said: "The properest time to exert our right to taxation is when the right is refused. To temporize is to yield; and the authority of the mother country, if it

is now unsupported, will be relinquished forever. A total repeal cannot be thought of till America is prostrate at our feet." Thus the new premier, not only nullified the effect of his concessions, but aroused by his utterances an antagonism far more serious and determined than any that had gone before. As a consequence, a general covenant was entered into, and strictly adhered to throughout the colonies, not to use any tea until the tax was removed. The effect of the non-tea-drinking policy in America was disastrous to the East India company, which accumulated in its London warehouses the thousands upon thousands of chests that would have naturally supplied the colonial market. Government interfered to protect its pet corporation, by the passage of an act freeing the commodity from export duties, thus enabling the company to sell it so cheaply in America that it was hoped the colonies might be tempted from their pledge. Ships were at once loaded and cleared for the various American ports; from some they returned to London with unbroken cargoes; at others they unloaded and the tea spoiled in warehouses and cellars; nowhere was the tea sold in any considerable quantity. It was reserved for Boston to give the most decisive proof of determination to receive or consume no taxable goods. Vessels laden with tea reaching that port, a small quantity was landed, but its sale was prohibited. The governor refused to give the vessels clearance to return to England, and there was every evidence of a determination to test the colonies to the utmost, by compelling the retention and the landing of the cargoes. On the night of the 16th of December, 1773, a party of young men, disguised as Indians, boarded the vessels and, to the last chest, threw the tea into the harbor.

So soon as the news of this action reached England, Parliament passed an act closing the port of Boston and removing the custom office to Salem, thus seeking by direct retaliation to reduce the spirit of citizens of a town which, more than any other, had earned the displeasure of the crown. Not content with this, subsequent legislation provided that all judicial officers of the province should be appointed by the crown, to hold office during the royal pleasure, and that persons accused of capital offences, committed in aid of the magistrates, might be removed to other colonies or to England for trial. When the news of this legislation reached America it everywhere met with the unmeasured condemnation of the people. Public meetings in Boston and New York adopted resolutions expressing a sense of the outrage, and the Virginia House of Burgesses declared similar sentiments and was promptly dissolved. On the 1st of June the order closing the port of Boston went into effect, and the day was kept as one of fasting and prayer throughout the colonies.

General Gage, the officer who led the advance in Braddock's battle with the French, was the newly appointed commandant at Boston, and upon him was imposed the responsibility of enforcing the regulations of the crown, and,

somewhat unjustly, the ignominy that of necessity attached to the application of measures so severe. General Gage did not assume the attitude of one commanding the protective garrison of a friendly city; his action was that of armed occupation, for restraint, if not for punishment. The neck which unites the peninsula, upon which Boston is built, with the main land, was entirely entrenched; guns mounted in the works with muzzles pointing landward, and every preparation made to meet and successfully resist any movement which might be made by the colonists, against the troops of the king. The commander showed little tact in dealing with the people of Boston, who were in an extremely excited state; the public meetings, which aroused his apprehension, were prohibited to be held, after a given date, but this order was practically nullified by the citizens, who kept alive the meetings already convened.



PATRICK HENRY

CHAPTER X.

CONCORD, LEXINGTON, AND THE SIEGE OF BOSTON.

AT last came the night of the famous 18th of April, 1775. Gage held Boston with a force of eight thousand men, strongly placed, defended by land batteries, and supported by the guns of men-of-war in the harbor. Urged by his own pride and the solicitations of the toadies about him, he determined to capture the public arsenal at Concord, twenty miles from the city. Though preparations were made with great secrecy, and all roads leading to the city were picketed, information of the design leaked out, and when, on the night of the 18th, nine hundred infantry embarked in boats and landed in Cambridge, a lantern hung in the tower of the old South Church flashed out the intelligence to the patriots, and before the movement was well begun, that famous "midnight ride of Paul Revere," had spread the news through the dark and sleeping villages before the troops. Consequently the advance was made to the unwelcome music of alarm guns and pealing bells. The commander of the expedition, Colonel Swift, sent back for reinforcements, while Major Pitcairn pushed on to secure the way and the bridges at Concord. At Lexington a handful of armed colonists—less than seventy—drawn up in order on the common, awaited the coming regulars. Major Pitcairn ordered them to disperse; some one—on which side no one will ever know—fired a shot, a general desultory firing followed, eight of the continentals fell dead and ten wounded, the first blood had been shed in an armed collision between king and colonies,—the war of the Revolution was begun.

At Concord the time had permitted of a larger gathering; every effort was made to remove and conceal the munitions contained in the magazine, and with so much success that little remained for the regulars when they came. The continentals, hearing of the collision at Lexington, were excited to the highest degree, but finding themselves three times outnumbered by the advancing force, retired to an eminence near the town, while

the British conducted the almost futile search, and sacking of the magazine. The regulars arrived at 7 o'clock in the morning. About 10 o'clock, the northerly bridge of the two that span the Concord river in the village being held by the British, the defending body was attacked by a force of three hundred Americans, who, after some loss, carried the bridge and forced the regulars back upon the main body. Colonel Swift, having completed his work, determined to retreat, and set out upon an orderly retrograde movement toward Boston. The provincials now took the offensive; dispersing upon the flanks of the enemy, after the backwoods fashion, firing from behind trees, stumps, and stone fences; presenting no target for the volleys of the regulars, yet making every bullet from their own guns effective; galling the enemy in the open country; assailing him so closely, where the road passed through woodland, as to make fearful havoc in his ranks, these inexperienced farmers and blacksmiths, absolutely without a leader, acting in no concert, save that which arose from a community of wrongs, drove a superior force of the flower of British regulars from retreat to rout, from rout to headlong, disorderly flight, a flight in which no man paused to raise his fallen or wounded comrade from the ground, until, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, a brigade of one thousand men, sent as reinforcements from Boston, opened its ranks to receive the panting and terror-stricken fugitives to the protection of its guns and muskets. This modern Thermopylæ was the first victory of America; the parallel, in less degree, of Braddock's disaster at Duquesne. The pursuit was only given over at sunset, the provincials being called to a halt at Charlestown common. Their forces had been constantly increased by the arrival of minute men and others, who had left their homes so soon as word of the battle reached them, armed with whatever weapons they could command. Had the royal force shown but a little less zeal in the flight, their annihilation or capture would have been assured. As it was, the body of men who had moved so confidently out as for a holiday expedition, entered Boston as thoroughly demoralized as ever were royal troops, sent to face plow-boys and clodhoppers.

In Virginia, at the very time when came the news of the affair at Concord, Lord Dunmore, the Governor, was engaged in carrying into effect the royal mandate, by seizing all stores and munitions of war within the colony. Only his timely retreat from this determination saved him, unpracticed as he was, from capture.

The mustering of forces in the East was speedy, and augured ill for Gage. All the New England colonies began the levy of troops to assist their neighbors of Massachusetts. Among others, Generals Artemas Ward and Israel Putnam, hastened to offer their services, and the former was advanced to the command of the camp, where were stationed the forces of the allied colonies.

During the following month the daring exploits of Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold accomplished the capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point, and the opening of the only available highway to Canada, and all without the loss or even wounding of a man.

On the 10th of May, 1775, the Second Continental Congress assembled at Philadelphia. A formal petition to the crown was again adopted, but the pressing and absorbing measure was as to the recognition and maintenance of the Massachusetts army, which was really besieging Boston. A federation of the colonies was proposed, leaving each to regulate its internal affairs, but reposing the central authority in an executive committee of twelve. A resolution to admit any colony that might still apply, though it had not been represented in the former Congress, brought Georgia into line, and the Congress was ready to take practical legislative action. It authorized the issuing of notes to the amount of three million dollars, for which the faith of the colonies should be pledged, and directed the purchase of supplies, the enlistment and equipment of troops, and the construction of fortifications; then it turned to the consideration of the army of New England. It is not surprising that there should have been a disagreement on this point. The Southern men urged that, the army having been recruited in New England, if a commander in chief were appointed from the same section, any contribution which the South might make would be but to an alien force. New England, on the other hand, held that for the very reason that they had armed and equipped the troops, and had shed the first blood, they were entitled to the command. General Artemas Ward was already at the head of the army, and the men were quite satisfied with him; John Hancock, though he had never seen service except in the militia, was anxious for the honor; Colonel Charles Lee, a brilliant officer, but a foreigner and an adventurer, was in the lists, as well. Washington's name was prominently before the Congress, but he had no agency in the matter. When John Adams, with a spirit of true patriotism, determined to throw over all sectional considerations, arose in his place and, without using a name, clearly indicated his preference for Washington, the latter, who sat near the door, hastened from the room, determined no longer to take part in the debate. The question was not then decided; it was determined to hold it open and take the sense of the people on the subject, but, this having been done, there remained no question that Washington was the popular candidate, and he was consequently, on the 15th of June, 1775, named commander in chief of all the forces of the united colonies. At the same time it was determined to properly clothe, arm, equip, and pay the army already assembled in New England and to supplement its strength with ample reinforcement.

Washington felt natural gratification at his selection, and accepted the trust with an avowed intention to fulfil it to the utmost of his power, but

there is no question that he united with this grateful feeling a profound distrust of his own ability to perform its duties. Although his pay had been fixed by Congress at five hundred dollars per month, he declined all compensation, saying that he would keep an exact account of his actual expenses, and would rely upon Congress to discharge the same. Immediately upon receiving his appointment Washington set out for New England. His only previous visit to that colony had been with the purpose of determining the relative standing of a royal and a provincial officer; this later one had the same object, but the question was to be settled by a very different arbitrament. He was met by a committee of the Massachusetts Legislature and escorted to the camp by a body of militia and many citizens. Upon his arrival he was presented with an address of the House of Representatives, of so cordial a nature as clearly to indicate that any momentary disappointment the people might have felt at the non-appointment of a New England man as commander, had quite passed away. Having thus arrived on the 2d day of July, 1775, the first duty of the new commandant was to reconnoiter the position of the enemy.

Already, on the 17th of June, two days after Washington's appointment, had occurred the first organized battle of the war; that truly wonderful struggle for the possession of Breed's and Bunker's Hills. On the night of the 16th General Putnam and Colonel Prescott, with one thousand two hundred men, poorly equipped and utterly undisciplined, crossed unobserved the jealously guarded neck, fortified Breed's hill, the eminence nearer Boston; threw out a flanking work of fence-rails and hay, extending to the river marshes; built a second fortification upon Bunker's hill, in the rear, and, when daylight came, presented, to the eyes of the astonished British, series of works upon both eminences commanding the city, already armed with artillery and manned by a force of no insignificant strength. General Gage was not only mortified but alarmed at the discovery; he saw that the provincials were in a position to cannonade the city, and that their dislodgement was not simply a matter of military policy, but one of absolute necessity. Consequently, after the Americans had been for some hours the objects of a terrible cannonading from men-of-war in the river, and from floating batteries upon the Mystic, a large force, under General Howe, was moved across in boats, with directions to carry the works by assault. Some delay, on the part of the British, gave time for the arrival of General Stark, with a reinforcement of five hundred Connecticut regulars. These were sent to strengthen Putnam, who was in command at the fence already referred to, while Prescott remained in the redoubt. At last the British, numbering some two thousand men, advanced, confident of an easy victory. General Howe detailed General Pigot with a portion of the force, to ascend the hill and carry the redoubt, while he himself, with the remainder, dislodged Putnam, turned the flank of the Americans, and cut off

their retreat. Both bodies moved steadily on, firing occasional almost harmless volleys, until within a few yards of the American works, when the provincials, who had been directed to reserve their fire, received them with volleys so accurately directed, and so terribly effective, as to utterly confuse them, and compel a retirement most hasty and disorderly, some of the men, as we are told, not pausing until they reached the boats. A second attempt resulted, after more determined effort, in the same way, the British force falling back with terrible slaughter.

Between the rail fence and the redoubt was a gap which the patriots had been unable, for lack of time, to fill. This, it was resolved, should be the objective point of a third assault, which General Howe, against the entreaties of his advisers, determined to make. Making a feint with the main body against the fence, General Howe brought his artillery to bear upon this open space, then led his main body in an assault. Both forces reserved their fire—the Americans had their last ammunition in their pieces, one volley was exchanged at short range, followed by a bayonet attack by the British, and a desperate hand to hand struggle for the possession of every inch of ground, which ultimately resulted in the retreat of the Americans, who, had they repulsed the enemy in that attack, could not have held the works, by reason of the fact that they had absolutely no ammunition. At the fence Putnam held the detachment of the enemy until after the evacuation of the redoubt, then joined in the retreat, which the British were too crippled and fatigued to molest. There seems little doubt that, had the ammunition of the Americans not fallen short, the redoubt would have been held, reinforced during the night, and rendered almost impregnable, thus putting Boston at the mercy of the provincial artillery. As it was, of the two thousand British engaged, one thousand two hundred and fifty were killed or wounded, while the one thousand seven hundred Americans lost but four hundred and fifty. Such, in bare outline, was the famous battle which taught the British a second lesson as to the real stuff of which the American is made, and which, although it failed of its main object, was of invaluable service in inspiring the patriot soldiers with confidence in themselves, and in ridding them of their tendency to over-estimate the value of scarlet cloth, brass buttons, and gold lace. On the other hand, it was sufficient to impress the Continental Congress with the necessity of having a single head to the army—thus strengthening Washington's position, and also giving substantial force to his demands for organized ordnance and commissary departments.

Washington, upon his arrival, found the British army some eight thousand strong, supported by the guns of the fleet and the Mystic river batteries, and busy in fortifying the twin hills which it had cost them so much to win. A battery upon Copp's hill, on the Boston side of the water, a division of troops encamped on Roxbury neck, and a comparatively small

body of cavalry and infantry in the city itself, completed the arrangement and assignment for defense.

The American army straggled over a distance of not less than twelve miles, from a point beyond Roxbury, toward Dorchester, where the right rested, across the Charles river to the position of the left on the Mystic. Every inch of this extensive line it was necessary to block, in order to continue the imprisonment of the British. For this service Washington found at his disposal fourteen thousand five hundred men. The simple statement of this force, however, gives a false idea of its actual efficiency. It lacked everything in the way of organization, the troops had come as volunteers from different colonies, were separately encamped, and, while they had, by common consent, recognized General Ward as first in command, they were subservient to their various commanders in all matters within and appertaining to their several bodies, and there was quite as much variety in the matter of discipline as of dress and armament. There was no recognition in most cases of any superiority of non-commissioned and platoon officers over the rank and file—the men living on terms of perfect equality with all. There was no common source of supply of sustenance and munitions. Each colony pretended to supply its own levies, and Washington found it necessary to correspond with the officers of every colony—sometimes actually with the officers and committees of towns. There was lack of tents —hence the men made themselves shelters or were quartered in barracks. The army was primarily divided into three divisions; the command of the right, about Roxbury, assigned to General Ward; the left, lying on the Mystic, placed in charge of Major-general Lee; the center Washington commanded, having his headquarters at Cambridge.

His own judgment was that it was vitally important by some means to crush the British force in Boston before the active war measures in England should compass its reinforcement. He believed that no more favorable time for the accomplishment of the desired result would ever occur than then offered, and, although his own force was so greatly inferior in discipline, and equipment, he believed that a *coup de main*, well planned and boldly executed, might be successful, and would well repay the heavy loss that must surely attend it. One of the first orders given by the commander in chief was that a strict account be taken of all powder on hand, and a report be made to him. The officer charged with the duty returned with the answer that there were three hundred and three barrels in store. This, though not a large stock, was sufficient for an emergency, and Washington only awaited a fitting opportunity to adopt offensive measures, when there came a second report to the effect that, instead of the amount first stated, there was barely enough powder in the magazines to make nine cartridges for each man, and none at all for artillery use! This egregious error had arisen from the making of the first report on the basis of the original amount of

powder furnished by the various colonies, making no deduction for the amount used in muskets and cannon at the battle of Bunker's Hill. Thus Washington found himself not only entirely helpless, so far as any offensive movement was concerned, but in a position where, should the British make a sortie, he could not hope to make a successful resistance. His only hope lay in the ignorance of his condition on the part of the enemy, and the preservation of this he did his utmost to assure, in the meantime dispatching the most pressing messages to Congress and to the authorities of the various colonies, representing his condition of literal helplessness, and begging for succor. In spite of all this effort two weeks elapsed before the first response came; then it was in the form of a very small supply of powder from New Jersey, but, meagre as it was, an equal weight of gold would not have been more welcome, for it enabled the army, if attacked, to make at least one stand against the enemy. In spite of all the address used in preventing knowledge of this lack of ammunition coming to the ears of the beleaguered British, there can be little doubt that they did, in fact, learn of it, but could not be led to believe that an army of rustics, without bayonets or powder, would have the assurance to continue the siege of a city so garrisoned, and dismissed the report as a story invented to entrap them. Notwithstanding all the weaknesses and disadvantages which have been indicated, Washington saw in the force under his command "the materials of a good army." He had men in considerable number; these men were enthusiastic, determined, and brave, beyond question. What they needed was organization, discipline, equipment, and maintenance. The first two needs he felt himself competent to supply; the others he trusted to Congress to furnish, and he had much encouragement to believe that none of the difficulties would prove insuperable, and that, within the space of a few months, at least, he should find himself at the head of an army as effective as the emergency demanded. After making the three grand divisions referred to, he passed to the organization of divisions and brigades, placing upon the shoulders of generals in command the drill and discipline of the men. He promulgated rules, prescribed punishments for their infraction, and soon made unruly and insubordinate soldiers realize the fact that they were no longer attached to mere levies, but were factors in a regularly organized army. Imprisonment, flogging, even death, were fixed as penalties for misbehavior, and were rigorously applied whenever guilt was established.

In the meantime both besieged and besiegers were busy in strengthening their works, neither averse to a fight, neither secure enough of the result to risk taking the initiative. Boston was beginning to sorely feel the restraints of the siege and to suffer for lack of fresh meat and vegetables. Only by sea could these be obtained, and even that means of supply was uncertain and attended with danger. Washington recommended that cattle be driven inland, and that such other supplies as could be readily transported be

removed beyond the reach of foragers from the coast. There came bitter and piteous complaints of the rapacity of the English from coastwise towns and villages, with urgent requests for armed protection from the army before Boston. Washington could not detail troops for outside service without risking the loss of the main end of the campaign, and he so answered those who had appealed to him, saying that they must rely upon their own militia for local protection. So much dissatisfaction was, however, felt at this ruling, and so pertinacious were the demands made upon him, that the commander was obliged to obtain from Congress the passage of a resolution to the effect that the army had been organized for service against Boston and the regular forces of Great Britain, and that it must not be weakened for especial service of the kind. This to a degree relieved Washington from what had been a very annoying importunity, and, at the same time, induced the citizens of exposed districts to organize quite efficiently for the protection of their homes, a result that greatly assisted in the maintenance of the blockade and in the annoyance of the British. At Newport, Rhode Island, the town having suffered somewhat severely from the depredations of the British, the committee made an agreement with the commander on the station to supply him with necessary provisions, being in return guaranteed against loss or damage from his vessels or men. It was necessary for Washington to interfere to secure the overthrow of this injurious arrangement.

In July, 1775, Georgia, the only colony heretofore unrepresented, chose delegates to the Congress, and the phrase, adhered to thereafter, "The Thirteen United Colonies," was assumed as the title of the alliance. Upon the meeting of Congress, one of the most pressing matters claiming its attention was provision for some manner of maritime service, without which it was difficult to maintain a blockade or in any manner to protect the towns and cities upon the American seacoast. Pending the building and equipment of vessels adequate to direct competition with those of the English navy, it was proposed to grant letters of marque and reprisal to all applicants and thus, by appealing to a desire for plunder, secure the arming, at no cost to the colonies, of an efficient fleet of privateers. Congress hesitated to adopt a measure so radically hostile in tone, and was contented, instead, with voting a resolution authorizing the capture or destruction of any vessel in any manner aiding the enemies of the United Colonies. This resolution was so worded as to convey, under cover of apparent moderation, license to attack any possible vessel bearing the British flag. The result was exactly what had been anticipated and desired. All along the American coast there sprang into being, as if by magic, a fleet of privateers—small, swift, more or less completely armed—manned by hardy seamen who knew every curve and indentation of the coast—who could elude pursuit by running into shallow water, and who knew no fear of either wind or lead. These men had many of them suffered by the rapacity of the British.

All were fully alive to the pecuniary advantage of capturing a merchantman or cutting off a convoy. Hence their service was of the most efficient; the British merchant marine suffered seriously, as did the military transports bearing troops, arms, ammunition, and supplies to the British army in America. The double advantage of depriving the royal army of needed munitions and of obtaining the same to relieve the desperate straits of the Americans was keenly felt by Congress, and the privateersmen reaped abundant reward for their services. Their captures, too, constantly strengthened their own fleet and enabled the colonies to lay the foundation of a navy.

Congress also took steps to provide for the better arming and equipment of its army, and for meeting the problem of re-enlistment—one scarcely less serious or difficult. To thoroughly appreciate the mistakes of army organization that began with the war and were never entirely rectified, it is necessary to appreciate that, until nearly the middle of the year 1776, the idea of independence as the ultimate object of the war had not gained ground among the better class of Americans. When arms were first taken up it was with no other object than to resist the asserted right to tax the colonies. The leaders of the people from the first regarded an accommodation of the difficulty as the highest and best thing to be hoped for, provided such an accommodation were obtained with no sacrifice of honor or principle. Even when the batteries at Boston were thundering at each other; when the dead of king and colonies were buried; when wounded groaned in the hospitals and prisoners languished in jails, the Continental Congress appointed a day of fasting and prayer, one of the objects of which was to implore the Almighty "to bless our rightful sovereign, King George III., and inspire him with wisdom." The spirit which induced this dedication gives a clue to the cause of the fundamental error of enlisting men, not for the period during which their services should be required, or for a long and definite term, but for one year. From the outset of his service at Cambridge until late in the war, Washington was compelled each year to raise and reduce to discipline a new army, thus crippling himself and damaging the cause of the colonies beyond computation.

Matters in and before Boston remained in a state of unbroken quiet until late in August, when, a somewhat better organization having been effected, and the supply of ammunition being increased, Washington determined that he would, if possible, provoke a sortie. To this end he detached a force of fourteen hundred men, and during the night seized and fortified a height on Charlestown neck, within musket shot of the enemy's lines. At daybreak the astonished British, discovering the American battery, opened a heavy cannonading from Bunker's hill, but kept behind their defenses, and did little damage. The Americans had not sufficient ammunition to

warrant them in engaging in an artillery duel, and worked busily in strengthening their works, only answering the fire of the enemy with an occasional shot from a nine pounder. A ball from one of these sunk a British floating battery, but the expedient was fruitless in provoking an engagement.

CHAPTER XI.

FIRST CANADIAN CAMPAIGN—EVACUATION OF BOSTON.

THE scope of this work will not permit of closely following the movements of the war, save as they directly involved and affected the fortunes of the commander in chief. Active operations had at this time been commenced in the North, and, with varying fortune, these were continued until, at one time, Canada seemed in the grasp of the colonies. Fort Ticonderoga had been surprised and captured by Allen; Crown Point, and, in fact, Lake Champlain, were in the hands of the colonists. The rivalry of Arnold and Greene had resulted in an advantage for Arnold and in his remaining in command at Ticonderoga.

To fully appreciate the condition of affairs, it should be remembered that Canada was a recently conquered territory of Great Britain; that the old French population was perforce submissive—not loyal; that the settlement of English and Scotch had only laid the foundation for the British population and spirit of a century later. The old forts and garrisons had been kept up, and the mission of reconciliation and peace was then preached by England, as later in India and Zululand, with cannon and muskets to emphasize its arguments. In other words, England's tenure of Canada was but little more than an armed occupation. Under these circumstances, the desirability of attaching native Canadians to the cause of the revolting colonies was obvious, and at once attracted the attention of Washington and others. Nor was it so difficult an operation. The results of the expeditions undertaken clearly prove that, with little more adequate means, even with the slender force employed, had circumstances been more favorable, Canada would have passed from British control; the guns and defences of the chain of forts from Detroit to Quebec, would have been turned against the king; the sympathy and assistance of His Most Christian Majesty of France would have been sooner enlisted, and the war of Independence must have been more speedily terminated.

In accordance with this idea, it was arranged that Schuyler, with all his available force, should set out in boats from Ticonderoga, if possible reduce St. Johns, and press forward against Montreal and other St. Lawrence posts. Having secured these he was to proceed to Quebec, make a junction with Benedict Arnold, who had orders to proceed overland through Maine, and, with the capture of Quebec, complete the expulsion of the British from eastern Canada and leave the surrender of Detroit and other western forts a certainty. Schuyler was then at Albany, and at once hastened to Ticonderoga to carry out his orders, while Arnold immediately set out, with about one thousand men, on his perilous march toward Quebec. Arrived at Ticonderoga Schuyler found that Montgomery, the gallant veteran left in command of that fort, hearing of a projected movement of the British through the Sorel, against Lake Champlain, had already embarked a force and moved northward. Schuyler followed, though so ill as to be carried aboard a boat on his bed. He found Montgomery still moving northward, and a landing was effected on the Isle aux Noix, twelve miles from St. Johns. Ethan Allen was sent out to obtain recruits among the Canadians. He learned that Montreal was but slenderly garrisoned, and, with his usual disregard of orders, marched against it, with the hope of repeating his Ticonderoga exploit. In this he failed, his men were scattered or captured, and he placed in irons upon a British man-of-war and sent to England, where he remained in confinement until 1778. In the meantime the movement against St. Johns was carried on, and after Allen's fiasco, Carleton moved to its relief with a motley force of regulars, Canadians, and Indians. At the mouth of the Sorel he was surprised and compelled to return to Montreal with loss. St. Johns then capitulated, and with its much needed ordnance and stores fell into the hands of Montgomery. The latter at once pushed on to the St. Lawrence, and Carleton, alarmed, evacuated Montreal and took refuge upon one of the vessels of the British flotilla. The fleet was blockaded by the American batteries at the mouth of the Sorel and could not escape. Montgomery took possession of the city and later captured the fleet, but Carleton had escaped down the river in disguise.

Now came the sad disappointment and the ruin of a campaign so auspiciously begun and so bravely prosecuted. Arnold, in the face of inconceivable hardship, peril, and destitution, had ascended to the head waters of the Kennebec. Thence he had forced himself through an almost unbroken and trackless wilderness, and emerged upon the banks of the St. Lawrence, opposite the city of Quebec. Spies had warned the British commander of his danger, and every boat upon the southern side of the river had been removed or destroyed. Undaunted by this Arnold embarked in the frail bark canoes of the Indians, crossed the river, followed the brave Wolfe's footsteps to the plains of Abraham and stood before the ancient and

ill garrisoned city, unsuspected as unannounced. The gate of St. John's was the nearest entrance, and Arnold, with his seven hundred effective men, desired to attack it. It was open, and unguarded, and, had the council of war which overruled the commander but known this, Quebec would probably have fallen; but, alarmed by the strong defenses of the city, they could not bring themselves to an assault with a force of but seven hundred men, and Arnold reluctantly gave way to them. Soon the city was aroused, the gate secured. Arnold sent a flag demanding surrender; the flag was insulted. Another flag was sent, with no better result, when he withdrew to a point fifteen miles up the river, to await Montgomery. Here arose the trouble. Montgomery had no sooner gained possession of Montreal, and captured the flotilla of the British, than he proposed to proceed at once to Quebec. Then he was shocked and disheartened to find that his men, save only a very few, refused to go farther. The rigor of a Canadian winter was at hand, the time of service was almost expired, the men were weary, homesick, and insufficiently clothed. They were only common, little educated men; they were ill-disciplined, and knew nothing of subordination,—all these things may be said in extenuation, yet the fact remains, that their desertion was a base and ignominious one, and the source of incalculable injury to the cause which was their own. Priceless hours and days were lost in an effort to induce them to remain, then they straggled homeward, and left their gallant commander, with a sad remnant of his force—only about three hundred men—to hasten down the river to the assistance of Arnold.

The united body numbered less than one thousand men. Had Montgomery been able to bring his entire force, Quebec must have capitulated or fallen. Now, the city was reinforced, Carleton was in command, and the demands of the pitiful body of men without its walls were treated with contempt. The watch before those walls, the reiterated demands for surrender, the suffering from cold, the deaths by small pox and other diseases, and the final assault, upon that snowy morning—the 31st of December, 1775—when Montgomery, with but seven hundred and fifty men, sought to capture a walled and garrisoned town—all this stands out upon the pages of America's record, as one of the bravest and most glorious efforts in her history. With the old year went out the life of the noble Montgomery, and many another brave fellow; Arnold, wounded and grief-stricken, dragged himself from the field with his handful of exhausted and disheartened troops, scarcely five hundred in number, and sat down to watch before the walls until succor should come. But Canada was lost. A victory at Quebec would have brought her people flocking to the colonial standard; a defeat depressed and discouraged them.

It is difficult to leave this brief discussion of the Canadian expedition without saying a word for Arnold. Had he fallen that snowy night, his name would have come down to us in glorious companionship with that of

the hero Montgomery; he had accomplished in his march to Quebec and his demonstration against the city, one of the most brilliant military feats in the history of America; he had shown himself brave, tireless, and devoted. He had overcome the final difficulties of his tremendous march, and cast himself in the face of the enemy, as if courting death. Had he done such deeds under attainder of treason, the world would have declared him cleansed of sin as by fire, but, with all the glory of his achievements upon him, he fell, the only traitor of the Revolution.

Washington was, in the meantime, very far from easy concerning affairs about Boston. The former serious perplexities of his position were much increased by the approach of the new year, at which time the term of enlistment of his soldiers expired. The immediate enthusiasm which had called the men to the field had subsided; long inactivity had discouraged them. They were neither so well fed, clothed, nor lodged, as to look forward to the coming of winter with much philosophy. There was, of course, a considerable element of the army moved by a deeper sense of responsibility and duty; this Washington knew must form the nucleus of his new force. His labor was incessant; he worked personally among the men; he endeavored to excite their patriotism by artificial means, as respiration is sought to be induced in a half drowned person. Patriotic songs were sung and music played; officers were conjured to use their influence directly with their troops. Upon the near approach of the end of the year the various colonies were requested to send minute men and militia to strengthen the lines. Such came forward quite liberally from some of the colonies, but, in spite of this contingent, the early part of January found the army of investment reduced to but ten thousand men, many of whom were undisciplined and many more dissatisfied. The New England soldiers who refused to remain and who set out homeward, found their way anything but a path of roses. People along the road would scarcely give them food or shelter, and when they reached their homes their wives, mothers, and sisters often met them with such scorn and contempt as to drive them back to re-enlist. Some took their guns and equipments with them by stealth, and an order was made that every man should leave his arms behind, though they belonged to him personally, and receive a fair price for the same, so lacking were the colonies in these primary means of pursuing the war. Washington wrote to the Governor of Massachusetts, reflecting in sharp terms upon the conduct of the troops from his colony, and received the answer sadly admitting the justice of the complaints and promising every assistance in his power toward making up the loss. In these trying times the cheerfulness and bravery of General Greene were sources of the greatest encouragement and satisfaction to Washington, and a personal confidence and friendship grew up between them which no circumstance ever interrupted.

Washington found himself at Boston in the midst of a circle which called for the exercise of a certain amount of formal hospitality. Himself too deeply engrossed in grave affairs to give personal attention to social matters, he at first very generally entrusted the oversight of the *menage* to Mr. Reed, of Philadelphia, his private secretary—a gentleman of great culture, fully competent to direct such affairs. The time came when Reed was compelled to resign his post for the sake of his private interests, and from that moment Washington was at sea in the matter of his various dinners and other entertainments. As was almost inevitable under such conditions, some inadvertencies or disregard of strict etiquette caused offense, and the report of this fact coming to the ears of Reed, he wrote to Washington apprising him of the truth. Washington's answer, disclaiming intention of slighting anyone, is almost pitiful in its tone; that he, with the lion in his path and the burthen of the colonies upon his shoulders, should have been annoyed by the buzzing of these social gnats, does indeed seem enough to try the patience of a man even more patient than he. All during the late summer and fall of 1775, reports had come to him that Lord Dunmore, royal Governor of Virginia, was breathing out threatenings and slaughter against the patriots of that colony, and that Mt. Vernon was in danger. Mrs. Washington was at Mt. Vernon and, though she herself made light of the supposed peril, Washington, by a letter dispatched to her in November of that year, advised her to come at once to Cambridge. She set out upon the toilsome journey, traveling slowly, detained by the difficulty of the road and the enthusiasm of the people, guarded by escorts furnished by the various colonies through which she passed, though she herself deemed such protection superfluous, at last arriving at headquarters late in the year 1775. Her splendid equipage—a carriage drawn by four black horses from the famous Mt. Vernon stud, each ridden by a negro servant, dressed in elaborate livery—attracted much attention, and some of the simple New Englanders did not hesitate to condemn it as savoring of royalty. No sooner had she come, than the social difficulties disappeared from the headquarters of the commander; with the ready grace which birth and breeding had made her own, she assumed her right as domestic dictator; her combined dignity and grace made the administration of her table and drawing-room the delight and wonder of the gay little circle which had grown up under the stern chaperonage of British cannon, and from that day invitations to the house of the commander were as eagerly sought as a hundred years later were bids to the table of the great poet who lived beneath the same roof.

January was a dark month before Boston, but through its earlier days Washington was encouraged by the well-founded hope that good news from Canada might come at any moment. Early in the month there was a stir of preparation in the harbor; an embarkation was evidently contem-

plated, but for what point, whether of a detachment, or whether an evacuation of the city, no one not in the loyalist councils could say. Congress and its military leaders had been greatly exercised over a letter from London exposing a British plan to obtain control of New York city and Albany, placing strong garrisons in each; to float vessels of war in the Hudson and the sound; to reduce Ticonderoga and Crown Point, by arms or by starvation, and to establish uninterrupted communication and an efficient co-operation between Quebec and New York. Even an unmilitary reader can see how disastrous this would have been to the colonies. Cutting them effectually in twain, it would have enabled the British to bring down levies of Canadians and Indians from the North, to render effective the tory spirit, ever stronger in New York than elsewhere in America, and would, in fact, have been the death blow of the Revolution and of the hopes of the patriots.

Hitherto, Washington had not acted in any matter of great importance without specific directions from Congress. Though such a supervision was vexatious and useless, it had not, before, threatened disaster. Now it seemed that the time had come for prompt and resolute action. General Lee, who, whatever may justly be said against him, could not be accused of wavering or indecision, had but just returned from a visit to Rhode Island, where he had gone to strengthen the patriotism of weak-kneed colonists, and to devise means for restraining the over-bold tories, who were openly avowing their loyalty to the crown. So soon as Lee learned of the active preparations on the part of the British for removal from Boston, he urged upon Washington the necessity of at once moving to occupy New York. He claimed,—and the course of subsequent campaigns vindicated his sagacity —that delay, in such an emergency, would surrender to the British all that they sought, and leave the Continental force powerless to resist. Hence he was importunate in his request that Washington for once overlook the general rule and move without consulting Congress. He acknowledged that no troops could with safety be detached from Boston, and only asked permission to go to Connecticut and raise a body of volunteers for the service, relying upon the co-operation of New York and New Jersey levies for the rest. For the New York tories, who had done so much to impede the cause of the colonies, he proposed heroic treatment. All were to be required to give up their arms, and the arms so obtained to be used in equipping patriot volunteers; a stringent oath, binding them to abstain from taking part, actively or otherwise, against the colonies, was to be proposed, and all who refused it to be imprisoned for the public safety; the property of non-jurors he recommended be confiscated, and, an appraisal of all property of royalists being made, that those who took the oath should be required to make a deposit equal to half the value of their possessions, as security for good behavior. Washington hesitated somewhat at taking so



ISRAEL PUTNAM.

radical and so independent a step. He had a natural veneration for authority, and it is doubtful if he would so far have ignored Congress had not John Adams, one of the leading members of that body, been at the time in Boston. To him the commander turned for advice, and Adams agreed with Lee as to the importance of immediate action, and while he was scarcely prepared to recommend all of these extreme measures, gave such advice that Washington empowered the younger officer to proceed to execute his plan. In Connecticut the latter met with unlooked for success. Men came to his standard with a readiness which, as he said, was only to be compared with their eagerness to go home, formerly displayed upon every occasion. A regiment had already been organized at and about New Haven, for a special service, and was just disbanded, by order of Congress, when Lee arrived. Governor Trumbull, however, readily consented that it be re-enlisted, and, with this and the addition of a large number of other volunteers, Lee was soon ready to move. Consternation seized New York. Tories saw, in the coming of a Connecticut army, the destruction of their cherished designs, while Whigs feared that its coming would provoke the British vessels in the harbor to a bombardment, that New York would be made a battle-ground, and the city destroyed. Many precipitately fled from the city, while others, of both parties, besought the committee of safety to urge Arnold not to cross the borders of the state. Pierre Van Cortland, president of the committee, wrote such a letter to Lee, begging him not to move into New York at once, as, from lack of ammunition and fortification, the city was not then in a condition to assail the fleet, or to resist its attacks. Lee replied that he had no intentions of taking offensive steps against the British at that time, and, if the ships should bombard the city, he would make the first house fired by their shells, the funeral pyre of some of their best friends. This last suggestion was not of a character to soothe weak tory nerves, and both parties in New York were evidently convinced that they had to deal with a man who would submit to no trifling. Lee, though suffering with a severe attack of the gout, and compelled to be borne in a litter, pushed on and reached New York on the 4th day of February, and on the same day Sir Henry Clinton, with the ships of war detached from Boston, entered the harbor. Finding the city in the possession of a superior military force, he shortly withdrew, saying that he had only come to pay a visit to "his friend, Governor Tryon." Lee, in a letter written to Washington, detailing the occurrence, said of this excuse: "If it is really so, it is the most whimsical piece of civility I ever heard of."

Before Lee had thus carried his project to execution, Washington's hopes for the success of the expedition against Canada were dashed by receiving a letter from Schuyler, detailing the disaster at Quebec. The reverse was indeed a most serious one to the colonies, by reason of its direct effects, as entailing the necessity of either quite abandoning Canada or of reinforcing

the handful of men remaining beyond the St. Lawrence, and as well, in the loss of Montgomery, one of the bravest and wisest of the patriot generals. Washington felt deep sorrow at the reverse of his arms and a poignant personal grief at the loss of his friend and companion in arms. The difficulty of reinforcement was met and a fresh force dispatched against Canada. Its failure to accomplish the desired result is a matter of general history, and its incidents cannot be followed here, but the news from the North redoubled Washington's anxiety to protect New York and the Hudson, since the British bade fair to command the St. Lawrence, if not the Sorel and Lake Champlain. In the meantime something was to be done in central New York. Tryon county was a nest of tories. Sir John Johnson's strong and isolated house at Johnstown, was being made a rallying place; Johnson had armed his Scotch tenantry and Indian neighbors, fortified his hall, and, with all the bravery of an old feudal knight or Highland chieftain, had sent out his defiance to the colonies. In case the necessity for opposing the ascent of the Hudson should arise, Johnson might prove more than an annoyance to the rear of the continental force. Hence Schuyler was dispatched from Albany to suppress the internal uprising. This he succeeded in doing, secured the capitulation of Sir John, placed that doughty champion on his parole, and brought away in triumph the arms, stores, and ammunition which had been accumulated at the hall.

Thus, for the time, New York and Boston became the centres of interest. Washington sadly regretted that he had been overruled in his plan to attack the latter at an early day in the siege. That which he most desired was a decisive engagement, before the British government should reinforce their American army to such a degree as to make the venture unsafe. As he himself said, they had been waiting for nearly a year for the river to freeze, so that an assault in force might be made upon the city, and when the much desired opportunity came the council of war deemed the attempt undesirable. In the meantime the army, the people, and even Congress were becoming restive under their continual inaction, and many, ignorant of the true condition of affairs, were ready to blame the commander that more had not been done. One of Washington's letters to Mr. Reed—letters which by their open confidence give the best knowledge of the general's perplexities and troubles in those trying times—says: "My own situation is so irksome to me at times that, if I did not consult the public good more than my own tranquility, I should long ere this have put everything on the cast of a die. So far from my having an army of twenty thousand men, well armed, I have been here with less than one-half that number, including sick, furloughed, and on command; and those neither armed nor clothed as they should be. In short, my situation has been such that I have been obliged to use art to conceal it from my own officers."

The winter thus wore away, until came the month of February. Gage

had long since given way to Howe, as commander of the British forces. Spring was at hand, and, with its coming, active operations were to be looked for. Clinton was prowling along the southern coast, with unknown destination, but no uncertain object. He felt the coast of Virginia, but found the colonial forces too strong to warrant molestation. Then he sailed away to the southward, to meet, later, a defeat at the hands of the gallant Moultrie. In the meantime some reinforcements had come to Washington, at Boston ; Knox had returned from Ticonderoga, with much needed artillery, and a supply of ammunition had been received from New York. The time to strike had evidently come. Washington called upon the colony of Massachusetts to hold its militia in readiness, and laid his plans to arm Lechmere Point, already fortified by Putnam, with heavy ordnance, to seize and fortify Dorchester heights, and thus, commanding the town from both north and south, to force Howe either to an engagement, or to evacuation. He also contemplated holding the works at Lechmere, with a body of picked men, under Putnam, who should, in case of a general attack upon the Dorchester works, at once move upon the city from the opposite side. This was a beautifully laid plan ; its execution was wonderful. The night of Monday, March 4th, was set for the attempt. During the nights of the 2d and 3d, the army was kept busy in preparing gabions and large, compact bundles of hay, to be used in erecting works, which the frozen condition of the ground rendered difficult. In the meantime a heavy artillery fire was kept up with the intention of diverting attention from the work of preparation, and answered by the British. In this it proved quite successful. How little of its real meaning was suspected, may be gathered from the following excerpt, from a letter written on the 3d, by a British officer to a friend at home: "For these last six weeks, or near two months, we have been better amused than could possibly have been expected in our situation. We had a theater, we had balls, and there is actually a subscription on foot for a masquerade. England seems to have forgotten us, and we have endeavored to forget ourselves. But we were aroused to a sense of our situation last night, in a manner unpleasant enough. The rebels have been, for some time past, erecting a bomb battery, and last night began to play upon us. Two shells fell not far from me. One fell on Colonel Monckton's house, but luckily did not burst until it had crossed the street. Many houses were damaged, but no lives lost. The rebel army is not brave, I believe, but it is agreed, on all hands, that their artillery officers are at least equal to ours."

On Monday evening, under cover of a heavy cannonade, two thousand men, with three hundred wagons, laden with intrenching tools, set out, under command of General Thomas, from the lines at Roxbury and Dorchester. A line of bundles of hay had been ranged along the exposed side of the Neck, to protect the moving troops, in case of discovery. Arrived

upon the heights, the party divided, and the arduous work of fortification was begun. The scene, taken in its full significance, was indeed an impressive one. Washington was himself on the ground. The moon was out, and far below, on one side, could be seen the streets and fortifications of the beleaguered city; beyond the bay, with its silent fleet; on the other hand lay the camp of the little army of the patriots. Between, working silently, save for the blows of mattocks upon the frozen ground, the thud of falling clods, and now and then a whispered order, the busy workers, upon whose silence and industry so much depended; on either hand, the roar of the guns, and, overhead, the shrill shrieking of the shells. Discovered too soon, the guns or bayonets of the British would drive the pioneers from their posts, and the reduction of Boston would be delayed until too late. But it was not discovered until daylight revealed to the astonished gaze of the awakened British two forts, so far advanced as to protect the workers within from the guns of the city. Howe saw them and exclaimed: "The rebels have done more work in one night, than my whole army would have done in one month." What a position for Howe, the chosen officer of the King! He had but shortly before written to his superiors, at home, that nothing was to be feared from the rebel army; that he would be pleased at an attack, and would hold Boston, until reinforcements should come. In the face of this self-satisfied boast, he now saw before him no other prospect than either to make an assault upon the superior position of the continental force, the wise placing of which counterbalanced all his advantages, derived from the training, discipline and equipment of troops, or to stultify himself before the home government by an evacuation of the city. It is probable that the latter course, from the first, appealed to his wisdom, but the former had the advocacy of his pride, and that fact decided his course.

All day, on the 5th of March, cannon thundered, and shot and shell poured into the opposing fortifications. The Americans were enthusiastic and confident, and the British dogged and desperate. A night attack had been determined upon by Howe, and, before darkness fell, two thousand five hundred men had been embarked for the service. But the God of battles willed that no attack be made; with the falling of the sun arose the wind, and before preparations for advance were completed, the surf was dashing high and dangerous upon the farther shore, and, for that night at least, it was necessary to forego the project. The next day and the next night were tempestous as well, and, through it all—the storm and darkness at night, the storm and iron hail by day—the Americans labored upon their defenses, so that, at last, when the wind fell and the sea was calm, Howe saw that, to force his men up that steep ascent, in the face of such fearful odds, would be no better than murder; hence he decided upon evacuation, and orders to that effect were promulgated. The city was at once the scene of wildest confusion; the lighter artillery, stores, and arms; the sick and

wounded; the wives and families of officers and soldiers; the tories, their families and household goods—all these were to be embarked. In addition there was a great work of destruction performed; such heavy ordnance as could not be removed was dismounted, or otherwise rendered useless; orders were given to remove to the fleet all clothing, and cotton, and woolen goods, which might be of value to the continental army, and, acting upon these orders, shops and private dwellings were sacked, and even furniture and pictures defaced and destroyed. Howe was determined not to make capitulation, but he dropped hints to some patriotic citizens, that if the army were allowed to embark unmolested, the city would be spared, but, otherwise, it would be burned behind them. This report reached Washington, and, knowing that the sufferers by such a retaliation would be those of certain sympathy with himself, he allowed the embarkation to proceed, hastened to the point of absolute confusion by the erection of a battery on Nooks' hill, accomplished in the face of a fierce cannonading, on the 16th of March. At 4 o'clock, on the 17th of March, the troops and loyalist citizens began to move aboard the seventy-eight vessels which lay in the harbor; on the same day a continental force entered the city, and, on the day following, Washington himself made his informal entry.

Thus ended one of the most remarkable military episodes in the history of the world. There have been more brilliant and showy achievements, but none greater in the true sense of greatness. Washington was called to be commander in chief of an army yet to be created from the heterogeneous material called together by the emergencies at Concord and Lexington, and lying before Boston with no allegiance save to their respective colonies, recognizing no obligation to obey any but their own immediate officers, utterly undisciplined as were the Parisian street mobs of '93, ill clothed, ill armed and ill equipped. Coming as the representative of a new central power, as yet but half recognized, and under the guns of a veteran army, skillful in war, equipped with all of war's best appliances, he organized not one but two armies; he for months held the flower of the British army cooped, like fowls, in Boston, when, at times, he had not ten thousand efficient men to array against them, and on at least one occasion had not powder to fire a cannon, after filling the cartridge boxes of his men. Again and again a prompt movement on the part of the British could not have failed of success, yet that movement was never made, and in spite of discontent from within the ranks, tardiness and lack of support in Congress, and criticism from without, he finally took the initiative and compelled the British to slink away from before his raw levies, without firing a shot or making a demonstration in resistance.

Washington went to Philadelphia in response to the summons of Congress, to find himself subjected to troubles as annoying as any he had met in the field. He had to overcome the conservative feeling which had not

yet learned to recognize as inevitable the separation of the colonies from the mother country. He labored under every disadvantage in convincing Congress of the necessity of reforming its military policy and placing the armies of the colonies upon an effective basis. His experience in the past had proved the truth of the epigram, "More soldiers are killed by the legislation of their friends than by the bullets of their enemies." He did not mince matters in his consultations at Philadelphia; he declared reconciliation to be a dangerous chimera; he quoted the action of the British in subsidizing foreign troops—news of which course had lately been received—as indicating a similar view on the part of Great Britain. He did not go to Congress with the prestige of uniform success. As commander in chief he was compelled to bear the burthen of all the military operations of the country, and the later enterprises in Canada, under Thomas, had not resulted much more fortunately than those under Montgomery. After holding Carleton a prisoner in Quebec for more than five months, burning the suburbs and battering the walls of the city, the Americans had been compelled by the arrival of reinforcements, and by a sortie of Carleton, to retire to Point Deschamboult, sixty miles from Quebec, and await reinforcements. In the face of this disaster Washington succeeded in persuading Congress to provide that soldiers be enlisted for two years, and that a bounty of ten dollars be paid to every man so enlisting; that the army at New York, pending the carrying out of this arrangement, should be reinforced until the 1st of December, by a force of thirteen thousand eight hundred militia; that fire ships be constructed to prevent the entry of the British fleet into the harbor of New York, and that a flying camp of ten thousand troops be stationed in New Jersey for the protection of the middle colonies. In addition, Washington was given authority to call upon the militia of the adjacent colonies, in case of emergency.

Hitherto, the prosecution of the war had been clumsily and inadequately provided for, by the reference of war questions to various committees. The commander now urged the organization of a war department, and, as a consequence, was established a Board of War and Ordnance, consisting of five members, whose duties began January 12th. In the meantime Virginia had formulated the public opinion of the country by declaring in favor of independence. This movement, coming from his own colony, received the warmest commendation of Washington. The "spasm of common sense" which seized the Congress and resulted in all these enactments looking to the reform of the army, did not result in bringing about the final and most effective legislation until June of the year 1776. Had it come sooner its effect would have been vastly greater. The first enthusiasm of the war had passed away in the face of the hardships and privations of the service. Men who were ready at the outset to rush to arms with no question of pay, were not now to be tempted by the offered bounty, and

recruits came but slowly. Then, too, the announcement came too late to be efficient in the impending campaign. Had Congress authorized long enlistment and an offer of bounty in March, or even April, the disasters which overtook the army at New York and on the Hudson might instead have been victories; the British troops might have been defeated and driven to their ships, or at least placed upon the defensive, and the whole complexion of the war changed.

The first legislative embodiment of the idea of independence was in the famous resolution offered in the Continental Congress by Richard Henry Lee. Its import did not materially differ from that of the final declaration, but it served to place the question in form for a debate. The people at large were ripe for it; its discussion had been constant for weeks, and the old-time obstinate loyalty to the crown was a thing of the past. During the Congress, provision had been made for the establishment of definite colonial government, with powers constitutionally stated and limited, in every colony save Connecticut and Rhode Island, which were deemed already sufficiently organized. Lee's resolution was offered on the 7th of June, and embodied the declaration that "these United States are, and of right ought to be free and independent States; that all political ties between them and the State of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved." The resolution was seconded by John Adams, and came up for discussion in the committee of the whole, on the 8th and 10th of June. It was found during this discussion that the delegates for New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, while many of them personally favored the resolution, lacked the instructions of their constituents on the subject, or were affirmatively directed to oppose such a measure, and the debate was held over until the first day of July. In the meantime a committee was appointed to prepare a draft of a declaration of independence. Upon this committee was the young statesman, Thomas Jefferson, and, Lee being called to Virginia, the preparing of the draft fell to his lot. It may be well to say, at this point, that, though there have been periodical discussions in which it has been urged that Jefferson was not the author of the declaration, there is no question that, though he made use of his historical knowledge, and of the advice of his friends, to him belongs the credit of the framing of that splendid document. The draft was submitted on the 28th of June, but was laid upon the table to await the re-opening of the debate. On the 1st day of July the discussion was re-opened, and the resolution came to a vote on the evening of the same day. It received the affirmative votes of New Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, against Pennsylvania and South Carolina. Delaware was divided, and the delegates of New York, though some expressed individual approval of the resolution, requested to be excused from voting, on the ground of lack of instruction. Mr. Rut-

ledge, of South Carolina, believed that the vote of his colleagues would be changed, and, at his request, the report was postponed until Saturday, the 2d, when South Carolina wheeled into the affirmative line, as did Delaware and Pennsylvania; and thus the resolution was carried unanimously by all voting delegations. On that Saturday evening John Adams wrote: "The 2d of July will be the most memorable epoch in the history of America. I am apt to believe that it will be celebrated by succeeding generations as the great anniversary festival. It ought to be commemorated as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to Almighty God. It ought to be solemnized by pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bonfires, and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forth forevermore." Adams well foresaw the regard in which the grand act of the Congress would ever be held; he was only wrong as to the day of celebration. On Monday, Congress discussed the proposed declaration with closed doors, throngs without anxiously awaiting the report of the result. Finally the bell in the tower of the hall rang out a glad peal, and all within sound of its tidings knew that America had at last declared her freedom from foreign rule. News traveled but slowly in those days, but, with all haste, the report of the action of Congress was circulated throughout the colonies. In New England it was generally approved. In New York, and to the southward, a majority hailed the news with gladness, while a considerable minority held such a declaration to be unwise, and many considered its adoption a moral wrong. The tories, everywhere, held up their hands in horror. The ruin of America they deemed irrevocably assured. Weak-kneed colonists who had before professed devotion to the patriot cause, found in the declaration an excuse for cutting loose from their allegiance, and thus, while there was no loss of any valuable class or element, the patriots were the better for the drainage of impurities which would doubtless have tended to the injury of their cause. The news of the declaration came to Washington on the 9th of July and, at 6 o'clock of the same evening, he caused it to be read at the head of every brigade of his army, accompanied by an expression from him, of which the following is a portion: "The General hopes that this important event will serve as a fresh incentive to every officer and soldier to act with fidelity and courage, as knowing that now the peace and safety of his country depend, under God, solely on the success of our arms, and that he is now in the service of a state possessed of sufficient power to reward his merit, and advance him to the highest honors of a free country." New York city, always subject to great excitement, went fairly wild over the news, and, in an excess of enthusiasm, which it is now easy to pardon, overturned a leaden statue of George III., which stood in the city, broke it into small fragments, and, with strict poetic justice, the remains of the royal effigy were melted into bullets.

CHAPTER XII.

THE OCCUPATION OF NEW YORK.

THE evacuation of Boston was a bitter lesson to the British. The duke of Manchester, in the House of Lords, embodied in a few caustic words, his estimate of the achievement. He said: "The army of Britain, equipped with every possible essential of war; a chosen army with chosen officers, backed by the power of a mighty fleet, sent to correct revolted subjects; sent to chastise a resisting city; sent to assert Britain's authority;—has for many tedious months been imprisoned within that town by the provincial army, who, with their watchful guard, permitted them no inlet to the country; who braved all their efforts and defied all that skill and ability in war could ever attempt. One way, indeed, of escape was left; the fleet is still respected; to the fleet the army has recourse; and British generals, whose names never met with a blot of dishonor, are forced to quit that town, which was the first object of the war, the immediate cause of hostilities, the place of arms, which it has cost this nation more than a million to defend."

John Adams moved, and Congress adopted, a vote of thanks to Washington, and a commemorative gold medal was struck off, bearing upon its face the head and name of the commander, as the deliverer of Boston.

When General Howe sailed from Boston harbor he directed his course for Halifax, there to await the coming of his brother, Admiral Lord William Howe, who had been assigned to the naval command in America, and whose coming, with reinforcements for both fleet and army, was daily expected. He did not proclaim his intentions, and Washington was far from certain as to what the next manifestations of his military sagacity might be. One of two movements, however, seemed much more probable than any others; either he would direct his attention to the relief of Montreal, Quebec, and the St. Lawrence frontier, or he would move against New York city. The weight of probability seemed in favor of the latter plan, and

Washington determined to turn his attention to placing that city and its environs in a state admitting of defense, by carrying out the plan of fortification originated by Lee. The latter officer had been relieved from command at New York to be sent to Canada (a service which he never undertook), and now Putnam was placed in charge of the garrison of the city, with instructions to push the work of fortification with all possible rapidity. Lee had believed, or affected to believe, that upon his removal from New York, that city would fall into its old condition of tory ascendency, and that the cause of the colonies would suffer. His fear was groundless, for Putnam, while he was not so much given to talking as was Lee, was fully as efficient a disciplinarian. Under his direction, the communication between the tories on shore and Governor Tryon and the British on the fleet, was for the first time, substantially, if not actually, cut off. The troops were held to the most exact behavior, and, after a given hour at night, civilians of the city were not allowed abroad unless furnished with the countersign. Probably few cities were ever so orderly during a military occupation.

Lee's plan of defense requires to be briefly explained, that the later movements about the island may be better understood. It contemplated the erection of a strong redoubt commanding the pass of Hell Gate, that communication between Long Island and the main land might be cut off; the secure fortification of King's bridge, and the enlarging and better arming of the two forts already commanding the highlands of the Hudson. The force under Putnam, increased by Connecticut and New Jersey militia, began the prosecution of this defensive work. So soon as the British fleet had actually deserted the vicinity of Boston, Washington ordered all of his army, save a sufficient garrison for the recaptured city, to march to New York, and, himself preceding them to that city, took personal charge of the work.

He had not been long in his new field before he was summoned by Congress to Philadelphia. The importance of the military movement projected, the necessity of raising a large additional force, for service in the three campaigns of Canada, New York, and the South, the division of sentiment, in and out of Congress, on the subject of the war—all these called for a degree of decision and wisdom which the Continental Congress seemed to lack. The transition stage in the opinion of the colonies had come. The last desire for reconciliation was fast giving way to the dawning spirit of independence. The absurdity of retaining a formal allegiance to a king, while in open war against him, had begun to force itself upon the people. With this determination came the obvious necessity of making provision for the war, not as a matter of weeks, but as a serious contest, never to end save with decisive results. Half way reform measures had failed of effect. The former system of enlisting men for one year and thus allowing the army to annually fall to pieces about the ears of its commanders,

was so obviously mistaken as to lead Congress to look for means of remedy.

During the month of June a woman came to Washington's headquarters at New York and desired to speak with the commander privately. This request was readily granted, whereupon she warned him that his life was in danger by reason of a plot then ripening among the tories, to assassinate him and as many of the other general officers as possible, immediately upon the arrival of the British in the harbor. The assassination was to be followed by a general uprising of so-called loyalists, who were to put off in boats to join the British army. The account given was so straightforward and honest in its appearance as to invite belief, and an investigation was at once begun. The result was to expose an organized conspiracy, contrived and directed by Tryon, from the security of a British man-of-war. With the assistance of his friends on shore he had perfected an organization of tories, extending throughout New York city, to a considerable distance up the Hudson, and into New Jersey. It reached all classes of society, including the mayor and many leading merchants of the city, and even embraced some members of the life guard of the commander. It was a pot-house conspiracy, involving the keepers of many houses of entertainment. The publicans were themselves active participants in the plot, and lent their houses as meeting places for the traitors. Tryon had made David Matthews, the tory mayor, his principal agent for organizing a tory contingent, offering bounties, and corrupting Washington's soldiers. Matthews lived at Flatbush, on Long Island. In pursuance of orders a detachment from Greene's brigade surrounded the house an hour after midnight of the 21st of June, and placed the mayor under arrest; there were, however, no papers of importance found in the house. Other arrests followed as rapidly and quietly, until a panic seized the whole tory population of the city. Irving thus sums up the facts discovered in the examination of the prisoners: "Five guineas bounty was offered by Governor Tryon to each man who should enter the King's service, with a promise of two hundred acres of land for himself, one hundred for his wife, and fifty for each child. The men thus recruited were to act on shore, in co-operation with the King's troops when they came. Corbie's tavern, near Washington's headquarters, was a kind of rendezvous of the conspirators. There one Gilbert Forbes, a gunsmith, a 'short, thick-set man, with a white coat,' enlisted men, gave them money, and swore them on the book to secrecy. From this house a correspondence was kept up with Governor Tryon, on shipboard, through a 'mulatto-colored negro dressed in blue clothes.' At this tavern, it was supposed, Washington's body-guards were tampered with. Thomas Hickey, one of the guards, a dark complexioned man, five feet six inches high, and well set, was said not only to have enlisted but to have aided in corrupting his comrades, among others, Greene the drummer and Johnson the fifer." Washington turned the civilians over to the authorities of the colonies, only dealing him-

self with the life-guard, Hickey. Him he directed to be tried by court-martial, and this trial having resulted in conviction, the culprit was executed in the presence of the entire army, save the portion actually on duty at the time. The fate of Hickey and the peril of his fellow conspirators so effectually paralyzed the remaining tories, that for the time they were silenced and frightened into good behavior.

The anxious expectation of the appearance of a British force before New York was soon realized. On the 29th of June came news from the Staten Island lookout that forty sail were in sight. This was the fleet and army of General Sir William Howe, recently compelled to evacuate Boston, strengthened by six transports of Highland troops, encountered at sea. The original body then consisted of between nine thousand and ten thousand men, and the whole fleet stood toward the harbor, four ships of war being in advance. In one of these, the Grayhound, was General Howe, who at once entered into a conference with Governor Tryon. Washington redoubled the rigor of his discipline, sent committees to adjacent colonies calling for reserves, notified the Clintons, in command of the forts upon the Hudson, to beware of an ascent of the river, and then awaited developments. These were not slow in coming. Upon the 4th of July, the very day of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence, the first troops were landed by the British, Staten Island being selected for the debarkation. On the 12th of the same month a hundred spy-glasses caught the gleam from canvass in the offing, and several more vessels stood in and cast anchor with the already large fleet. On the same day two vessels of war, the *Phœnix* of forty and the *Rose* of twenty guns, weighed anchor, moved toward and passed the city, without serious damage from the batteries, and proceeded up the Hudson. Washington sent expresses warning General George Clinton, and urging him to strengthen the garrisons at Forts Constitution and Montgomery, and to collect a sufficient force to protect the Highlands against the invaders. Even before the message came, the people were up in arms, cattle were driven back from the river, and every point and bluff along the bank was a cover for sharp-shooters, who galled the vessels and picked off men from every boat's crew detached. The chief aim of the expedition was to make soundings in the channel and prepare the way for an aggressive movement; hence the ships never attacked the upper forts, nor proceeded far enough to come within range of them, but after a prolonged stay returned on the 18th of August, just in time to escape through a gap in a line of *chevaux-de-frise*, stretched by Putnam from Fort Washington to the west bank of the river, which gap would have been hopelessly closed in a day or two. In the meantime vessels of war and transports continued to arrive with regiment after regiment of troops—Highlanders and Hessians. Early in August Sir Henry Clinton's squadron, with Lord Cornwallis, and three thousand troops, dropped down upon New York, fresh from the

humiliating defeat at Fort Moultrie. The position of Washington and the army of New York was indeed a most critical one. The enemy had a splendidly organized, disciplined and equipped force of thirty thousand men; to convey these from point to point he had a sufficient number of transports, and to cover and co-operate with his land force, a splendid and heavily armed fleet. Then, too, Washington had been compelled by circumstances to adopt a most disadvantageous point for defense against such a force. ork Island, with the bay below it, the Hudson stretching along its western side, and giving a water way to the interior; the Sound to the eastward, giving naval access upon that side; he was in a position where he could only watch and wait, trusting that when the enemy did strike, it might be in his power to parry the blow. It does not need much military knowledge to see in the light of events that, with the choice of position and so great a land and naval force against him, a successful defense of such an exposed situation was impossible. Against the force of the British Washington had only about eleven thousand men actually effective. These were largely militia and the hasty levies furnished by Congress for service until December 1, 1777. Many, perhaps most of them, had never been under fire; nearly all sadly lacked discipline, and none of them could compare with the commonest British regiment in point of equipment. In a letter written to Congress on the 8th of August, in which the conditions of the contest are stated, Washington said: "These things are melancholy, but they are, nevertheless, true. I hope for better. Under every disadvantage, my utmost exertions shall be employed to bring about the great end we have in view; and, so far as I can judge from the professions and apparent dispositions of my troops, I shall have their support. The superiority of the enemy and their expected attack do not seem to have depressed their spirits. These considerations lead me to think that, though the appeal may not terminate so happily as I could wish, yet the enemy will not succeed in their views without considerable loss. Any advantage they may gain I trust will cost them dear." It will be seen from this extract that Washington had little hope for the event; his calmness and fortitude are, by so much, the more wonderful, and it was this happy self equipoise of the commander that saved the colonial army from annihilation.

During the last few days devoted to preparation for the coming battle, Washington was annoyed by the utterly unnecessary and gratuitous quarrels and jealousies of his own officers. Gates had been appointed, in terms, to the command in Canada; Schuyler was in command in Northern New York. Gates was compelled to retire to the southward of the border and still claimed authority; Schuyler held that Gates, being named only to the command in Canada, had no authority in New York, and must report to him. After much vexation and unseemly discussion, it was arranged that the two generals should hold command of the army, Schuyler when it was

in New York; Gates when it was in Canada. To such ridiculous expedients was Congress driven.

At the same time, sectional and class jealousies were seriously threatening the efficiency of the army at New York. The troops which had served at Boston and elsewhere, had already come to consider themselves as regulars, and to regard with supercilious contempt the militia and the irregular levies which the emergency had called into action. Then, too, the troops of the South looked with ill concealed derision upon the New England yeomanry, who, coming directly from the labor of their farms, dressed in homespun, and equipped in most various style, were far inferior in appearance to their own forces. Washington was more than annoyed—he was alarmed at this lack of unity among his men. In personal conversation with the general officers of his army, he continually dwelt upon the necessity of harmony; in his orders to his troops he held up the common cause for which they were fighting, and adjured them to allow no petty pique or jealousy to come between them and the efficiency of their organization. The fruitful cause of all this discontent and lack of harmony, was the long period of inaction through which the army had passed, and the commander, regarding the coming battle as inevitable, and having completed his preparations, had no desire to delay the issue.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE BATTLE AND EVACUATION OF LONG ISLAND.

ABOUT the 1st of August Washington's force was augmented by the arrival of Smallwood's regiment, two Pennsylvania regiments and a body of New York and New England militia. This left his total numerical strength twenty-seven thousand men, of whom one-fourth were sick. The effective force was widely divided, as the nature of the ground compelled. A considerable force was stationed on Long Island, under General Sullivan; a large part of the remainder was distributed among the various stations upon York Island; a small detachment was placed on Governor's Island, and another at Paulus hook. A body of New York militia under General Clinton, lay on the sound near New Rochelle, and about East and West Chester, prepared to oppose any movement of the enemy to isolate the American army by landing above King's bridge.

Washington estimated very highly the importance of the coming battle, in its bearing upon the spirit of his men and the feeling of the American people; his words are full of encouragement to his soldiers and appeals to their patriotism and bravery. Addressing them in his order of August 2d, he says: "The time is now near at hand which must determine whether Americans are to be freemen or slaves; whether they are to have any property they can call their own; whether their houses and farms are to be pillaged and destroyed, and themselves consigned to a state of wretchedness from which no human efforts can deliver them. The fate of unborn millions will now depend, under God, on the courage and conduct of this army. Our cruel and unrelenting enemy leaves us only the choice of a brave resistance or a most abject submission. We have, therefore, to resolve to conquer or die. Our own, our country's honor, call upon us for a vigorous and manly exertion; and, if we now shamefully fail, we shall become infamous to the whole world. Let us, then, rely on the goodness of our cause and the aid of the Supreme Being, in whose hands victory is,

to animate and encourage us to great and noble actions. The eyes of all our countrymen are now upon us, and we shall have their blessings and praises, if happily we are the instruments of saving them from the tyranny meditated against them. Let us therefore animate and encourage each other, and show the whole world that a freeman, contending for liberty on his own ground, is superior to any slavish mercenary on earth." This was Washington's appeal; for those who did their duty well and unflinchingly, he promised recognition and promotion, at the same time giving distinct orders that any soldier who skulked, attempted to conceal himself, or retreated without orders, should be instantly shot down.

One of the first steps toward the defense of the American position had been the stationing of a brigade of troops at Brooklyn, Long Island. The then village stood upon a peninsula, skirted by the East river, the bay, and Gowanus cove. General Greene had prepared for the protection of this point, by planting batteries on the water front, on Red Hook, and on Governor's Island, and others upon the East river, presenting really formidable obstacles to a naval attack. The camp faced to the landward, and before it, from the river to the Gowanus marsh, extended a line of strong and well-armed earthworks. In front of the works and at some distance was a range of hills, nearly the length of the Island and crossed by three different roads. These hills presented a difficult, but by no means impassable barrier, save by one of the three roads. Correctly judging that the enemy would be likely to make his first movement against Long Island, Sullivan was strongly reinforced. Early on the morning of August 22d, General Clinton landed the main body of the British troops under cover of the fleet, his line extending, according to his own statement, from the ferry at the narrows, through Utrecht and Gravesend, to the village of Flatland. Putnam was assigned to the command of Long Island, and repaired to the camp with a reinforcement of six regiments, greatly rejoicing at the prospect of escape from garrison duty, and the hope of active service. Washington directed him to guard the heights and woods between his own and the hostile camp with his best troops.

The relative positions of the two armies is thus described in Marshall's Life of Washington: "The Hessians, under General De Heister, composed the center of the British army at Flatbush; Major-general Grant commanded the left wing, which extended to the coast, and the greater part of the British forces, under General Clinton, Earl Percy, and Lord Cornwallis, turned short to the right and approached the opposite coast of Flatland. The two armies were now separated by the range of hills already mentioned. The British center at Flatbush was scarcely four miles distant from the American lines at Brooklyn; and a direct road led across the heights from one to the other. Another road, rather more circuitous than the first, led from Flatbush by way of Bedford, a small village on the Brooklyn side of



JOHN SULLIVAN.

the hills. The right and left wings of the British army were nearly equidistant from the American works, and about five or six miles from them. The road leading from the Narrows along the coast, and by way of Gowanus cove, afforded the most direct route to their left; and their right might either return by way of Flatbush, unite with their center, or take a more circuitous course and enter a road leading from Jamaica to Bedford. These several roads unite between Bedford and Brooklyn, a short distance in front of the American lines."

The Americans had defended the direct road from Brooklyn to Jamaica by the construction of a fort. The remaining roads were held by detachments, placed at the summit and within view of the British camp. The main road was also patrolled by bodies of volunteers, and a regiment of Pennsylvania riflemen lay in the vicinity awaiting service. The first offensive movement of the campaign was made about 9 o'clock on the night of the 27th. General Clinton had been told, by some of his tory friends, of the existence of a pass in the hills about three miles east of Bedford, and, at the time named, silently moved the van of the British army to effect its capture. Almost simultaneously General Grant advanced the British left, supported by artillery, along the coast road. His chief object was to make a diversion, hence his movement was open, and skirmishing was constant. Putnam reinforced the troops in Grant's front, and, this reinforcement not proving sufficient, a second detachment of two regiments under Brigadier-general Lord Stirling was ordered to advance to their support. The defense of the two other roads was also strengthened. So successful was the ruse of Grant, that Clinton, two hours before daybreak, surprised and captured one of the American parties stationed on the road, learned from them that he need fear no opposition in securing the pass, and at daybreak marched his entire column through the unguarded way and descended upon the level plain before the American works.

Stirling and Grant met at the summit of the hill, and an active cannonade was opened, but as the American orders were simply to hold the road, and, as Grant only desired to cover Clinton's movement, he made no effort to force the position of Stirling. In the center General De Heister opened a brisk cannonading of the redoubt upon the direct road and the troops under the immediate command of General Sullivan, but, he also, desiring to await the success of Clinton's venture, did not leave his position at Flatbush for some time after the collision occurred. At the same time all the British fleet had made repeated efforts to come up from the bay to co-operate with the land forces, but had been baffled by adverse wind, one vessel only, and that of inferior armament, reaching a point which permitted its cannonading the battery at Red Hook. While these three separate cannonades were in progress, Clinton was marching unmolested to the rear of Sullivan's left, at last reaching Bedford. General De

Heister, apprised of the successful passage of the hills and correctly judging of Clinton's position, then ordered the advance of a corps to the attack of the position held by Sullivan, himself following with the main force of the center. This was about half-past eight in the morning. Almost simultaneously the Americans discovered the presence of Clinton in their rear, and at once began retreat, in the hope of regaining the works at Brooklyn. As the regiments emerged from the woods they met the British right. A skirmish ensued, the Americans were driven back. Clinton then pushed on, and, reaching the main road, intercepted the retreat of the force under the immediate command of Sullivan, which, hearing the firing at Bedford, had been ordered to fall back, after meeting the first charge of De Heister and his Hessians. De Heister being unopposed was enabled to detach a portion of his troops to the assistance of the British at Bedford, and the Americans of both bodies were then in practically the same situation. Both were driven back by Clinton's advance, only to meet the Hessian force. The second encounter compelled a recoil upon Clinton's front, and thus, hemmed in between two forces, fighting desperately yet hopelessly, first with one then with the other, the left wing and the immediate force of General Sullivan was cut to pieces. A few succeeded in regaining the lines at Brooklyn, some individuals escaped through the woods, but nearly all were killed or captured. A mingled force of British and Hessians pursued the fugitives to the very works before Brooklyn, and only the peremptory commands of their officers restrained them from an immediate assault.

Lord Stirling was still holding Grant, when the firing at Bedford apprised him of the necessity of at once securing his retreat to the works. In order to accomplish this, it became necessary to attack a corps of British under command of Lord Cornwallis, which was so stationed as to interfere with his re-crossing the creek. For this purpose four hundred of Smallwood's regiment were detached and made a desperately brave and well nigh successful effort to dislodge the enemy, but were thwarted by the arrival of British reinforcements. Under cover of this attack, a large part of Stirling's command made good its retreat; the survivors of Smallwood's regiment and Stirling himself were taken prisoners.

The number of Americans engaged upon the heights was not far from five thousand; the British force being much greater. No accurate account of the loss on the colonial side has ever been obtained. Fully one thousand regulars were killed, wounded, or captured, besides a probably equal number of militia. Three general officers—Generals Stirling, Sullivan, and Woodhull were among the prisoners. General Howe places the total American loss at three thousand three hundred—doubtless excessive—and that of the British at twenty-one officers and three hundred and forty-six privates, killed, wounded, and captured.

During the entire engagement, the city of New York was in an agony

of fear. The firing at early morning had told that the long anticipated battle was begun, but what its fortunes or what its ultimate object, no man knew. Washington was himself in the city. He did not appreciate the full strength of the British upon Long Island, as a large proportion of the force had made a secret night landing. He was in doubt whether the attack upon the American position upon Long Island was not, in fact, only preliminary to a movement against the city. This fear found some reason, in the attempt of British war vessels to beat up to the neighborhood of Red Hook, to which reference has been made. Hence, the commander in chief remained in New York, until the heavy firing of artillery and small arms, from the three separate battles beyond Brooklyn, told him that the affair was most serious; then he embarked in his barge, crossed over, and, from a commanding point within the lines was enabled, by the aid of his glass, to watch the movements of both parties, over the entire field. He at once saw the certain fate of the left—in fact, the catastrophe was even then almost complete—and his anxiety for Lord Stirling, on the right, was most intense. Stirling's circuitous retreat was soon commenced, and Washington could see, as Stirling could not, the movement of Cornwallis to the rear of the latter, and felt assured that the whole of that wing must fall without striking a blow. The heroic attempt of Smallwood and his handful of Marylanders to dislodge Cornwallis, filled him at once with admiration and sorrow, and he exclaimed, wringing his hands: "Good God! what brave fellows I must this day lose." As the flying fragments of what had been his best troops came panting to the works, closely pursued by their victorious enemies, Washington found enough to do to prepare for holding his defenses, occupied almost exclusively by militia, against threatened assault. It is probable, indeed, that such an assault would have been made, but for a timely discharge of musketry and grape from the works. The pursuit, however, ended there; the day's work was done, and nightfall found the British encamped about a mile before the American lines, with their sentries but one-fourth of that distance away.

Had the blow struck the continental army that day, been but a little stronger, and had the consummate leadership which withdrew the shattered force safely from the jaws of destruction, been lacking, the cause of liberty in America would have been almost beyond hope, and the reputation of Washington, as a commander, must have gone with it. Even as it proved, Washington has been more criticized by reason of this disaster, than for any other incident of a long and bloody war. The first basis of this criticism is his occupation of New York. Many eminent military authorities have declared the position untenable by a purely land force, acting against a co-operating army and navy. There are, however, two sides to this question. The strategic importance of the Hudson and the northern lakes, has already been discussed in these pages. Washington felt that the possession of the Hudson

was of such vital importance as to warrant a great risk. In holding New York, rather than in concentrating at a higher point upon the river, he had a double purpose—first to insure the dependence of the British army upon the fleet for supplies—and to prevent, if possible, their gaining a foothold and a land base for operations to the northward; and second, to prevent the thousands of tories of New York and adjacent colonies, from having a secure rendezvous for movements against him. This consideration was by no means a light one. The force of the British was certain, in any event, to be fully as great as Washington could cope with. Give it an assured and permanent foothold, and not only would its ranks be largely reinforced by organized loyalists, but all the country about would be stripped for subsistence, and harried by guerrilla warfare, while his own poorly equipped force might be reduced by isolation and want. Then, too, the impossibility of defending New York is much more obvious in the light of experience than as a matter of theory. The possession of heavier cannon; the organization of such an army as he had reason to expect when his policy was adopted; the exercise of greater vigilance on the part of his subordinate officers, might have made a very radical change in the result of the campaign. The catastrophe on Long Island cannot be justly charged to Washington. Had his orders been carried out, the result would probably have been far different. He expressly charged Putnam to use his best force for the defense of the woods. Though the best force of the army had unquestionably been dispatched to the heights, it had not been so disposed as to give any secure defense. The Bedford pass had been left exposed, and, by reason of such neglect, came the whole disaster of the day. The defeat ought not, either, to rest as a cloud upon the reputation of the gallant Putnam. The defense of Long Island had been first committed to General Greene. Greene had fully mastered the situation and laid his own plans, when he was taken sick, and Sullivan was placed in command. At that time there was no more reason for supposing that Brooklyn would be the object of the enemy's attack, than for expecting him to assail any one of numerous other points. At last, almost immediately before the battle, Putnam was sent over from New York, and assumed command. He had not time or opportunity to master the minute peculiarities of the ground; he had no cavalry to use as videttes—and hence came the catastrophe, which was rather a misfortune, arising from circumstances, than the fault of any individual.

The night after the battle was a sleepless one in the American camp. Washington made the rounds of the works, encouraging the weary and dispirited troops, and vigilantly watching for any movement on the part of the enemy. The morning showed the whole British force encamped upon the level between the heights and the American lines. General Mercer arrived during the day with reinforcements from the flying camp at Amboy, from King's bridge, and Fort Washington, and a regiment, formed in the Massa-

chusetts fishing villages of the amphibious men peculiar to that coast. There were not more than one thousand three hundred men in all, but they were very welcome and gave new confidence to every one. The British must have greatly overestimated Washington's force and the strength of his defenses, for they made no motion to attack him. There was some light skirmishing during the day, but, for the most part, the enemy kept his tents, only emerging near nightfall, to begin intrenching close to the American lines, as if determined to force them by regular approaches. The following day was densely foggy. Washington had well nigh determined that his position was untenable, when Adjutant-general Reed and another officer, who had ridden to the neighborhood of Red hook, dashed up to headquarters with the report that, the wind having for a moment raised the fog, they had seen signs of the greatest activity about the British fleet. Boats were hurrying back and forth with orders, and everything indicated a speedy naval movement. No one could doubt the destination of the fleet—it was the East river, and, once there, the patriot army, with enemies in front and in the rear, would be helpless. Washington's resolve was taken at once. He must retire to New York that night, and secretly. He sent out parties to impress every craft capable of carrying a man, from Tarrytown to Hell gate. This order was carried out with the energy and success which offset so many of the disadvantages of the American army, and by 8 o'clock in the evening there was assembled at Brooklyn as motley a fleet as ever gathered for service.

To prepare for this important movement, without endangering its secrecy, orders were given to all the men to be prepared for a night attack. Weary, defeated, many of them sick and suffering, their arms wet and often useless, they heard the orders with surprise, yet unhesitatingly prepared to obey. General Mifflin was ordered to keep his men at the works until the last—posting his sentries and maintaining the routine, that the British might suspect nothing, for discovery meant the destruction of the army and the hopes of the colonies. The movement began. Washington himself stood at the ferry and hastened the embarkation. Everything was done so silently that the mattocks and spades of the British, working upon their defenses, could be plainly heard. Suddenly there rang out, doubly loud and frightful in the stillness of the night, the roar of a cannon. Whence did it come—From British or American works? What did it mean—discovery? Men grasped their pieces for defense, while their hearts stood still with dread. But there came no answering roar, no bugle or drum called the sleepers to arms; the British workers still plied their tools; the hostile soldiers turned in their blankets for another nap. No one ever learned whence came the report. Perhaps there was a traitor in the camp, who sought thus to convey a warning to the British lines; perhaps a careless hand, in spiking a great

gun, had discharged it. Accident or design, it did no harm, and the few lines of retreating soldiers had yet a chance.

Still another peril menaced the movement; Washington, impatient of what seemed to him needless delay, sent an *aide-de-camp* to hasten the next detachment. The messenger stupidly included Mifflin's command in his orders; sentries were withdrawn, the works deserted, and, long ere the proper time had come, Mifflin and his men were at the place of embarkation.

"Good God! General Mifflin, I am afraid you have ruined us by so unseasonably withdrawing the troops from the lines," exclaimed Washington.

"I did so by your order," answered Mifflin.

"It cannot be," cried Washington.

"By God, I did. Did Scammel act as *aide-de-camp* for the day, or did he not?"

"He did."

"Then I had orders through him."

"It is a dreadful mistake," rejoined Washington, "and, unless the troops can again regain the lines before their absence is discovered by the enemy, the most disastrous consequences are to be apprehended."

Mifflin led his men back to their posts, and there they remained until came their turn to cross the river. This going back to a post of supreme danger, having once relinquished it with the hope of safety before them, marks the act as one of the most heroic of the war. At last, just as morning was breaking, these gallant men as well embarked, and the astounded British, awaking to find the works deserted, reached the bank of the great river just in time to see the last boats pass beyond range of their guns, and to capture, as their sole prize, two wretches who had lingered for the sake of plunder. Thus not only the American army, its sick and wounded, escaped from certain death or capture to a place of temporary safety, but with them they bore their arms, supplies, wagons, horses, and all but their heaviest guns. This was done in the face of an enemy not five hundred yards distant, across a broad arm of the sea, with no better means of carriage than small sailing craft, smacks, and rowing boats. The exploit is one of the most remarkable in military history, and at once fixed Washington's reputation as a general, both at home and abroad. With all his skill and address, and the splendid co-operation of his troops, the retreat could never have been accomplished but for the fog, the darkness, and the glassy stillness of the water. The night was not a moment too long, and had not the Providential favor of nature been extended, some, if not all, of the devoted little army must have been cut off and lost.

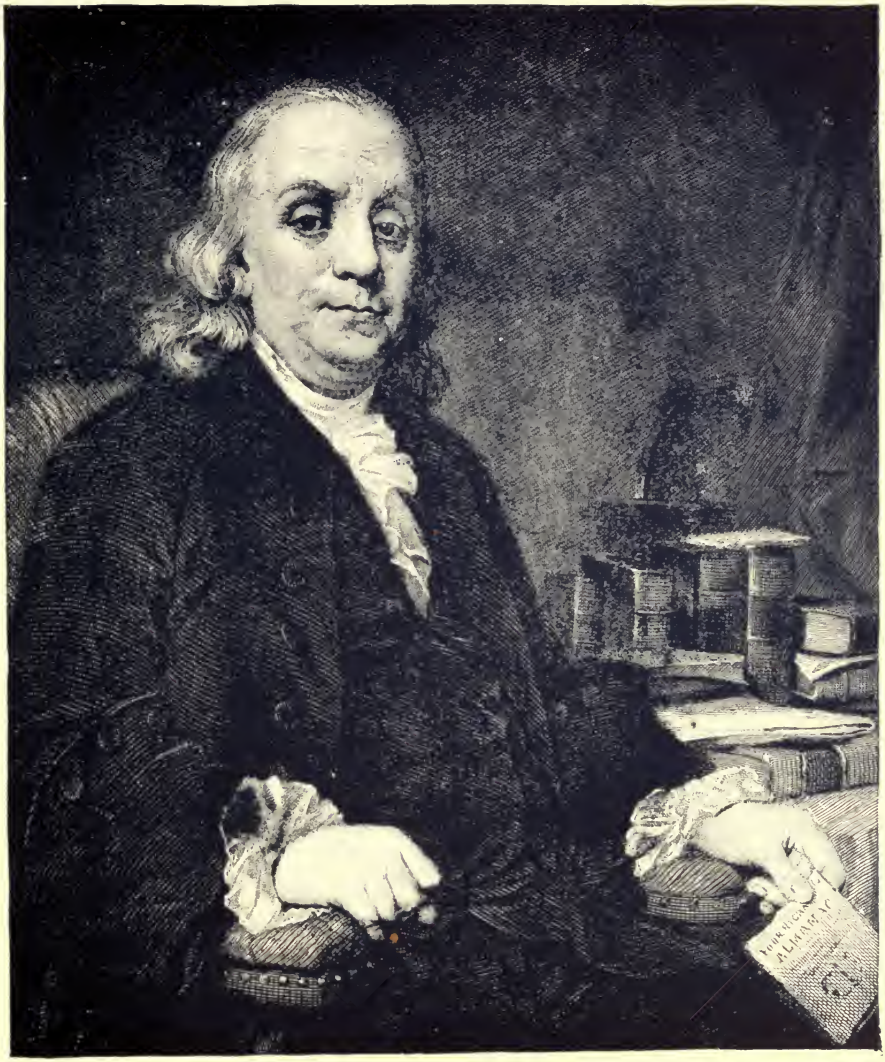
The perplexities of the commander were still far from past. The retreat to New York was but a forlorn device, and the straits of the army still

seemed desperate enough. Washington in writing to Congress, under date of September 2d, said: "Our situation is truly distressing. The check our detachment sustained on the 27th ultimo, has dispirited too great a proportion of our troops, and filled their minds with apprehension and despair. The militia, instead of calling forth their utmost efforts to a brave and manly opposition, in order to repair our losses, are dismayed, intractable, and impatient to return. Great numbers of them have gone off; in some instances almost by whole regiments; in many, half ones, and by companies at a time. This circumstance of itself, independent of others, when fronted by a well-appointed enemy, superior in number to our whole collected force, would be sufficiently disagreeable; but, when it is added that their example has affected another part of the army; that their want of discipline and refusal of almost every kind of restraint and government, have rendered a like conduct but too common in the whole; and have produced an entire disregard of that order and subordination necessary for the well-doing of an army, which had been before inculcated as well as the nature of our military establishment would admit of, our condition is still more alarming and, with the deepest concern, I am obliged to confess my want of confidence in the generality of the troops." This letter gives the best possible picture of the internal difficulties which complicated the position, at the most critical time in the prosecution of the war.

The first step taken by Lord Howe after the battle of Long Island, was to follow up his advantage with overtures for a peace conference—with which duty he had been charged by the home government. To this end he released General Sullivan upon parole and sent him with a message to Congress. This communication stated his authority to treat for an adjustment of differences, but said that he could not confer with Congress as a recognized body. He asked, however, that a committee from its membership be appointed, and said that he would meet them as prominent citizens of the colonies, and that if an arrangement of the trouble should result, the ratification of Congress should be accepted as sufficient. Congress was placed in an embarrassing position by this proposal. It could not be literally accepted without derogating from the dignity of the body nor could it be unconditionally rejected, without great danger of offending some very good Whigs who still believed reconciliation to be both possible and desirable. After due consideration, Congress sent an answer to Lord Howe, to the effect that it could not consistently send its committee as individuals, but would accredit to him a committee of Congress, to ascertain what were his powers in the premises. John Adams, Edward Rutledge, and Benjamin Franklin were appointed such committee, and met Lord Howe at his house on Staten island, opposite Amboy. The conference was most courteously conducted on both sides and was not long, as it was soon discovered that Lord Howe did not possess extraordinary pow-

ers, and could only propose terms which involved the submission of the colonies, without any better pledge of the redress of grievances than the most general professions afforded. Hence the lord admiral and the very republican committee parted as they had met, very courteously, but with nothing gained, save the knowledge that an honorable peace could not be attained by negotiation.

After the battle of the 27th the British force, with the exception of about four thousand men left on Staten island, was removed to Long island and held the entire shore from Hell Gate to Bedford, exposing the opposite shore of York Island for a distance of nine miles, to the possibility of attack at any point, only the East river, in most places not more than a mile in width, separating the hostile armies. Yet there seemed no disposition to attack. Several vessels of the fleet moved around Long island and anchored in the sound, while others lay sheltered from the American batteries by Governor's island, ready to ascend either the North or East river. Washington at this time unquestionably favored an immediate evacuation of the city. He called a council of war, which decided against such a movement, on the ground that if the evacuation could be delayed until later in the season the British would be prevented from taking the field before spring, by which time the American army could be much strengthened and posted to advantage. Another quotation from one of Washington's letters to Congress will better give his view of the situation than it can be otherwise conveyed. "It is now," he said, "extremely obvious from their movements, from our intelligence, and from every other circumstance, that, having their whole army on Long island, except about four thousand men who remain on Staten island, they mean to enclose us in this island, by taking posts in our rear, while their ships effectually secure the front, and thus, by cutting off our communication with the country, oblige us to fight them on their own terms, or surrender at discretion; or, if it shall be deemed more advisable, by a brilliant stroke endeavor to cut this army to pieces, and secure the possession of arms and stores which they well know our inability to replace. Having their system unfolded to us, it becomes an important consideration how it could be most successfully opposed. On every side there is a choice of difficulties, and experience teaches us that every measure on our part (however painful the reflection), must be taken with some apprehension that all our troops will not do their duty. In deliberating upon this great question, it is impossible to forget that history, our own experience, the advice of our ablest friends in Europe, the fears of the enemy and even the declarations of Congress, demonstrate that, on our side, the war should be defensive;—(it has ever been called a war of posts;)—that we should, on all occasions, avoid a general action, nor put anything to the risk, unless compelled by necessity, into which we ought never to be drawn."



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

The army was formed into three divisions; one was stationed at New York, another at King's bridge, and the third lay between the city and the Bridge, guarding Harlem heights and prepared to give support on either hand. Washington evidently regarded this as only a makeshift, and at once began the removal of his sick to Orange, New Jersey, and of such stores as were not immediately needed, to Dobb's Ferry. By the 10th of September, the movements of the British had become such as to leave no doubt of their intention to inclose the Americans upon the island; on the 12th a second council of war was almost unanimous in the belief that an immediate retirement from the city was absolutely necessary to the safety of the army. Hence General Mercer moved his flying camp, from Amboy to a point nearly opposite Fort Washington, to guard and facilitate the transfer of stores, which was brought to an end on the 15th by the movement of three British ships-of-war as far up the North river as Bloomingdale. These vessels passed the American batteries almost uninjured. In fact there was scarcely an instance in which the American guns at New York did material damage to a British vessel. On the same day, at about 11 o'clock, Sir Henry Clinton moved across from Long island toward Turtle bay on York Island, with two divisions of troops. His crossing was covered by a most tremendous cannonade, directed by war vessels in the sound at the works on Turtle Bay. These works were guarded by militia who had been engaged upon Long Island, and who had a most wholesome dread of scarlet cloth. The landing of the British was made at a point between Turtle and Kip's Bays. At the first sight of the enemy the militia broke and fled, communicating their panic to two brigades of Putnam's Connecticut troops, which had been sent to support them. In the midst of this headlong flight Washington rode up; dashing in among the flying men he endeavored to check them, and had, to a degree, succeeded, when a glimpse of the approaching British again terrified them, and they renewed their flight. Washington for once lost his equanimity. He dashed his hat upon the ground, exclaiming: "Are these the men with whom I am to defend America!" then, drawing his sword, he threatened some of the flying militia with its edge, snapped his pistols at others, and was so carried away by his feelings that, had not a soldier seized his bridle-rein and led his horse away, he would probably have been captured by the enemy, whose advance was but eighty yards distant. Washington at once sent word to Putnam to remove the troops under his command from the island, and the weary march of the incumbered line, under the blazing sun and along a dusty road, fairly blistering in its heat, was taken up. Washington manned the lines as best he could, to cover this retreat, but for some reason Clinton failed to follow up his advantage, when he could scarcely have failed to cripple or destroy the American army. The march was only interrupted by a slight skirmish near Bloomingdale, and the entire loss of the day upon the American side was fifteen killed and one hun-

dred and fifty-nine taken prisoners. A very serious calamity, however, was the capture of the heavy artillery, stores, and munitions necessarily abandoned in the retreat.

The main body of the Americans was stationed in a strong position at King's bridge; Morris heights and McGowan's pass were held in force, and a strong detachment occupied an entrenched camp on Harlem heights. Howe established his main position not more than a mile and a half from the American lines, his front extending from Horen's hook, on the East river, to a point near Bloomingdale, on the Hudson.

The armies lay thus *vis-a-vis* until the 12th day of October. On the 16th day of September occurred a sharp collision between a body of British skirmishers and Connecticut and Virginia troops, under Colonels Knowlton and Leitch. In this fight the Americans dislodged and drove back the British force, with a loss to the enemy of not less than one hundred men, the colonial troops losing not half that number, though both their colonels were killed, and the men were led to final success by captains. This affair was not of great intrinsic importance, but, as the first success of the campaign, and one of the first won in open field during the war, its influence was most valuable. Washington regarded the time thus spent in the face of an enemy, with a strongly fortified camp to give confidence to his men, as of the greatest use in accustoming them to field service and ridding them of that fear of British soldiers, as such, which had already proved so disastrous, and the occasional skirmishes which broke the monotony of the month showed, by the steady increase of their efficiency, that only a permanent organization of the army and a little practical experience were necessary to secure the best results.

At this time there arose again the almost hopeless problem of army reorganization. The militia had largely dispersed without the formality of a discharge, and gone to their homes. Such as had remained would be released by the limitation of their service on the 1st of December following; the regular soldiers were most of them enlisted for terms expiring on the 1st of January, 1777, and the short-sighted policy of Congress in offering a pitiful bounty of but ten dollars for three years' service, had failed in alluring any great number of men. Washington was attempting to stay the waters of the Nile with a dam of bulrushes; the force against him was, at the best, the superior of his own; should the experience of the former year be repeated, he saw before him only the prospect of defeat and destruction. There followed a long correspondence between Washington and the president of Congress, which it would be both interesting and profitable to quote, did the limits of this work render it possible. The first result of the appeals then made by the commander was to procure an increase of the bounty to twenty dollars and one hundred acres of land; at the same time the British commander was paying a bounty of ten pounds for every recruit. Washing-

ton urged that, if the pay of officers were not increased, those best worth the keeping would leave the service at the expiration of their terms, and that the same might be expected of the men if something were not done to retain them. He said that the voting of men was very much easier than recruiting them, and called for something more efficient than paper measures for the preservation of the army. Early in October he was given something even more pressing than the future of his army to think of—this was its immediate safety. After nearly a month of inactivity, the British took the initiative on the 9th, three frigates then passing up the Hudson, under fire of Fort Washington and Fort Lee opposite, for the purpose of testing the possibility of passing these forts and the *chevaux de frise*, with which Putnam had obstructed the river between them. Both the guns and the obstructions proved ineffective, and Howe, finding that he could control the lower Hudson, embarked a large detachment of his army in boats of light draft, and passing through Hell gate landed them at Throg's neck, about nine miles from the American camp on Harlem heights. Upon learning of this movement, Washington sent a message to General Heath, in command of King's bridge, to hold himself ready for any emergency, hurried his own men to their alarm posts and himself galloped to Throg's neck, to reconnoitre. The peninsula was separated from the main land by a narrow creek and by a marsh, over which were constructed a bridge and causeway. As soon as the British had landed they pushed forward a force to take possession of this bridge, but found its planking torn up and the causeway already held by Colonel Hand, with his Philadelphia riflemen, who opened a brisk fire at the approach of the enemy. Hand was soon reinforced by Colonel Prescott's Massachusetts regiment, and a body of artillery with a field piece. Baffled at this point, the enemy moved up the creek intending to cross at a ford, some distance above, but this, too, was held in such force as to forbid an effort against it, and the enemy went into camp upon the peninsula, the riflemen keeping up a brisk fire at each other across the dividing creek. Both Americans and English threw up works defending the passes to the neck. In the afternoon nine ships, with a fleet of schooners and sloops impressed for the service, passed up the sound and made for the neck. General Greene sent word that every tent had been struck on Staten island and there seemed little doubt that the scene of action was to be transferred to the new field thus selected.

On the 14th of October, General Lee arrived at Washington's headquarters, fresh from his victory in the South, and full of ambition for the future. Washington had the greatest admiration for Lee's ability as a soldier and an undue modesty as to his own skill; he did not suspect Lee of being what he really was, a thoroughly selfish adventurer, moved only by personal considerations, without patriotism, and capable of the basest treachery to his friends. He did not know that, even at that time, Lee, in

personal conversation and correspondence, as well as in his letters to Congress, was endeavoring, by innuendo and by slighting insinuations, to injure his commander in chief. Lee was at once given the command of all troops above King's bridge, ranking Heath, a more faithful, if not an equally brilliant officer, and, on the same day, wrote to Gates,—a kindred spirit,—criticising the disposition of the army, and concluding as follows: "*Inter nos*, the Congress seem to stumble at every step; I do not mean one or two of the cattle, but the whole stable. I have been very fair in delivering my opinion of them. In my opinion General Washington has been much to blame, in not menacing Congress with resignation unless they refrain from unhinging the army by their absurd interference. Keep us Ticonderoga; much depends on it. We ought to have an army in the Delaware. I have roared it in the ears of Congress but *carent auribus;* adieu, my dear friend; if we do not meet again, why, we shall smile."

As Lee's course had so much to do with determining the result of the subsequent campaign, an example of this "roaring it into the ears of Congress" may not be amiss. In a letter written from Amboy to the president of Congress, on the 12th of October, he said: "I am confident they will not attack General Washington's lines; such a measure is too absurd for a man of Mr. Howe's genius; and unless they have received flattering accounts from Burgoyne, that he will be able to effectuate a junction (which I conceive they have not) they will no longer remain kicking their heels in New York. They will put the place in a respectable state of defense, which, with their command of the waters, may be easily done, leave four or five thousand men, and direct their operations to a more decisive object. They will infallibly proceed either directly up the river Delaware, with their whole troops, or, what is more probable, land somewhere about South Amboy, or Shrewsbury, and march straight to Trenton or Burlington. On the supposition that this is to be the case, what are we to do? What force have we? What means have we to prevent their possessing themselves of Philadelphia? General Washington's army can not possibly keep pace with them. The length of his route is not only infinitely greater, but his obstructions almost insuperable. In short, before we could cross Hudson river, they might be lodged and strongly fortified on both banks of the Delaware. For heaven's sake, arouse yourself! For heaven's sake let ten thousand men be immediately assembled and stationed somewhere about Trenton. In my opinion your whole depends upon it. I set out immediately for headquarters, where I shall communicate my apprehension that such will be the next operation of the enemy, and urge the expediency of sparing a part of his army, if he has any to spare, for this object."

The British permitted themselves to remain for the time safely caged at Throgs neck, while awaiting reinforcements and supplies, Howe thus losing a golden opportunity by his failure to force his way to and attack the

American position at King's bridge. Congress about the same time sent a message to Washington, conjuring him to hold control of the Hudson, to obstruct it in such manner as to prevent the passage of more British vessels up the stream, or the retreat of those already above the forts, and in no event to give up Fort Washington, and the twin defense across the river, then re-christened Fort Lee.

This dictation of Congress was peculiarly unfortunate at that time, and later events showed it to have been very ill-advised. The people had not yet learned the danger of hampering a commander with legislative interference, and public opinion demanded, as well, that he take no important step without first calling a council of war. Hence, Washington called such a council. The main question to be discussed was as to the holding or abandonment of the positions then occupied by the army. That the troops were strongly placed for immediate defense was admitted by all, and the question placed before the council for its vote was thus entered upon its record: "whether (it having appeared that the obstructions in the North river had proved insufficient, and that the enemy's whole force is now in our rear on Throg's point) it is now deemed impossible in our situation to prevent the enemy from cutting off the communication with the country, and compelling us to fight them at all disadvantages or surrender prisoners at discretion." Every member of the council, save General George Clinton, voted that such prevention was impossible and that the position must be abandoned. It was hence determined to move the army up the North river and so place it that its left, extended toward White Plains, should overlap the British right and keep open communication with the country. For the purpose of this movement the army was formed into four divisions, commanded by Lee, Heath, Sullivan, and Lincoln. Lee was directed to remain on Valentine's hill, opposite King's bridge, to cover the removal of stores and heavy artillery; the remaining divisions were established in fortified camps along the west bank of the Bronx river—a deep but narrow stream, affording excellent protection—from Lee's camp to the village of White Plains, a distance of thirteen miles. A strong garrison was also placed in Fort Washington, under command of Colonel Morgan, and that officer was directed to hold the fort to the last extremity. The movement was begun and carried out with great celerity and perfect success. Washington's headquarters remained on Harlem heights until the 21st, when they were removed to Valentine's hill, and, on the 23d were again changed to the village of White Plains.

Howe, finding, after waiting six days for his reinforcements and supplies, that the causeway from Throg's point was destroyed and his advance cut off, embarked his men and landed on Pell's point, across Eastchester bay from his former position. There he was joined by the main body, with baggage and artillery, and pushed on through Pelham's Manor, in the direc-

tion of New Rochelle. His desire was still to obtain a foothold in the rear of the American force, but in this he did not succeed, taking up his position at the village of New Rochelle. On the march the British advance was several times attacked and thrown into confusion, with loss; on the 21st General Lord Stirling, learning that the renegade Rogers commanded one of Howe's outposts on the sound, resolved to attempt a surprise of the post and the capture of Rogers. To this end he detached Colonel Haslet, with seven hundred and fifty men; Haslet made a rapid movement, surprised the post, killed an officer and several men, and brought away thirty-six men, a pair of colors, and sixty stand of arms. Rogers, whose capture was the main object of the expedition, skulked away through the darkness and escaped. Thus many bold and damaging blows were struck the British, each serving to give the Continental army greater confidence in itself and thus better fitting it for more serious service.

While at New Rochelle, Howe was joined by a large number of freshly arrived troops, including a new division of Hessians, under General Knyphausen, a regiment of Waldeckers, and two regiments of dragoons, from Ireland, the latter being the first regular cavalry that had appeared in service during the war. Their coming was the cause of no little trepidation in the ranks of the American army, their efficiency being greatly overrated, and it was necessary for Washington, before his men would be at all reassured, to point out in his general orders how nearly useless they were in so rough a country. On the 25th news came to headquarters which led Washngton to concentrate all of his forces from the stations along the Bronx, into the fortified camp at White Plains, and also to take possession of and fortify Chatterton's hill, a considerable eminence on the opposite side of the Bronx, commanding the camp. Early on the morning of the 25th General Howe, having determined to attack Washington's camp, advanced two columns, the right commanded by Sir Henry Clinton; the left by General Knyphausen. It was about 10 o'clock when the British appeared in view, and a cannonade was opened on each side. Howe, upon viewing the ground, determined to dislodge General McDougal and the regiment of militia, from Chatterton's hill. Colonel Rahl was accordingly detached, with a brigade of Hessians, to make a detour and attack the hill from the south, while General Leslie should throw a bridge over the river and make a direct assault. A heavy cannonade was opened to cover the building of the bridge, and the work was begun in the face of a galling fire from two field pieces, directed by Alexander Hamilton, then a young artillery officer. The force upon the hill had been strengthened by the addition of regulars, which was fortunate, for the militia, as usual, took the earliest opportunity to run away. The regulars fought nobly, twice repulsing the charge of the British, and, finally retired slowly, contesting every step, when the superior numbers of the enemy made defense no longer wise. The Americans lost

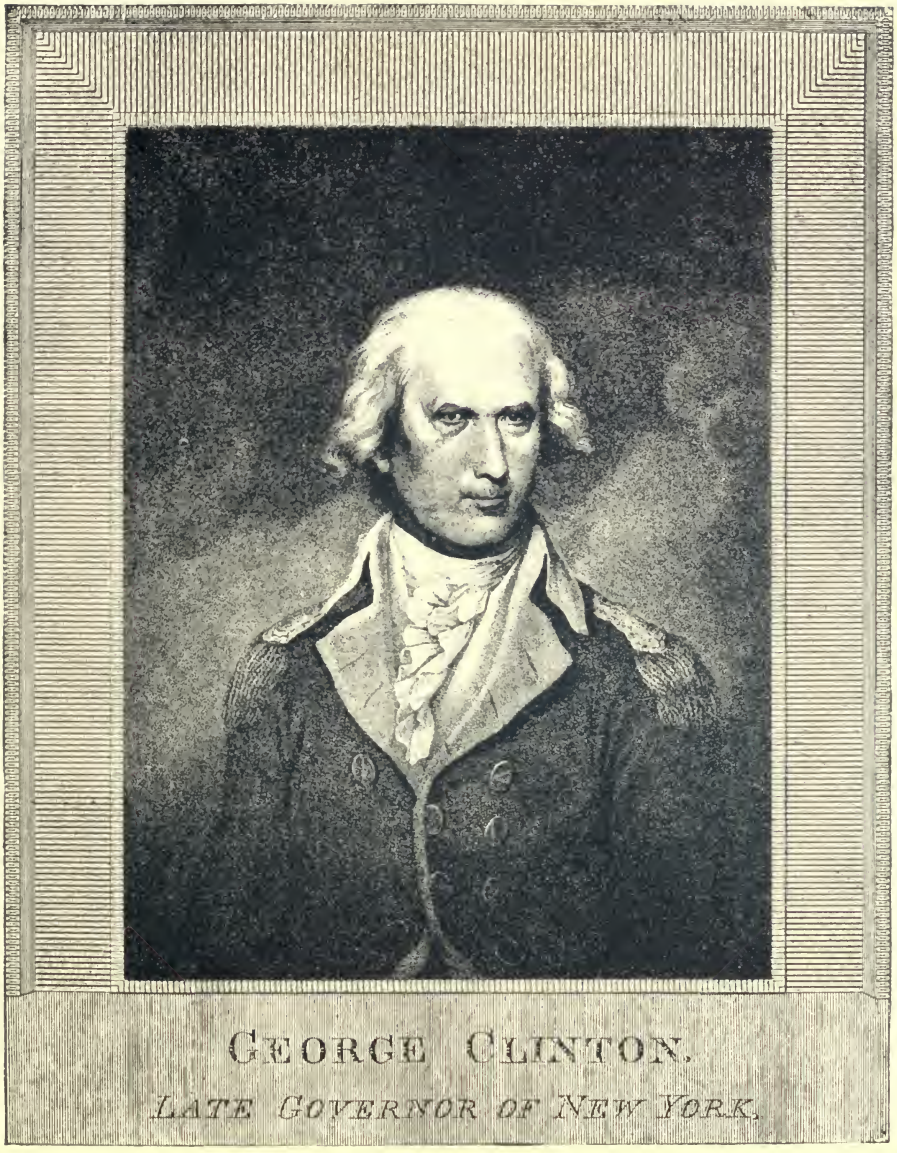
in this brief engagement four hundred killed, wounded and prisoners, and the British loss was not far from the same.

The ensuing night was spent by the enemy in entrenching the newly acquired hill, and by the Americans in strengthening and extending their works. The latter seemed, as usual, to have called in the assistance of some professor of black art, so great, and, to British eyes, so marvelous had been their progress. They had, in fact, used as the basis of their works, the stalks of corn, pulled from a neighboring field, with the earth clinging to the roots, and these, piled with the roots to the front, and filled in behind with earth, made a very respectable appearance and were, in fact, proof against small arms. Washington also changed the position of his right during the night, drawing it back to a stronger situation, as related to the troops of General Howe.

Howe was astounded when he saw the result of the night's work. He had before seen something of the kind at Dorchester heights, but he was none the more prepared for this. He at once determined to await reinforcements before he made an attack. Awaiting reinforcements seemed to be Howe's chronic condition during that campaign—on Long island, at Throg's neck, and now at White Plains, by his procrastination he gave the Americans just what they sought. When Morris arrived from Harlem, with a considerable additional force, Howe at once began to extend his works with a view of outflanking the Americans, and then reducing them by artillery. On the night of the 31st, however, Washington again confounded the projects of the British, by changing his whole position for one five miles distant among the rocky heights of Northcastle, burning his unmovable stores behind him, and leaving a strong rearguard to tell Clinton whither he had gone. Here, as well, he at once began rearing defenses, but Howe seemed to have no further appetite for that kind of warfare. For two or three days he remained apparently quite inactive—then, on the night of the 4th of November, the Americans heard the rumble of wheels and the tramping of brigades, and, at daybreak, saw the long line of the enemy moving toward the Hudson, but on what errand they at first knew not. Very soon, however, it became evident that Howe's movement was directed primarily at Fort Washington, and it was considered more than probable that, beyond the reduction of that fort, he had determined to cross the Hudson and gain control of New Jersey, with indefinite possibilities as to movements beyond. Washington decided not to leave his secure position until he was informed of Howe's destination as, should the movement prove only a feint, the latter might return and gain his rear. He, however, determined that, if the British march down the Hudson were continued, he would detach all the portion of his army recruited west of that river for service against the enemy in that quarter, and he at once warned Congress, the Governor of New Jersey, and General Greene, commanding in that colony, of the danger,

expressly directing the last-named to watch for an opportunity to assist the garrison of Fort Washington.

As General Howe approached King's bridge, three British ships of war, undeterred by the guns of Forts Washington and Lee, passed up the river; and Washington, hearing of the fact, sent word to Greene that, while he should not attempt to dictate to one on the ground, he did not consider it prudent to risk a defense of Fort Washington, when the enemy occupied the surrounding country, and commanded the river as well. He then hastened arrangements for conveying the western troops across the Hudson, determining to command the expedition in person, leaving Lee in command in Westchester county, with directions to follow him, so soon as the British had crossed the river. On the 13th day of November, after inspecting the posts about Peekskill and making arrangements for their defense, Washington followed the troops designed for service in New Jersey, across the river, and found Greene near Fort Lee. Greene had miscalculated the strength of the garrison at Fort Washington, and had not complied with Washington's suggestion that it be evacuated. Its condition was now most critical. Howe had, in fact, made its reduction the principal object of his expedition, and had occupied Fordham heights, not far from King's bridge, to await the proper time for an offensive movement. On the night of November 14th, thirty boats were taken undiscovered past the American forts and into the Harlem river, thus providing means for crossing that stream, and attacking the works at such points as should be deemed most vulnerable. Howe, on the 15th, sent a demand for the surrender of the garrison. To this summons Magraw returned a spirited answer that he would defend the fort to the last extremity, and sent word to that effect to General Greene at Fort Lee, who communicated with Washington at Hackensack. Washington hastened to Fort Lee, and, Greene reporting to him that the garrison was in high spirits and confident of success, he had nothing to do but await results. At 10 o'clock on the following morning the British force prepared to storm the fort at four points; five thousand Hessians and Waldeckers, under Knyphausen, were to approach on the north; British infantry and guards, under General Matthew, supported by Lord Cornwallis, with the grenadiers and a regiment of infantry, on the east. The third movement was to be led by Lieutenant-colonel Sterling, who was to drop down the Harlem in boats, and make an attack from the side facing New York; and Lord Percy, accompanied by Howe in person, was to approach the fort from the south. The assault began about noon, and the heavy firing of both parties told a sufficient story of its severity, to those across the river. The defense of the garrison was, at every point, most determined. The attacks upon the north and south were made by Knyphausen and Percy at almost the same time. Colonel Cadwallader, who occupied the first lines at the south, was compelled to give way and retire to the works, by the success of the second and third



GEORGE CLINTON.

LATE GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.

divisions of the British, which had crossed the Harlem, dispersed the troops on that side of the fort, and were threatening his rear. As it was, some portion of his force was cut off and captured by Sterling. Rawlings, on the north, held his position stubbornly. His riflemen and a battery of three guns were very effective, and only when the Hessians, so greatly his superiors in number, had gained a footing on the summit, did he also retire to the fort. Howe now held all the lines and the positions of vantage about the fort and sent in another summons for its surrender. The defending force was not large enough to make a resistance on open ground, yet too large to be sheltered by the works; ammunition, too, had run very low, and, considering that a further defense would be but a useless sacrifice of life, Magraw surrendered, the entire garrison becoming prisoners of war. A message, sent by Washington, urging Magraw to hold the fort until night, when an effort would be made to take off the troops, came too late to arrest the negotiation, and it seems very doubtful whether the works could have been so long defended, and, had they been so held, whether the garrison could have been taken off.

The loss *of* Fort Washington was not a vital matter; the loss *at* Fort Washington was well nigh irreparable—probably falling little, if any, below four thousand killed, wounded, and captured, and these the most valuable troops of the army. Preparations were at once made for the abandonment of Fort Lee, but the arrival of Lord Cornwallis in the neighborhood, with a strong detachment of British, compelled a precipitate retirement of the garrison, leaving behind tents, blankets, tools, cooking utensils, provisions, and stores, and all the heavy artillery save two twelve-pounders. Washington, finding himself in danger of being entrapped between two rivers, retreated across the Hackensack and posted his men temporarily upon its western bank.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE NEW JERSEY CAMPAIGN.—BATTLES OF TRENTON AND PRINCETON.

THERE can be no doubt that with the loss of Fort Washington opened the darkest era in the war of independence. Beyond the middle of November, the cold of a severe Northern winter before him, Washington had under his immediate command but three thousand men who could, by any stretch of imagination, be classed as effective. These were ragged, many of them barefooted, without shelter, lacking provisions, dispirited, defeated. The militia had very largely anticipated the expiration of their service, which was to come upon the 1st of December, and had gone home in bodies; none could be counted upon to remain longer than they were bound to do. To add to all, very many of the regulars in all branches of the army would be entitled to a discharge upon the 1st day of January. The worst feature of the situation was that, with his army thus melting away before his eyes, Washington saw no definite prospect of replacing it; the weak policy of Congress, coupled with the unfortunate result of the year's campaign, had left the recruiting experiment an undeniable failure. The colonies were all depressed by disaster—the middle ones, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and New York, of more than doubtful loyalty to the cause; on the ground which he occupied and where his operations in the immediate future bade fair to be carried on, such subsistence and support as he could not command by force, he stood little chance of obtaining. Nevertheless, with this almost hopeless prospect before him, he never for a moment lost heart or meditated submission. His question to himself was never, "Can I do this thing?" but always, "How shall I do it?" This is the key to Washington's character. Brave in the field; a natural soldier and tactician; fertile in originating and bold in executing the most daring plans, yet to this century and still more to those beyond us, he must ever stand as greatest in the hours of discouragement, trial, and inaction. Such steadfastness, patience, devotion, modesty, and faith, find no parallel in history.

After making the camp upon the Hackensack, his first care was to draw upon his slender resources for an army which might at least make a show of opposition to the British and check the growing disaffection, which was as much the result, of lack of faith in the result as of any predilection in favor of Great Britain, on the part of any of the colonies. With this view he dispatched to General Schuyler, at Ticonderoga, directions to send to him at once all New Jersey and Pennsylvania troops under his command. His knowledge of human nature told him that men would fight best in the defense of their own soil, and that the detention of troops from menaced colonies at distant points, could not fail of causing dissatisfaction. He also sent orders to General Lee to cross the Hudson and be in readiness to join him should occasion demand it. Lee's tardiness, which subsequent history has almost justified us in ascribing to disloyalty, was one of the greatest drawbacks to the success of a campaign, which might otherwise have been decisive in favor of the colonies. The limits of this work will not permit of rehearsing the arguments used by Washington to influence Congress in favor of organizing a permanent and efficient army. They were the same already given in these pages, only elaborated and emphasized, and they had no greater effect during the terrible winter campaign which followed, than to secure to the army a slender and at no time reliable reinforcement. He made an appeal to New England, and six thousand Massachusetts troops, with a considerable number from Connecticut, were massed to join him, when Sir Henry Clinton, moving by water from New York, seized Newport, and the home exigency proved too strong for the Governors.

Washington first deserted his position upon the Hackensack, passed the Passaic, and established himself at Newark, pursuit being temporarily cut off by the destruction of the Hackensack bridge. Then the British army crossed the Passaic and the American commander, leaving them to take possession of Newark, moved on to Brunswick, only a few hours before their coming.

The incidents of this remarkable game of war cannot be followed here. Cornwallis, constantly expecting to checkmate his adversary, was as constantly baffled. Washington retreated from town to town, until, on the 2d day of December, he reached Trenton, on the Delaware, the river having been scoured for seventy miles, and all boats collected at that point, to secure the double purpose of a means of crossing for the Americans, if such should be necessary, and, in their absence, a check to the British. It being considered probable that no successful stand could be made on the nearer bank of the river, the crossing of the scanty stores and impedimenta was made in safety, the sick were sent to Philadelphia, and only the effective army remained. At no time during the wonderful march from Fort Lee to the bank of the Delaware, had Washington's force—it can scarcely be called

an army—numbered more than four thousand men; when the partial crossing was made it was a thousand less. With this he had annoyed, foiled, and escaped from an army vastly superior in numbers, flushed with victory, and perfectly equipped, and had led the enemy a chase, through an almost hostile country, still keeping his men together and maintaining their discipline and spirit, though many of them were without shoes, some died from cold by the way, and all suffered as few are called upon to suffer. This retreat and the offensive movements that followed it are justly considered among the greatest military achievements in history.

At this time, General Sir William and Admiral Lord Howe, as royal commissioners for the restoration of peace, issued a proclamation, calling upon all persons in arms against the king to disband and disperse to their homes, and all persons holding civil authority to relinquish the same, promising to such as should conform to these requirements, and within thirty days sign a prescribed declaration of submission to the authority of his majesty, full and free pardon. Copies of this declaration were scattered broadcast throughout the colonies, and in many cases were readily taken by persons only too eager to secure themselves against the consequences of so doubtful a conflict.

On the 7th of December, Washington, having received a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men from Philadelphia, and the promise of another regiment, and feeling that some active operations were necessary to counteract the effect of the manifesto referred to, set out for Princeton, hoping that his appearance might check the British advance and procure the re-establishment of patriotic feeling in New Jersey. On the march he learned that Cornwallis, having been largely reinforced, was making a forced advance from Brunswick, in the endeavor to gain his rear. Hence he retreated, crossed the Delaware, and so bestowed his men as best to guard the fords of the river. The last boat-load had not reached the further bank when Cornwallis appeared. Finding that his quarry had escaped him, he established his army with the main body at Trenton and detachments posted up and down the river to a considerable distance.

The days immediately following the crossing of the Americans, which occurred on the 8th, were spent by Cornwallis in a vain effort to secure means of following the colonial force; this failing, he placed his men in winter quarters, and the main body of General Howe's army, having followed him into New Jersey, was also quartered at various points so as to hold possession of the colony. It is probable that Howe would gladly have held the Americans in safe inaction until the expiration of the sixty days named in his proclamation, at the same time extending his posts and influence so as to seriously as possible undermine the patriot cause.

It is now necessary to give a little attention to the proceedings of General Lee. It was on the 21st of November that Washington ordered him

to cross the Hudson with all dispatch, and hold himself ready to join the main army, should the British move into New Jersey. The enemy had made such a movement, and the commander had at once placed Lee under positive orders to report to him with his army. In spite of all this, it was the 30th day of November before Lee reached Peekskill, little more than the outset of his march. At that point he ordered General Heath to detach two regiments from his defense, to move into New Jersey with the army. This Heath refused to do, urging the seemingly ample reason that he was under written orders of the commander in chief, not to weaken his force. Lee asserted his right as Heath's ranking officer, when Heath said: "You are my superior officer. You can doubtless order the regiments to join you, but you must do it yourself, for I shall obey my orders." Lee gave orders that the regiments should proceed with him, and they would doubtless have done so had not Heath required a written certificate from Lee, that the latter had assumed command and issued his own orders. Having given this, and the regiments being in marching order, Lee changed his mind and sent them back to their camp. In writing from Peekskill, under date of the 30th, in answer to a letter from Washington, complaining of the slowness of his movements, Lee said that he had been delayed by difficulties which he would explain when both had leisure. His letters throughout have this same tone of cool impertinence, not to say contempt, which, in a better organized army, and with a less patient commander, would have subjected him to immediate removal and court-martial. One letter says that he will move across the river "the day after to-morrow," when he "will be happy to receive your [Washington's] instructions," but "could wish" that they would bind him as little as possible, from a persuasion that detached generals cannot have too great latitude. And all the time this man was under distinct orders to forthwith join General Washington at the headquarters of the latter. Even then he did not keep his word, for it was not until December 4th that he crossed the river. On the 8th of December Lee had moved no farther than Morristown, in spite of repeated and urgent messages from Washington. That his disregard of orders was cool and deliberate, is sufficiently indicated by a letter written by him on that day to the committee of Congress. In it he said: "If I was not taught to think the army of Washington was considerably reinforced, I should immediately join him; but as I am assured he is very strong, I should imagine we could make a better impression by beating up and harassing their detached posts in their rear, for which purpose a good post at Chatham is the best calculated." On the same day he wrote to Washington to say that he was "extremely shocked to hear that his force was so inadequate, and that he had held himself in the rear of the enemy that he might more effectually co-operate in any offensive movement. He also expressed a doubt as to Philadelphia being the objective point of the enemy. Washington at once

replied: "Philadelphia, beyond all question, is the object of the enemy's movements, and nothing less than our utmost exertions will prevent General Howe from possessing it. The force I have is weak and utterly incompetent to that end. I must therefore entreat you to push on with every possible succor you can bring." Lee remained at Morristown until the 11th, and then wrote again to his general, proposing to push to Burlington, and desiring that boats for his crossing be sent to that point from Philadelphia. Washington then wrote him a letter, which displayed the nearest approach to asperity of any drawn from him during the whole of this disgraceful march. "I am surprised," he says, "that you should be in any doubt respecting the road you should take, after the information you have received on that head. A large number of boats was procured and is still retained at Tinicum, under strong guard, to facilitate your passage across the Delaware. I have so frequently mentioned our situation, and the necessity of your aid, that it is painful for me to add a word on the subject. Congress has directed Philadelphia to be defended to the last extremity. The fatal consequences that must attend its loss are but too obvious to every one. Your arrival may be the means of saving it." Schuyler had, in the meantime, dispatched Gates with several regiments to reinforce Washington. Three of these regiments descended the Hudson to Peekskill and Lee, learning of their presence there, took it upon himself to order them to join him at Morristown, which they did. The four remaining joined Washington on the 20th of December.

On the 12th of December, Lee left Morristown and, after marching but eight miles, encamped his army at Vealtown, himself riding to a tavern three miles without the lines to spend the night. During the evening a tory farmer came to him with a complaint regarding a horse which had been taken from him by the army. Lee dismissed the man very curtly, and, after spending the evening until a late hour over his correspondence, retired. He slept late in the morning and finally appeared in a very slovenly dress, dispatched orders to Sullivan, his second in command, to march—in a direction, however, clearly indicating a disregard of Washington's orders—and was about to breakfast, when there came an alarm that the British were at hand. The guards had stacked their arms and were endeavoring to keep warm on the sunny side of the house. In a moment the tavern was surrounded, the general taken, mounted—attired as he was—and hurried a prisoner to the British lines, twenty miles distant. Sullivan, as soon as he learned the fate of Lee, changed the course of the march, in accordance with the orders of Washington, and joined the army of the latter on December 20th. Lee thus fell a victim to his own recklessness and to his lack of courtesy to the farmer who had called upon him on the evening of the 12th, as the latter had taken revenge by giving information of his whereabouts and of his almost defenseless condition, at the nearest post of the British army, and it

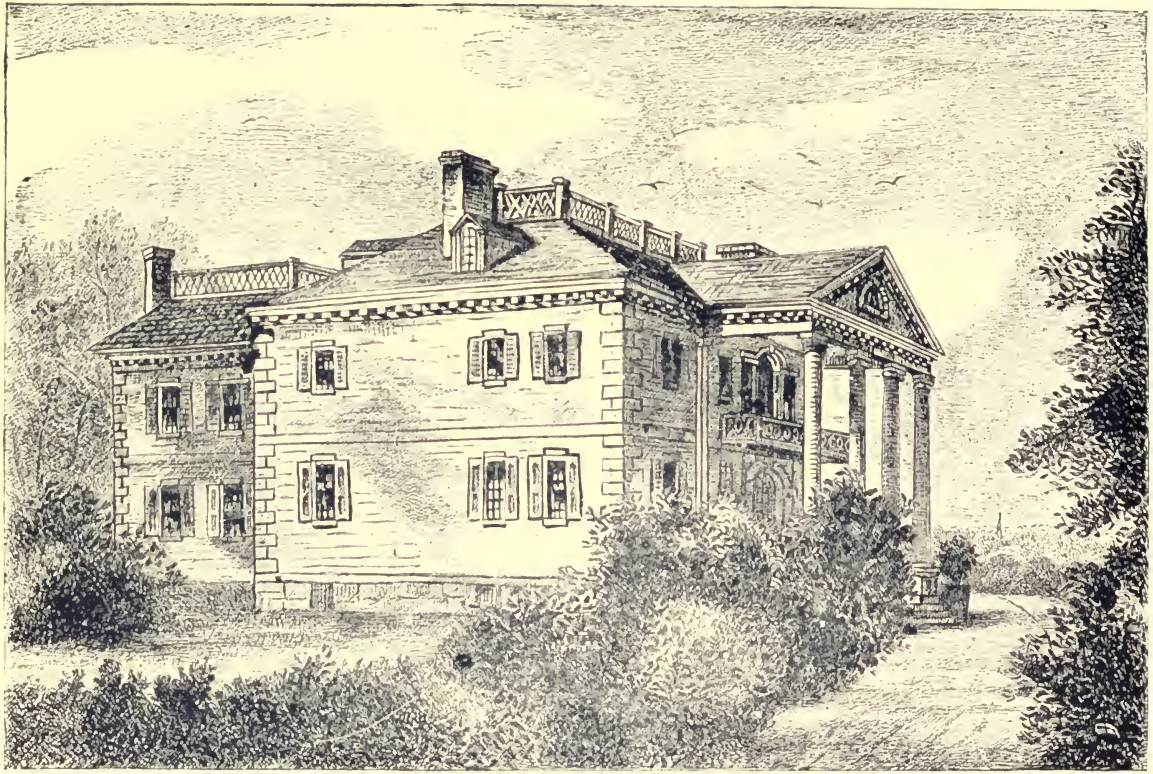
had required no argument to prevail upon the officers to take advantage of it.

The capture of Lee was at that time regarded by the American people, by the Congress, by the army, and, in spite of all occurrences, by Washington himself, as a great misfortune. There was something about his dashing and arrogant manner that excited confidence; he had been successful in his only decisive campaign; he was a soldier by profession, and one of long and varied experience. That he was indeed a most able officer was then and must to-day be admitted. Then, too, he had done much talking and writing to good effect. He had predicted the British movement into New Jersey, he had openly and loudly condemned the action of Congress in attempting to hold Fort Washington, while the commander in chief, disapproving it quite as strongly, kept silence. Thus he had the people with him. Then, too, he had kept up direct communication with Congress, advising—almost dictating—what should be done and what omitted. This correspondence was in direct derogation of the dignity of Washington, and its indulgence by Congress was an outrage, yet Lee had a following in that body and gained its support by this very tacit contempt of his superior officer. During the whole of his service, after rejoining the army at New York, he was engaged in writing letters to various persons, all calculated to exalt himself at the expense of Washington. One of these, written on the morning of his capture, to his confidant and sympathizer Gates, may well be quoted. It should have secured his instant dismissal from the army. He writes: "The ingenious manœuvre of Fort Washington has completely unhinged the goodly fabric we have been building. There never was so d—d a stroke; *entre nous*, a certain great man is most damnably deficient. He has thrown me into a situation in which I have my choice of difficulties. If I stay in this province I risk myself and army, and if I do not stay the province is lost forever. As to what relates to yourself, if you think you can be in time to aid the general, I would have you by all means go; you will at least save your army." What words are these for a soldier to use of his commander! Here are two officers, under positive orders to do a certain thing, calmly discussing the advisability of obeying the instructions of their general! If this letter means what its words fairly imply, then there was more in it than an offense against military etiquette, and Lee's ambition should have brought the blind-fold and the volley, rather than the epaulets he sought. No, the capture of Lee and his subsequent retirement from the service was unquestionably a most fortunate event for the colonies. His delay and evidently determined disobedience of Washington's orders were clearly premeditated and adopted in furtherance of a deliberate plan. He was laying the foundation for his own advancement to the supreme command, at the expense of Washington. By holding back his army he believed the commander in chief might be defeated or at least rendered incapable of resistance; he himself might by a bold move break the British cordon, come to the

succor of Philadelphia, gain the *eclat* of a possible victory, leaving to Washington the ignominy of certain failure and, perhaps, gain the command, risking, in its pursuit, the safety of the army and the whole future of the American cause. To this end he had sought to strengthen his army by a draft from Heath, and had afterwards wrongfully intercepted the regiments sent by Schuyler to join Washington.

The additional numerical force gained to Washington by the arrival of Gates' and Lee's men, was of very questionable advantage. The men had been so long on the march, in the dead of a very severe winter, that a very large proportion of them were absolutely unfit for duty, and the hospital was better reinforced than the line. Some hatless, coatless, many without shoes, footsore, frozen, half fed, they presented as miserable an appearance as any body of men that ever undertook a military service. Yet Washington was quite determined that service should be done, and that quickly He saw the immediate danger of his position on the Delaware, and that, more remote, involved in the freezing of the river, which would open the way to Howe. Hence he determined upon an offensive movement, and perfected arrangements to carry it into effect on the night of December 25th. The weather was bitterly cold, and the river was full of floating ice, which a day or two of such temperature would render solid. The plan contemplated a three-fold movement. General Ewing was to cross the river at Trenton ferry and hold the bridge across Assumpinck creek, below the town; General Cadwallader was to pass over at Dunck's ferry and capture the post at Mount Holly, and Washington himself was to land a force, across the river nine miles above the town, at midnight, reach Trenton at five in the morning, and, Ewing having cut off the retreat of the British, surprise and capture them. This being successful further movements were contemplated.

Washington took for the service two thousand six hundred men. So severe was the storm and so heavy the ice in the river, it was 3 o'clock before his crossing was completed, and nearly four, before the movement toward Trenton began. Two roads of nearly the same length led to the town, and the force was divided into two divisions, one going by each. Washington commanded the upper column, and, relying upon the movement being nearly simultaneous, gave orders to the other to make an attack immediately upon reaching its destination. Washington's column arrived at the outpost precisely at 8 o'clock, and it was not more than three minutes before he heard the fire from the force which had taken the river road. The picket guard made a show of defense, but was driven in at once. The Hessian colonel, Rahl, formed his men in the center of the town, and several field pieces were unlimbered and directed at the approaching Americans, but were captured before they could be fired. The Hessians then broke and fled, but were reformed by their commander in an orchard with-



THE ROGER MORRIS HOUSE.

out the town. At that point he seemed to lose his coolness and self-command; there was still a possibility of escape by the bridge, and that failing, he might have sought a defensible position and perhaps have held it; but he could not brook the ignominy of a flight, which would have injured the reputation he had so well won at White Plains and Fort Washington; his position was due to his own carelessness, and it is probable that mortification and shame led him to the suicidal course which he adopted. Waving his sword over his head, he called upon his men to follow, and charged the town, held, as it was, by a superior force, with artillery posted. At almost the first discharge, he paid the price of his rashness, falling mortally wounded. His men at once broke and fled, striving to gain the bridge, but Washington had foreseen this attempt, and they were cut off, and grounded their arms. The condition of the river had prevented General Ewing from carrying out his part of the design, hence the bridge, at first unguarded, had afforded an avenue of escape to about five hundred men, part of whom were cavalry. Twenty Hessians were killed in the engagement; not far from one thousand stand of arms and a considerable quantity of stores captured. The Americans lost two men killed, two frozen to death, and three or four men wounded. Among the latter was Lieutenant Monroe, of Virginia, afterwards President of the United States.

Cadwallader, too, had been prevented by the ice in the river from fulfilling his part of the concerted plan, and Washington, in spite of his victory, was placed in a position of the most immediate peril—peril which might well have become destruction, had not the flying enemy been so thoroughly terrified as to exaggerate his strength and communicate a measure of their fear to those at other posts beyond. There are in existence several published works, written by Hessian officers, stationed at Trenton, and who participated in the engagement. All of them greatly overstate the force of the Americans, one placing it at fifteen thousand—fully six times as great as it actually was—another at six thousand, and none even approximating the truth. It is not to be supposed that the story lost anything in the telling, and it is more than likely that Washington's little force owed its preservation to this gratuitous and imaginary reinforcement.

The capture of Trenton was not in itself a matter of much moment; the winning of a victory was, at that time, all important. The direct result of the success was to turn the British back, and, for the time, save Philadelphia; its indirect effect was to give new confidence to the army; new courage to the colonies; new spirit to Congress, to break through the web of circumstance which seemed to doom the armies and the hopes of the colonies to destruction; to counteract, in a great degree, the effect of Howe's manifesto, offering amnesty, by strengthening the weak-kneed and doubtful element of the people, and to render possible, what before seemed hopeless, the reorganization of the army. Washington for the present kept his posi-

tion at Trenton. Count Donop, commanding the British below Trenton, retreated along the Amboy road and joined General Leslie at Princeton. Cadwallader crossed the Delaware, believing, in the absence of orders, that Washington would push on in pursuit of the enemy, and desiring to co-operate with him. In the meantime he obtained and improved some opportunities to harass the enemy and increase his panic.

Washington was now quite convinced of the necessity and wisdom of an aggressive campaign. Hence he ordered General Heath to leave a small force at Peekskill and move upon Howe's rear; Maxwell was directed to collect all available militia and harass his flank, while Cadwallader was ordered to join the main force at Trenton. On the second day of January, Cornwallis advanced from Princeton in force, to regain Trenton. At about 4 o'clock in the afternoon he appeared in sight of the town, when the Americans retired beyond the creek, and strongly guarded all the fords. Cornwallis, finding that his crossing would be contested, went into camp, lighting his fires, and disposing himself in comfort, not doubting that his after-breakfast exercise on the morrow would be to whip the little force of rebels opposed to him. Then Washington conceived, and resolved to execute, one of those bold and vigorous movements by which he so often astonished the enemy. He had at Trenton only about five thousand effective men; opposed to him was an army vastly greater in numbers and efficiency. Should he risk an engagement defeat was almost certain; the river was frozen over, yet thaws had rendered the ice so rotten, that an attempt to retreat across it was extremely hazardous, and might result in the destruction of his army. In either event there would remain nothing to prevent Cornwallis from moving upon and taking possession of Philadelphia, the chief point to be guarded. Washington felt certain that there could not remain any very considerable force at Princeton, and he determined to make a night march, by a circuitous route, and endeavor to surprise and capture that town, and, if possible, the post and stores at the village of Brunswick, beyond. A council of war agreed to this plan, holding that it would probably draw Cornwallis back and away from Philadelphia, and that, if it failed, the situation could scarcely be worse than was promised if the army remained at Trenton. The baggage was silently removed, immediately after dark, to Burlington, and, about 1 o'clock in the morning, having renewed the fires and posted sentinels as usual, the army moved out of camp, and, by the roundabout Quaker road, proceeded to Princeton. At that place Cornwallis had left three regiments, two of which set out at daybreak to join the rear of their army near Trenton. At sunrise these regiments discovered the Americans on their left, marching in such a direction as to reach their rear. They retired to the cover of some timber and received the American van, led by General Mercer. This was mostly composed of militia. The few regulars

were steady, but they could scarcely restrain the raw troops. At this doubtful point the gallant Mercer fell, mortally wounded, and his men, utterly demoralized, retreated in confusion. The main body coming up, however, Washington threw himself into the front, and, exposing himself to imminent danger, forced the British to give way. One of the two regiments succeeded in gaining the main road, and continued to Trenton; the other broke across the field, and fled toward Brunswick by a back road. The regiment which had remained in Princeton took post in the college building, but was soon dislodged by artillery, and the greater part of its men became prisoners. The British loss in this fight was more than one hundred killed and about three hundred captured. The Americans lost fewer men, but General Mercer and nine other most valuable officers were among the number.

Cornwallis awoke in the morning to find lacking the second party necessary to any successful quarrel. He at once saw how he had been duped, and made all haste to return to Princeton, and thence to Brunswick. The colonial troops were too much exhausted by fatigue and exposure to permit of following out the plan against Brunswick. Hence Washington, allowing them to rest at Princeton until the latest possible moment, moved out of the town just before Cornwallis entered it, marched his troops to Morristown and placed them under cover, where they might recuperate. Later, knowing that the garrison of New York must be much weakened, he ordered Heath to make a reconnoissance in force and, if possible, regain the works of the lower Hudson; Heath, however, was obliged to forego any attempt against them and to return to Peekskill. The remainder of the winter passed away without any operations worthy of mention.

CHAPTER XV.

THE BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE AND LOSS OF PHILADELPHIA.

A LONG chapter might be written, enlarging upon the difficulties of reorganization which faced the commander at this most critical period. They were the same that had menaced the army from the beginning, arising from the ruinous system of short enlistment. Had it not been for the two intrinsically small advantages—that at Trenton and that at Princeton—spring would certainly have found Washington without a force sufficient to make a show of defense. The importance of these affairs was greatly exaggerated by popular report; they were magnified to the dimensions of decisive victories. Communities which had before looked upon the struggle as hopeless, came to have new confidence in the result and in their commander. The chief difficulties in the way of organization were of two-fold origin; the first came from the terrible suffering, want, sickness, and casualties of the Continental army; reports of these were not slow to travel, and a widespread fear and disinclination for the service was the result; the second trouble arose from the lack of a competent central authority to take control of recruiting. Congress was the creature of the colonies and could only appeal to each to do its share. The British had a fleet; the Americans none. The former might at any hour embark a force and quickly change the seat of war to a distant and unprotected colony. The feeling of individuality had not to any degree given way to that united spirit which has made the later republic a power. Each colony thought first of its own defense, and the people complained loudly if this were taken from them for the general good. The withdrawal of regulars made frequent calls upon militia inevitable, and thus agriculture suffered and production decreased, at the very time when the resources of the country were taxed for the support alike of friends and enemies. This statement must suffice to suggest the seriousness of the problem.

Congress was sanguine of effecting the happiest results. It passed

resolutions expressing its "earnest desire to make the army under the immediate command of General Washington sufficiently strong, not only to curb and confine the enemy within their present quarters, and to prevent their drawing support of any kind from the country, but, by the Divine blessing, totally to subdue them, before they can be reinforced." Washington was not disposed to encourage such rosy hopes. He answered the letter, enclosed in which were the resolutions, with one in which he wrote: "Could I accomplish the important object so eagerly wished by Congress, confining the enemy within their present quarters, preventing them from getting supplies from the country, and totally subduing them before they are reinforced, I should be happy indeed. But what prospect or hope can there be of my effecting so desirable a work at this time. The enclosed return, to which I solicit the most serious attention of Congress, comprehends the whole force I have in Jersey. It is but a handful, and bears no proportion on the scale of numbers to that of the enemy. Added to this the major part is made up of militia. The most sanguine in speculation can not deem it more than adequate to the least valuable purposes of war."*

General Washington was quite convinced that nothing could be done during the winter, with any existing force, or any that could be raised, hence he turned his thoughts and efforts to preparing for the spring campaign. His utmost exertions were put forward, yet, when May came, his army numbered only eight thousand three hundred and seventy-eight men, exclusive of cavalry and artillery; of these more than two thousand were sick and his effective rank and file was composed of but five thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight men.

This was a force miserably insufficient for a defensive war; aggressive measures were quite out of the question. To add to the embarrassment of his situation, Washington was in profound ignorance as to the destination and plans of the enemy. He felt confident, however, that one of two plans was contemplated; either that Burgoyne should make an effort to capture Ticonderoga, gain command of the northern lakes, and push his way to the Hudson, where Howe should join him, or that the former deserting the

*In a letter written to Governor Trumbull, on the 6th of March, 1777, begging for aid from Connecticut, Washington wrote: "I am persuaded from the readiness with which you have always complied with all my demands, that you will exert yourself in forwarding the aforementioned number of men upon my bare request; but hope you will be convinced of the necessity of the demand when I tell you, in confidence, that, after the 15th of this month, when the time of General Lincoln's militia expires, I shall be left with the remains of five Virginia regiments, not amounting to more than as many hundred men, and parts of two or three other colonial battalions, all very weak. The remainder of the army will be composed of small parties of militia from this State and Pennsylvania, upon whom little dependence can be put, as they come and go when they please. . . . The enemy must be ignorant of our numbers and situation, or they would never suffer us to remain unmolested; and I almost tax myself with imprudence in committing the secret to paper; not that I distrust you, of whose invaluable attachment I have had so many proofs, but for fear the letter should, by any accident, fall into other hands than those for which it is intended."

campaign in the north, should sail by sea to New York, and unite with Howe in a movement against Philadelphia. Washington's task was one to discourage any man. He could move only by weary marches; the British had but to call into use the great fleet which co-operated with them, and, here to-day, they might be gone to-morrow, making a descent at such point as best pleased them, their intentions being quite unknown until their white sails appeared in the offing. Against him he had arrayed two powerful armies, and to oppose them only a few thousands of undisciplined Continentals, with whom he must defend the three all-important positions—Ticonderoga, the Highlands, and Philadelphia, never knowing on what day the British might mass their forces to strike a decisive blow at one branch of his scattered army. He did not, however, for a moment despair, but, in the month of May, when general military movements became practicable, he so bestowed his forces as to render co-operation at least possible, and to reasonably protect each of these positions. The troops from New York and New England were divided between the posts at Peekskill and Ticonderoga; those from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and the colonies to the southward, as far as and including North Carolina, were attached to what may be called the army of the Delaware, under his own immediate command, and the men from the extreme south were left for the defense of Virginia and the more southerly coast colonies.

Washington's army broke camp at Morristown on the 28th day of May, and took a very strong position in the heights at Middlebrook, about ten miles from Brunswick. This camp was fortified, and, its occupation commanded not only a strong and defensible position, but one which gave an extended view of the country in every direction. In addition the commander directed the assembling, on the west bank of the river, of an army of militia, steadied by a few Continental soldiers. To the command of this force he advanced General Arnold. He felt confidence that Howe would hesitate to attempt to cross the Delaware with so considerable a body of men in his front and a strongly posted army in his rear. He had also quite determined not to take the open field unless he had a decided advantage, and he hoped that Howe, failing to draw him into action, and not daring to essay the passage of the river, might attack him in his strong and commanding position.

On the 14th of May, General Howe, with all of his army save two thousand men left as a garrison at Brunswick, advanced in two columns. His plan was to accomplish exactly what Washington had determined should not be done—the drawing of the Americans from their strong position. He had no doubt of his ability, meeting them on equal ground, to destroy their army and march unopposed upon Philadelphia. The means which Washington had prepared to defeat this plan proved effectual. The main army of the Americans was drawn out, in order of battle, upon the heights

before the works, and so remained for a day and a night, sleeping upon their arms. Howe did not dare place himself between two hostile forces, and soon began a retrograde march toward Amboy, much annoyed on the way, by American skirmishers, who hung upon and galled his flanks and rear. To cover these light parties, Washington advanced his army about seven miles, and Lord Stirling's division was pushed still farther toward the British rear. In the meantime the enemy pushed on, crossed the Raritan by the portable bridge which they had provided for the passage of the Delaware, and encamped on Staten island. Observing the advance of the Americans, General Howe re-crossed from the island and made a rapid march toward Westfield, hoping to bring on an engagement, and, perhaps, to turn the American left and gain their rear, thus cutting them off from their works. Howe's army was divided into two columns, one, under Cornwallis, was directed at the left of the Americans; the other, led by Howe in person, was to attempt securing possession of the camp at Middlebrook. An advance party of the provincials fell in with the rear of the British right and gave such timely notice of their coming, that Washington, hastily retiring, regained his position at Middlebrook. Cornwallis had a brisk skirmish with Lord Stirling, and drove the Americans from the ground, with the loss of three cannon and a few men. Stirling was pursued for a short distance, when, it being discovered that the heights were occupied and their passes defended, the recall was sounded, the British returned to Amboy, and the entire army was once more established upon Staten island.

What next? Washington was left simply to conjecture. While this condition of doubt remained, came news that Burgoyne was in great force upon Lake Champlain and was threatening Ticonderoga. This fact gave color to the opinion that Howe had retired, intending to force the Highlands and co-operate with the army of the North. Hence Washington ordered Sullivan's division to advance to Pompton plains, on the way to Peekskill, while he, with the main body of the army, moved to Morristown, that he might be able to reach Middlebrook, if Howe should be merely making a feint, or move on to Peekskill, should such a course seem necessary. Later intelligence led to Sullivan's advance quite to Peekskill, while the main body moved on to the Clove, there to await developments. This disagreeable state of doubt was lightened by a pleasant bit of news from the East. General Prescott had for some time held the British command in Rhode Island. With implicit confidence in his army and cruisers, and a corresponding contempt for the "rebels," he established his quarters at some distance from the main lines and on the night of the 10th fell into the hands of Lieutenant-colonel Burton, of the Rhode Island militia. The case bears a curious parallel to that of Lee, for whom Prescott was afterward exchanged.

On the 17th of July the British fleet dropped down the bay and disap-

peared to seaward, bearing the larger part of General Howe's army. Thus relieved from apprehensions as to the Hudson, Washington distributed his army in various quarters, within reach of the Delaware, all ready to march at a moment's warning. On the 30th of July the fleet appeared off the capes of the Delaware and orders were given to concentrate the colonial army for the defense of Philadelphia. These orders were scarcely issued when news came that the fleet had put to sea. Again, on the 7th of August, the armament appeared south of the capes and once more mysteriously put to sea, not to be heard of until the 16th, when it put into Chesapeake bay, sailed up to and entered Elk river, put up that stream as far as the water would permit, and, on the 25th of August, landed an army of eighteen thousand fresh, cheerful, and confident men, for service against Philadelphia.

The day before this landing, the American army, strengthened with militia from the neighboring colonies, marched through Philadelphia and advanced to Brandywine, its advance, under Greene and Stephens, holding a position upon White Clay creek, nearer the Elk. A considerable body of militia was massed in such a position related to the landing place, as to remain in the rear of the British army.

The entire numerical strength of Washington was, at the time, not far from fifteen thousand men, but, as was invariably the case, his sick were out of all proportion to the size of his army, and not more than eleven thousand of his force, including militia, could be counted as effective. The army would have been stronger by far, but for the detachment of troops which had been made to reinforce Schuyler in the North, and which comprised some of the best of the veterans. The main body was first placed behind Red Clay creek, upon the road connecting Howe's position with Philadelphia. On the 8th day of September the British moved in two bodies, the larger portion halting eight miles from Newark upon the American right; the other made a show of attacking in front, but settled in position within two miles of the center. Washington, fearing that his right would be turned and be cut off from the city, retreated across the Brandywine on the night of the 8th, and took position at Chadd's ford, the army being extended several miles above and two miles below Chadd's, to cover fordable places in the river. The time had come when he was forced to meet Howe in a general engagement, or desert Philadelphia to its fate. He knew that only a victory in or near the position he then held could save the city, and he gravely doubted the ability of his army to win, yet he was obliged to throw the die and abide by the cast. On the morning of the 11th the British army moved in a body upon the road leading to Chadd's ford. Skirmishing soon began; Maxwell's body of light infantry, which had been stationed beyond the river, was driven across by the British with little loss. Not far from 11 o'clock in the morning Washington received notice that a large body of British—not less than five thousand



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT MORRISTOWN.

men with artillery—had been detached and was marching rapidly toward the upper fords of the Brandywine. This report was followed by others of the most contradictory nature; it was believed by some that the movement was a feint, and that the detached troops, having decoyed away a portion of the American army, would return and join Knyphausen, who was formed opposite the ford. Some stated the force to be greater, some less; a man who left the fords of the Brandywine, after it should have arrived there, said that no enemy had been seen. Washington's first intention had been to detach Lord Stirling to oppose in force the crossing above, while he crossed the ford and attacked Knyphausen, but this he relinquished, in the absence of definite information as to the movements of the enemy. Finally, late in the day, all conjecture was set at rest by the news that Cornwallis had crossed the river above in great force, and was rapidly moving down upon the American position. Preparations were at once made to meet and resist the attack. The divisions of Sullivan, Stirling, and Stephens moved up the river, and formed to meet the column of Cornwallis; Wayne and Maxwell remained at the ford to hold Knyphausen in check, and Washington, taking a position between the two, held the rest of the army in reserve.

The Americans, detached to meet Cornwallis, were scarcely formed at a point above Birmingham meeting-house, when the British appeared in order of battle, and at about half past four the fight began. For some time the firing was kept up hotly on both sides; then the American right, unable longer to withstand the terrible fire and the pressure of superior numbers, broke and fell back, exposing the next division to a fire upon its flanks, which no force could long endure. So that, as well others in turn followed, and soon all were engaged in a disorderly retreat. Washington sent Greene with two brigades hurriedly forward to the support of the retreating army. He was, however, too late to check, he could only cover the retreat. This he did most gallantly, again and again repulsing the pursuing British, until the advance of fresh men in his front, coupled with the approach of darkness, led Cornwallis to give over pursuit and encamp for the night. In the meantime Knyphausen, only awaiting the opening of the fight in the other quarter, proceeded to cross the ford, which was defended by a small redoubt, mounting three field pieces and a howitzer. After a most brave and stubborn resistance the work was carried by the Hessians, and, the defeat of the right becoming known, the left retired and the American army encamped at Chester. The Americans lost in this battle three hundred killed and six hundred wounded. The British took six hundred prisoners, of whom nearly all are included in the number of the wounded. The loss of the British was still more heavy. The defeat of the right was due to the giving way of Deborre's brigade. After the close of the campaign an inquiry into the conduct of its commander was

ordered and he at once resigned. The battleground of the day was but twenty-six miles from Philadelphia, and all day long the inhabitants of that city remained in the public streets listening to the distant muttering of artillery. They stood in separate crowds, tories and whigs, wishing and praying for opposite results. In the evening came a courier announcing the defeat of the Americans, and a panic seized the patriots; whole families fled, the roads leading from the city were blocked with loads of household goods, while many deserted all they possessed, only seeking safety for themselves. All considered that Philadelphia was lost. Congress determined to remove from the city to Lancaster, and but awaited further news before carrying this resolve into execution, in the meantime ordering the Pennsylvania militia and fifteen hundred regulars from the Hudson to join Washington. They also conferred upon the commander in chief for a period of sixty days very extraordinary powers over all territory within ninety miles of headquarters. These included the right to impress stock and provisions, to suspend officers for misbehavior and to fill vacancies, under that of brigadier-general.

In this battle fought for the first time the young Marquis de Lafayette, who served as a volunteer, having a short time before come from France and received an honorary commission in the American army. Besides Lafayette, Count Pulaski, Captain Louis Fleury and General Conway also served as volunteers, with distinguished bravery, all being foreign officers. Congress made Pulaski a brigadier-general with command of cavalry, and voted Fleury a horse to replace the one killed under him in the fight. The unlucky Deborre, whose sensitiveness led to his resignation, as stated, was a Frenchman and a soldier of fortune. To Lafayette's pen we owe one of the most vivid and picturesque descriptions of the battle extant. On the morning of the 12th, Washington retreated through Derby and halted at Germantown, near Philadelphia, where he desired to give his army a day's rest. In spite of the retreat of the Americans, which was, in fact, nothing less than a total rout, General Howe, with the lack of promptness which had more than once saved the Continental army, neglected to pursue at once his manifest advantage, passed the night on the field of battle, spent the two days following at Dilworth, sending out detachments to seize several neighboring towns. Lafayette says, apropos of this dilatory course: "Had the enemy marched directly to Derby the American army would have been cut up and destroyed; they lost a precious night, and it is perhaps the greatest fault in this war, in which they have committed many."

Washington would not admit to himself that the battle was decisive. He sounded his soldiers upon their feelings, and, finding that they regarded the result at Brandywine as a check, not a defeat, resolved to have one more test of skill with Howe. He placed a militia guard in Philadelphia, distributed other detachments along the Schuylkill, removed the boats, form-

ing the floating bridge over the river, to his own side, then, on the 14th, re-crossing the river with his main army, advanced along the Lancaster road, in the hope of turning the left flank of the British. The enemy was prepared and had extended his right with the intention of outflanking. The forces approached each other near the Warren tavern, twenty-three miles from Philadelphia. The skirmish between the advance lines had actually commenced when began a heavy rain, which lasted twenty-four hours, effectually suspending the fight. The Americans suffered more from this storm than did the British, being unprovided with shelter or suitable clothing, and, worse than all, the ill-fitted locks of their muskets and the poor construction of their cartridge boxes, admitting water, so that an army already mostly without bayonets was, for the time, nearly without firearms as well. Such being the case, Washington felt that an attack would be suicidal; hence he began a retreat along roads deep with mud, a powerful enemy in his rear, ruined arms and useless cartridges his only defense; before him a helpless city. It was one of the most mortifying and trying moments of his long service. He had intended to halt for the remainder of the night at Yellow Springs, but an inspection at that point showed that scarcely one musket in a hundred, or one cartridge in a box could be discharged. Hence, the march was continued, and at Warwick Furnace, on the southern branch of French creek, ammunition and a few muskets were obtained. General Smallwood was already in the rear of the British force, and from French creek General Wayne was directed to move with his division, join Smallwood and, keeping his movements concealed as much as possible, to engage the enemy at every favorable opportunity. While occupying this position the British received minute information as to his force and situation. A night attack was made upon his position on the 20th of September. He was taken completely by surprise, but formed his men, fired a few volleys, retired and re-formed, saving all of his division but about two hundred and fifty killed, wounded, and prisoners. Wayne, severely criticised for allowing himself to be thus surprised, later demanded a court-martial, which being accorded, he was honorably discharged. Howe, with his rear thus disencumbered, marched to French creek and set himself down before Washington in such a manner that he might turn the right flank of the latter. Seeing his danger the American general effected one of his quick changes, and encamped in a more advantageous position. Howe seemed to despair of coming to blows, for he at once gave up the effort to engage, readily forced the fords of the Schuylkill, and moved toward Philadelphia, resting for the first night in a strong position upon the road. The commander was now placed in a very delicate and distressing position. Public opinion demanded the defense of Philadelphia at all hazards; Congress echoed the desire. A battle, so light a thing in the estimate of these civilians, seemed to Washington to mean almost certain disaster. His army had

not yet been joined by the forces detached under Wayne and Smallwood. His reinforcements from the Hudson had been detained by an incursion from New York, but were now approaching, while a militia reinforcement was daily expected from New Jersey. He would soon be comparatively strong. Now he was weak,—lamentably weak—and, look at it as he might, he could see nothing to justify him in risking an open fight with a superior force. A council of war was accordingly held; the situation was carefully canvassed, and the unanimous voice of the officers, composing the council, was against risking the existence of an army upon which everything depended, in what must prove a vain effort to succor even so important a city as Philadelphia.

The condition of the army was now indeed most distressing. It was the old story. Winter was coming with no provision to meet it. A thousand men in the army were absolutely without shoes. Clothing of every kind was scanty and ragged. Food for the winter was to be found; hospital stores for the sick, who at times threatened to be in a majority. Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Hamilton, one of Washington's aides, was sent to Philadelphia with a message recommending that cloths, medicines, and other stores needed by the army be seized, warrants given for their value, and the whole removed to a place of safety, for the double purpose of supplying a great want and of preventing them from falling into the hands of the British. In spite, however, of all his address, Hamilton failed to obtain a supply approaching adequacy, though nearly all such supplies in the city, whether in the public stores or the property of individuals, were carried away so that when the British entered on the 26th of September they found, like Mother Hubbard, only a very bare cupboard.

CHAPTER XVII.

BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN—CLOSE OF THE CAMPAIGN.

AFTER the loss of Philadelphia, Washington's first desire and effort were to make the British tenure of that city insecure. He therefore erected works on Mud island, near the junction of the Schuylkill and the Delaware, which were christened Fort Mifflin; another work—Fort Mercer—was thrown up at Red Bank, opposite Mud island, on the Jersey shore, and, between the two, in the deep water of the channel, was sunk a line of *chevaux de frise*, which could not be penetrated so long as the American defenses were held. Three miles below, another line of obstructions was placed in the river, defended by a fort at Billingsport. Several American vessels of war, including two frigates and a number of galleys, were disposed above Fort Mifflin, and it was hoped, by the combined action of all, to prevent the co-operation of the British fleet with the army at Philadelphia; to render impossible the obtaining of supplies for the latter by water, and to so command the upper river shores as to prevent the collection of supplies from New Jersey. Such a blockade, if maintained, was certain to compel the evacuation of Philadelphia. At the very outset of this endeavor the Americans were so unfortunate as to lose the frigate Delaware, which was left aground by the receding tide and captured, while cannonading the unfinished works of the British near Philadelphia. Lord Howe was not slow in perceiving the necessity of opening the communication by water between the captured city and the sea. To this end he detached a force into the Jerseys, to accomplish the capture of the American works at Billingsport, and to co-operate with the fleet in the clearing of remaining obstacles to the navigation of the Delaware.

A close observation of Washington's tactics during the war, will show how uniform was his practice of striking offensive blows, when the enemy was divided in his force; such a policy was likely, even when not crowned with success, to compel the recall of detachments and the abandonment of

secondary objects, for the preservation of the hostile army. In this case he no sooner learned of the expedition against Billingsport, than he determined to attack Howe in his camp at Germantown, a straggling village, stretched from north to south, along the road, for a distance of nearly two miles. Four roads approached Germantown from the north: the Skippack, the main highway, leading directly through the village and to Philadelphia; on the right the Ridge road joining the main road below, and in the rear of the village, on the left of the Limekiln road, which, making a sudden turn at right angles, enters Germantown at the market place, and, still farther on the left, the York road, entering the Skippack road beyond the village. The British army was encamped across the lower portion of Germantown,—the right wing, under Grant, on the east of the road, the left on the west. The advance of the army lay more than two miles from the main body, on the west of the main road, a picket with artillery was thrown still farther forward, and, nearly a mile in the rear of the advance, was stationed the Fortieth regiment of infantry.

Washington charged Sullivan with the command of his right. He was to be supported by a force in reserve, under Stirling, and flanked by Conway's brigade, and was to move down the Skippack road, and attack the British left. At the same time General Armstrong was to advance by the Ridge road and reach the enemy's right and rear; while Greene, in command of the left wing, was to enter Germantown, at the market-house, by the Limekiln road, and distribute his force upon Howe's right, left and rear.

This arrangement was an excellent one, and its execution was well begun. The American army moved from its position upon the Skippack road at 7 o'clock in the evening, and, marching nearly twenty miles, Sullivan's advance encountered and drove in the British pickets at daylight of the 4th. In a few moments the British light infantry and the Fortieth regiment, were engaged, and, in turn forced back. Lieutenant-colonel Musgrave, with five companies of the Fortieth, took refuge in the stone house of Mr. Chew, from which neither the charges of the Americans nor their light field pieces could dislodge him. Leaving a regiment to watch the house, the remainer of the American advance passed to the left. A half hour later the left came into the fight, attacking the right of the British advance and forcing it quickly back upon the main body. Woodford's brigade, which was upon the extreme right of this wing of the Americans, was checked by the fire from Chew's house, and repeated the futile efforts to dislodge its occupants. In this operation some time was lost; the American front was thus broken, the division of Stephens separated from the remainder of the wing, and the two brigades forming the division lost each other. The remainder of the force pushed vigorously on, entered the town, broke a portion of the British right, and took a number of prisoners. Had the entire American left been in action at once, and had the other

division done its part, the British army would assuredly have been cut and at least badly crippled. The morning was an unfortunate one for the enterprise; a dense fog lay over the ground and prevented the Americans from seeing the position of the British, and from reuniting the separated divisions of their own army; the militia assigned to duty in the British rear made as usual only feeble demonstrations and drew off. The ground of the battle was broken by houses and enclosures; the American force, groping in the fog, was still further divided by these, and, at last, all unity and concert of movement was lost. Under cover of this confusion the British recovered, and Knyphausen, upon the left, attacked Sullivan, while the enemy's right engaged Greene's divided force with great spirit. The latter could not long withstand the attack, began a retreat, and this retreat became most confused when, having fallen back upon Stephens' front, the Americans were for a time taken for enemies. About the same time the right, under Sullivan, began a retreat, having exhausted its ammunition. Washington, seeing that success was hopeless, turned his attention to securing the withdrawal of his army, which he did without loss, covering it by Stephens' division, which had scarcely fired a shot. The army retreated twenty miles to Perkiomen creek, where it was reinforced by one thousand five hundred militia and a regiment of regulars from Virginia. It then advanced and once more took its old position upon the Skippack road. The Continental loss was, approximately, two hundred killed, six hundred wounded, and four hundred captured. The British lost one hundred killed, and four hundred wounded. In spite of the failure of the movement, Congress expressed its approval of the plan and of the spirit with which it was sought to be executed. General Stephens, whose stupidity did more to lose the day than any other single cause, was court-martialed for misconduct and intoxication, and was dismissed from the service in disgrace,—a punishment which his offense richly merited.

The days immediately following the affair at Germantown were occupied by the Americans in devising means for cutting off Howe's supplies from Pennsylvania and New Jersey. Parties were sent out to harass and capture foragers, and Congress made the selling of certain specified articles to the British an offense against martial law, punishable by death. Howe, on his part, was looking to the reduction of Fort Mifflin. He erected works at the mouth of the Schuylkill, commanding the ferry; these were silenced by fire from the American war vessels in the river. During the following night a British force occupied Province island, within short range of the barracks at Fort Mercer, and constructed a work from which they began to cannonade the fort. Soon after daybreak an American detachment embarked, took this work, and captured the garrison. While they were removing the prisoners, a large body of British appeared, and re-occupying the island, strengthened its defenses, and so disposed them as to

enfilade the American works. An effort was made, without effect, to dislodge this force, as well. The Americans then constructed a defense against their fire, and awaited developments. In the meantime Lord Howe, with the British fleet, had gained the mouth of the Delaware on the 4th and 6th of October, and was endeavoring, thus far without success, to force a way through the obstructions in the river, below Fort Mifflin. Though the fort at Billingsport was in the hands of the British, the little American armament in the river had proved so annoying as greatly to retard operations. The British kept up a heavy cannonade upon Mifflin, from works on the Pennsylvania side of the river, but did no great amount of damage. The *chevaux de frise* at Billingsport being at last broken, so far as to permit, with the exercise of great care, the passage of a vessel, Howe determined that Fort Mifflin must be reduced at all hazards, so that the second line of obstructions might be removed.

On the evening of October 22d, a body of twelve hundred Hessians, under Count Donop, detached from Philadelphia, attacked the fort at Red Bank with great spirit. It was defended with equal bravery. Almost at the outset Donop received a mortal wound, as did his second in command. The garrison was reinforced from Fort Mifflin, when Lieutenant-colonel Linsing withdrew his force and retired to Philadelphia. The Hessian loss was placed at four hundred killed and wounded. Vessels from the fleet had been ordered to co-operate with Count Donop, and five ships, the *Augusta* being the largest, passed the gap at Billingsport and came up with the flood-tide. Some distance below Mifflin, the *Augusta* and the *Merlin* ran aground. The rest came within range of the fort and began a brisk cannonade, which was maintained all night, in the hope of getting off the two vessels. This proving impracticable, both were burned in the morning, the *Augusta* blowing up before all of her crew could escape.

Washington was very anxious to strike a successful blow at Howe before a connection with the fleet could be effected, and since the battle of Germantown had been watching an opportunity so to do. Taught by experience, however, Howe was very wary and the Americans had been obliged to remain inactive. Washington had little confidence in his ability to hold Fort Mifflin if it were regularly attacked; he had less in the issue of a battle undertaken with General Howe, in the existing condition of his army. News had come of the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga, and he felt that, could he but gain time until the Northern army, then under Gates, should join him, he would be in a position to take the offensive, while an attack made before the arrival of such reinforcements might place him beyond their help. Hence, he dispatched Colonel Hamilton to urge upon Gates the sending of the bulk of his force to the relief of the army in Pennsylvania. Hamilton found a portion of Gates' force with Putnam at Peekskill. He made representations which he supposed would ensure its



GENERAL BURGOYNE.

speedy advance to the relief of Washington, then hastened to Albany, where Gates was holding the main body with a view to an expedition against Fort Ticonderoga in the spring. Washington's orders to Gates were, unfortunately, not peremptory, and that officer demurred to sparing any men, urging that he needed them to guard the arms and stores captured with Burgoyne, and removed to Albany. At last Hamilton succeeded in procuring the detachment of three brigades to proceed to the Delaware. He then returned to Peekskill and was much mortified to find that the troops from that point had not yet moved. The reasons for this tardiness were that the pay of the men was in arrears, and that they deemed their service ended with the campaign. Hamilton, always quick in expedient, borrowed enough money with the aid of Clinton, the Governor of New York, to pay the men, and hurried them on to the army.

Before the coming of any of these reinforcements, Howe had regained the control of the Delaware, by what would have been the cheapest and the surest means in the first instance. He strengthened the works on Province island, mounted them with twenty-four and thirty-six pounders and eight-inch howitzers, and, on the morning of the 10th of November, opened a terrible fire upon Fort Mifflin, at a range of about five hundred yards, which was maintained for several days. The garrison had been instructed to hold the fort at all hazards, and nobly did they comply with instructions. Their barracks were battered to pieces; the works terribly injured; the guns dismounted,—still they remained at their posts, working all night to repair the damage of the day, and hurrying to their places at daybreak to keep up the answering cannonade. Only a few hours' sleep was allowed each man, and that on the cold and muddy ground. From time to time, relief was sent from Varnum's brigade, which lay for that purpose on the Jersey shore of the river. Finding the defense so unexpectedly stubborn, the British fleet was called upon for co-operation; several war vessels moved up before the fort and added their fire to that of the works upon Province island. Still the garrison held the works and answered as best it was able, though the fire from the vessels as it enfiladed the works was more destructive than any they had yet met. At last the *Vigilant* ship of war succeeded in securing a position between Mud and Province islands, and at a range of not more than one hundred yards from the works, opened a terrible cannonade, also throwing hand grenades and keeping up a fire from musketeers in the rigging, which was fatal to every man of the garrison who showed himself. From that time it became evident that an attempt to hold the works would be nothing better than the murder of its defenders. Consequently, at about 11 o'clock on the night of the 17th of November the garrison was withdrawn. After this result, it was at first determined to defend Fort Mercer, but that plan was relinquished, and Lord Cornwallis appearing with a large force, for its reduction, it was, a few days

later, evacuated, and the Howe's, general and admiral, at last, and after six weeks' constant struggle, attended with great loss and expense, were masters of water communication from Philadelphia to the sea.

The remainder of the campaign may be dismissed in a few words. Its principal feature was the demonstration of General Howe against the American position upon the heights at Whitemarsh. It began with an effort at a surprise made on the night of December 4th. General Howe then marched quietly out of Philadelphia at the head of his entire force, and moved toward the American lines. Washington was, however, amply forewarned, and Howe was so effectively assailed in his front by small skirmishing parties, that he was obliged to change his line of march, and finally found himself at daylight, on Chestnut hill, three miles in front of the American right. The American position was upon a range of hills parallel with those thus occupied, and farther northward, to the right of the ground then held by the British, the two heights approached each other much more closely. During the 7th and 8th Howe moved along the height, thus coming much nearer the American front. On the second day Washington, believing a general active movement imminent, detached Morgan's rifles and a body of Maryland militia to attack the advance of the British. A sharp action followed, in which the British were driven in, and Washington, not desiring to fight Howe on the ground where he lay, did not reinforce his skirmishers, and withdrew them with small loss. During the 7th and 8th the British continued to manœuvre toward the left of the Americans, and Washington changed his position accordingly. On the afternoon of the latter day Howe confounded the Americans by filing off and marching to Philadelphia, thus closing active operations for the season. His loss was not far from one hundred killed and wounded, while that of the Americans was much less. This was the first occasion when the two armies had faced each other upon the open field, with anything like numerical equality. The arrival of the reinforcements from the north had raised Washington's force to exactly twelve thousand one hundred and sixty-one Continental troops, and three thousand two hundred and forty-one militia, while that of Howe was not far from fourteen thousand regulars.

Washington has been criticized for not having precipitated a battle upon this occasion. That he was quite right in not doing so now seems evident. The same considerations which induced Howe to forego the attack, were sufficient to more than justify him, whose force, though numerically stronger, was infinitely less effective than that of the enemy. Whoever took the initiative, as between two armies thus placed upon opposite heights, must have been at a nearly fatal disadvantage. Howe recognized this fact as clearly as did Washington. Neither commander deemed it safe to make an attack, hence the battle was not fought.

The cold was now so intense, and the suffering so terrible, that Wash-

ington resolved to place his men in winter quarters. A strong position was chosen at Valley Forge, on the west side of the Schuylkill, about twenty-five miles from Philadelphia, and the army crossed the river, and took possession on the 12th day of December. The cold became more and more severe; the sufferings of the army increased in proportion. The work of building the rude log huts which were to be their shelter for the winter engrossed all hands however, and in a few days the soldiers were under cover, and as comfortable as men could be, who were poorly clad for enduring even a summer rain. Washington gave direction for the maintenance of a routine and discipline, exact as would have been required in camp, during active service. The enemy was too near to render safe the slightest laxity. He also commended the men for their bravery and faithfulness, exhorted them to continued courage, and did everything in his power to nerve them to the endurance of a winter which he knew could not but be full of hardship and suffering.

This long campaign, extending from May until December of the year 1777, was made the basis of much adverse criticism of Washington, and was turned to account by jealous enemies who desired to supplant him in his command. Posterity has done justice, however, by uniting in the verdict that not the most brilliant achievement of the war was more worthy of a great general, than was the conduct of the American armies from White Plains to Valley Forge. With a vastly inferior force,—a force which his enemies sneered at as a rabble and an army of beggars—he held Lord Howe's splendid army for months in an advance of less than one hundred miles. He made every step a costly one for the British; he lost battles, when ruin seemed to be the price of defeat, only to regain his feet, reform and present himself anew in the face of his enemy. With little and inadequate artillery, he held divorced the British fleet and army for weeks, in spite of the best efforts of both to the contrary, and finally, though Philadelphia fell into the hands of the enemy, he was left with an army better than that with which he began. A small or reckless man may by chance win a battle; it requires a great one to plan and execute a campaign calling for such patience, care and foresight as did that of 1777.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE BURGOYNE CAMPAIGN.

BEFORE following further the immediate fortunes of Washington, a short review of movements in the North will be given, as necessary to a just understanding of subsequent events. The final retirement of the American army from offensive operations in Canada, had left Ticonderoga upon Lake Champlain and Fort George upon the lake of the same name, the northern outposts of the colonial power. The question of precedence between Gates and Schuyler had been for the time accommodated, Schuyler, in command of the Northern department, holding the headquarters fixed for him by Congress, at Albany; while Gates, as second in command, was stationed at Ticonderoga. That an invasion from Canada was more than likely, no one doubted, yet for many months the position on the lakes was rather one of expectancy than of immediate apprehension. During the continuation of this state of affairs, Schuyler, though an able and singularly patriotic commander and a kindhearted and unselfish man, was far from popular, especially with the people of New England, and was made the victim of much unjust and very vexatious criticism and misrepresentation. It was sought to lay at his door all the misfortunes, reverses, and the final failure of the American arms in Canada, to which so great a variety of unavoidable circumstances contributed At last, goaded out of all patience, he forwarded his resignation to Congress. This Congress refused to accept, at the same time passing a vote of confidence in his ability and loyalty, and expressing high appreciation of his services. There is no doubt that the assaults made upon Schuyler, from time to time, originated in the ambition and jealousy of Gates, who would hesitate at no treachery or meanness to remove an obstacle from his path, and that this first failure was a most bitter disappointment to him. Schuyler had evidently no suspicion of the duplicity of his subordinate; his letters to Gates show confidence and some of them are almost affectionate. The resolutions referred to, restored matters for a time

to the *status quo;* Gates remained at Ticonderoga, Schuyler returned to Albany. It was not long, however, before the sensitive honor of the latter was again offended. A packet of letters captured by the British and recaptured, was found to contain one from Colonel Joseph Trumbull, commissary-general, in which it was insinuated that Schuyler had withheld a commission sent to the brother of the writer, Colonel John Trumbull, to be deputy adjutant-general. Schuyler, who was fiery upon any point touching his honor, at once wrote to Congress, demanding an instant investigation of the matter, also indignantly denying any connection with it. Congress did not at once comply with his demand, and, at the same time when it was received, discharged from the service of the Government an army surgeon whom Schuyler had especially recommended. The effect of this neglect and, as Schuyler regarded it, the deliberate slight offered him in the person of his protege, was to bring the anger of the general to the boiling point. While in this state of mind, he wrote a communication to Congress, which was none of the mildest, reiterating his demand for an inquiry, and asserting that Congress should have advised him of the reason for the surgeon's dismissal. Many members of Congress took great umbrage at this letter; the opportunity was improved by the partisans of Gates, who, finding support from many New England delegates, acting from more honest motives, secured the adoption of a resolution censuring Schuyler for disrespect. Gates was at the time in the shadow of the capitol, having obtained leave, for the purpose of prosecuting his personal schemes with Congress. Almost immediately after the vote of censure, it was determined to appoint a general officer for the northern department, a step which Schuyler had recommended. In accordance with this resolve, President Hancock notified Gates to at once "proceed to Ticonderoga and take command of the army stationed in that department." This language was certainly ill-considered. Upon receiving a copy of the resolutions of censure, and learning of this order to Gates, Schuyler considered himself superseded; while Gates proceeded to his post, filled with exultation at having finally attained his desired independence of command. Yet Congress had no idea, in providing for the appointment of a general officer for the department, that he should displace, or be the equal in command of Schuyler, who was then at its head. Gates received his order on the 25th of March, and immediately set out as desired; on the road he passed Schuyler, who was bent upon going before Congress to obtain the justice of an inquiry, which should permit him, as he ardently desired, to lay down his command with honor to himself. It was after reaching Philadelphia that he learned of the censure, and of Gates' appointment. Being accredited to Congress as a delegate from New York, he took his seat as a member of that body, and on the 18th, the desired committee of inquiry, consisting of one delegate from each colony, was appointed. In the mean time, Lee being a prisoner, Schuyler

was the senior major-general of the army, and assumed command at Philadelphia, strengthening defenses, hastening the recruiting of troops, and greatly aiding in the proper organization of the commissary department of the army. Early in May the committee made a report completely exonerating him from the odium cast upon him by Trumbull's insinuations, and also officially informing him that Congress entertained as high an opinion of him as it did before the letter was written which evoked his censure. This rehabilitation of Schuyler provoked a long and animated discussion in Congress as to the status of Gates, a discussion which resulted in an avowal that it had not been the intention of Congress to advance him to the command of the northern department. Schuyler returned to his command at Albany upon the 3d day of June, and Gates, who had not proceeded farther than that city, obtained leave to return to Philadelphia, while St. Clair took command at Ticonderoga. Though the action of Congress had been simply to define his position, Gates clung to his own interpretation of the matter, and persisted in regarding himself as degraded from command. He proceeded to Philadelphia; obtained admission to the floor of the House, by representing that he was the bearer of important news; then, after some trivial communication regarding Indian affairs, launched into an almost hysterical tirade concerning his treatment. The House was at last compelled to cause his withdrawal, and to give him notice that any future communications in the matter must be submitted in writing.

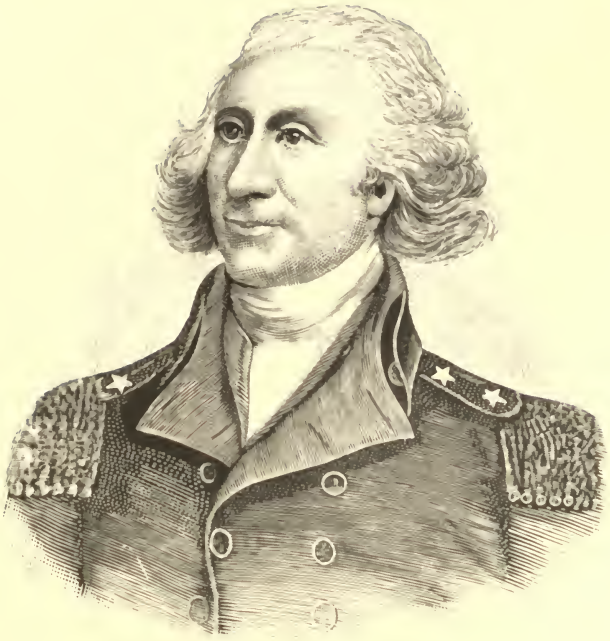
Affairs were in this condition when it was announced that General Burgoyne, who had returned from Canada to England during the previous year, had re-crossed the Atlantic and was preparing for a movement in force, through Lake Champlain and the Hudson, to effect a junction with the army of General Howe. This news reached Washington early in June, and Schuyler at once proceeded to devise means for strengthening the garrisons and defenses at the North. The main hope of the Americans lay in defending Ticonderoga, and in completing and holding Fort Independence, then in course of construction upon a lofty hill, directly across the lake from that fort. The lake is there very narrow and had been spanned by a broad bridge of boats, by a log boom and a heavy chain, which were deemed, in conjunction with the guns from either shore, quite sufficient to prevent a passage by water. It may be stated that these obstructions, which had required nine months of constant and costly labor to stretch across the lake, were cut by the British in about four hours. The principal depot of stores for the army was upon Lake George and the maintenance of communication between the forts upon Lake Champlain, and the base of supplies, was of the first importance.

Burgoyne set out from St. Johns on the 16th of June with an army made up as follows: of the British rank and file, three thousand seven hundred and twenty-four; three thousand and sixteen Brunswickers; two hundred

and fifty Canadians; four hundred Indians, and four hundred and seventy-three artillerymen, making in all seven thousand eight hundred and sixty-three men. The army was provided with a magnificent train of brass cannon, and with baggage and impedimenta enough to have put Braddock to the blush. From St. Johns, Burgoyne dispatched a detachment of seven hundred regulars and Canadians, under Colonel St. Leger, who it was intended should land at Oswego, on Lake Ontario, effect a junction with Sir John Johnson and his tory followers, obtain an Indian contingent, and, capturing Fort Stanwix, lay waste the valley of the Mohawk, and rejoin Burgoyne at Albany. The plan was admirably laid and the possibility of failure did not once enter as an element into Burgoyne's calculations.

On the 30th Burgoyne, having made a landing some distance above Ticonderoga, began a simultaneous movement towards the American works, —the main body, under his personal command, on the west shore of the lake; the Germans, under Baron de Riedesel on the east, with the fleet—frigates, transports and bateaux;abreast of his march. The garrisons were looking for reinforcements, but were well provisioned and confident of sustaining a defense until they should be relieved. Four miles north of Fort Ticonderoga, Burgoyne halted, entrenched himself and sent out scouts and reconnoitering parties to observe the strength of the fort. On the 2d of July St. Clair abandoned his outworks, burned a number of mills and other buildings, and concentrated his force in the fort. Unfortunately, he failed to garrison an outpost about half a mile in advance of the extreme left of his line, which had been erected to cover a weak point in the old French works. This was taken possession by the British, mounted with heavy guns, and thus the communication with Lake George was effectually cut off. Worse, however, remained behind. Sugar hill, a ridge extending like a backbone, between the two lakes, lay back of Fort Ticonderoga, presenting a precipitous descent of six hundred feet to the water of Lake Champlain. The fortification of this point had often been urged but it was claimed to be out of range and inaccessible with artillery. The British disproved both of these assertions. Having pretty thoroughly invested Ticonderoga below, they opened a brisk cannonade from the work which has been mentioned, and, undetected, cut a road up the mountain, hauled their guns from tree to tree, and twenty-four hours after the first blow was struck, the garrison below was appalled to discover the height occupied by red-coated British, and a work well advanced, from which Forts Ticonderoga and Independence might easily be laid in ruins about the ears of their garrisons, without the loss of a man to the British. Recognizing the futility of a defense, St. Clair determined upon evacuating the fort for the preservation of his army. This resolve was made about 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 5th of July. At nightfall the sick, wounded, non-combatants, provisions, and ammunition were loaded upon bateaux and, under cover of a few gun-boats, dis-

patched to Skenesborough (now Whitehall), at the head of the lake. The heavy artillery was spiked. It was contemplated that the garrison of Ticonderoga should cross and cut the bridge, and being joined by that of Fort Independence, take a circuitous route on the east side of the lake and place themselves in the stockaded fort at Skenesborough. All went well until about 3 o'clock in the morning. Then, St. Clair having crossed the bridge with his main body, some one at Fort Independence set fire to a house which, burning brilliantly, revealed to the British the American army in full retreat. An alarm was at once raised and, before the American rearguard, under Colonel Francis, could cross, General Fraser was in Fort Ticonderoga with his pickets. The men comprising the American rear dispersed into the woods and for the most part made their escape. In the morning the English flag floated from both forts; a strong force was in hot pursuit of St. Clair, and by 9 o'clock the fleet had cut the boom and chain, and was following the bateaux of the Americans. The latter reached Skenesborough in safety, but before the galleys, which escorted them, had come up, they were overtaken by the British gunboats, two of them captured and the three remaining, sunk. Those who had landed at Skenesborough set fire to everything combustible and fled to Fort Anne. Schuyler was at Fort Edward, but a few miles distant, with fifteen hundred men whom he was leading to the reinforcement of Fort Ticonderoga. A portion of these he sent to the relief of Colonel Long, who commanded the party at Fort Anne. A body of British coming up, Long, after a gallant fight, set fire to Fort Anne, and, retreating, joined Schuyler at Fort Edward. The main body of the American army forced its retreat on the first day to Castleton, a distance of thirty miles. Early on the following morning it was overtaken and attacked by General Fraser, with about eight hundred and fifty men. The cowardly failure of two militia regiments to support the rear guard as ordered, saved the British advance from destruction and prolonged the battle, until Baron de Riedesel with the main body of the pursuers came up and the Americans were put to flight with heavy loss. More than two hundred were killed outright; six hundred men were wounded, and two hundred and ten were made prisoners. St. Clair pushed on from the scene of this battle to Rutland, and learning of the fate of Skenesborough, from thence made his way to Fort Edward and joined Schuyler. There, too, came most of the stragglers of the army, and, notwithstanding its miserable plight, Schuyler at once set about its reorganization, bringing stores and equipments from Lake George, and straining every nerve to procure reinforcements of regulars, and to raise the militia of the northern colonies. By such exertions he soon had at least an organization with which to oppose Burgoyne. One of the few men in the colonial army who did not sincerely mourn the loss of Ticonderoga, was General Gates. In the narrowness of his jealousy he saw in it only a justification of



PHILIP SCHUYLER.

himself and an impeachment of the motives of those who had refused to give him the independent command of the North. He and his friends were active everywhere in fomenting dissatisfaction with Schuyler, and in encouraging the belief that he had directed the evacuation of the fort. It was difficult for the people at large to understand that circumstances could arise which should warrant the abandonment without contest of works admittedly so strong, and which had cost so great a sum to the treasury. Washington's letter to Schuyler, on the 15th of July, is characteristically forbearing and hopeful. He says: "The evacuation of Ticonderoga and Fort Independence is an event of chagrin and surprise, not apprehended nor within the compass of my reasoning. The stroke is severe indeed and has distressed us much. But notwithstanding things at present wear a dark and gloomy aspect, I hope a spirited opposition will check the progress of General Burgoyne's arms, and that the confidence derived from success will hurry him into measures that will, in their consequences, be favorable to us. We should never despair. Our situation has before been unpromising and has changed for the better. So, I trust it will again. If new difficulties arise we must only put forth new exertions, and proportion our efforts to the exigency of the times."

In a later communication written to Schuyler, Washington foreshadowed the course of events in these words: "I trust General Burgoyne's army will meet, sooner or later, an effectual check; and, as I suggested before, that the success he has met will precipitate his ruin. From your accounts he appears to be pursuing that line of conduct which, of all others, is favorable to us. I mean acting in detachment. This conduct will certainly give room for enterprise on our part and expose his parties to great hazard. Could we be so happy as to cut one of them off, though it should not exceed four, five, or six hundred men, it would inspirit the people and do away with much of our present anxiety." The opportunity was not long lacking; in the face of the obstructions cast in the way of his march, Burgoyne reached the Hudson, near Fort Edward, only on the 30th of July. He was most anxious to reach Albany, to make his junction with St. Leger, who, as he made no doubt, was already in possession of Fort Stanwix. His army and great burthen of baggage called, however, for means of transportation far greater than he possessed. Bateaux in which to convey his baggage by water; horses for his guns and wagons, were indispensably necessary before he could move. While pondering this problem Skene, the tory, who had accompanied him from Skenesborough, informed him that large numbers of horses and wagons, as well as military stores of great importance, were accumulated at the town of Bennington, guarded only by a small and varying body of militia. These, Skene represented, might be easily taken and it would thus be not only possible to move and sustain the army, but to mount the cavalry. Burgoyne was not well inclined toward

the enterprise, but it offered great temptations and he eventually yielded to Skene's persuasions and detached for the service Colonel Baum, with five hundred Brunswickers, a body of American loyalists and an Indian contingent. To support Baum he threw his army down the river, made a bridge of boats, and placed his advance in the village of Saratoga. Lieutenant-colonel Brechman, with a strong body of troops, was drawn out still farther to reinforce Baum if such an unlikely necessity should occur. The New Hampshire militia was divided into two bodies, one commanded by the brave old General Stark, who served at Bunker Hill, the other by Colonel Seth Warner, the former associate of Ethan Allen. It happened that both Stark and Warner had reached Bennington with two thousand militia, which the latter was to lead to Stillwater to join Schuyler, and Baum came just in time to receive the attention of the whole body. He consequently entrenched himself and sent post haste for reinforcements. Brechman at once advanced his men, but the roads were so bad that it required thirty-two hours to march the distance of twenty-four miles to Bennington. In the meantime Stark had made a furious attack upon the works from front and rear and, although they were bravely defended, almost the whole of Baum's force had been either killed, wounded or made prisoners. The undisciplined militia were carried away by their success and dispersed over the field in search of better equipments than their own. While they were thus engaged, at 4 o'clock in the afternoon of August 16th, Brechman appeared and would inevitably have reversed the fortune of the battle had not Warner come up with a fresh regiment and held him in check while the main force of the Americans reformed. The fight was then renewed and maintained with great vigor on both sides until darkness fell, then Brechman retreated, leaving his artillery, baggage, and many dead and wounded upon the field. The Americans lost in this battle one hundred killed and wounded. They captured four brass field-pieces, nine hundred dragoon swords, a thousand stand of arms, four ammunition wagons, a quantity of baggage, and as prisoners thirty-two officers and five hundred and sixty-four privates. The number of the British killed and wounded was very great, but has never been accurately determined.

In the meantime, on the 10th of August, Schuyler had received a summons from Congress to appear before a court of inquiry, appointed to investigate the matter of the loss of Ticonderoga; Washington was at the same time asked to appoint an officer to the command in the North, but requested to be relieved of the duty, and Gates was named by Congress, thus at last realizing his long cherished ambition. When Schuyler received his notification, he was engrossed in his effort to reorganize the army, to relieve Fort Stanwix, and to cripple Burgoyne by cutting off his supplies. He saw that for him to at once leave his post and obey the summons to Philadelphia, would be to gravely imperil the fate of his army and the inter

ests of the people. Hence he pocketed his pride and determined to remain until actually relieved, and, even after that, to co-operate with Gates, at the head of the New York militia. Fort Stanwix was invested by regulars, tories, and Indians; General Herkimer had been defeated and fatally injured in an independent effort to relieve it. General Arnold was at Albany, sore at heart on account of the promotion of other officers over his head, and without a command. He readily consented to lead a force to the relief of the fort,—an adventurous and doubtful service, which well suited his mind and disposition. He set out with a body of Continentals, the strength of which he artfully caused to be much exaggerated to the enemy, and the latter, becoming alarmed at these reports and the defection of his Indian allies, fled with precipitation while Arnold was not yet within forty miles, leaving his tents standing and his baggage on the ground. Such Indians as remained with him, raised repeated false alarms, for the purpose of increasing the panic and the amount of their own plunder, and massacred such stragglers as fell into their hands. A party from the fort pursued, and, overtaking the rear guard of the retreating army, killed or captured nearly all of them.

Thus, in a few weeks, was Burgoyne's exultation changed to something very closely approaching despair. Instead of expected aid from St. Leger and a body of loyalists which should constantly grow with his triumphant progress down the Mohawk; instead of ample supplies from the rebel stores at Bennington, with another contingent of tories from New England, he received news of hopeless defeat in both quarters. His holiday march to Albany, was changed into a stern struggle for self-preservation. With no adequate means of transportation; with a sad lack of supplies; with enemies all about him, coming up like mushrooms in a night, to cut off his foraging parties; with discontent and desertion among his Indian and Canadian allies,—with all these he saw that he must either fight successfully or surrender, unless succor should come from General Howe.

The effect of the victory at Bennington and the failure of the movement against Fort Stanwix, was to inspire the greatest confidence among the colonists of New York and New England. Finding that, with all their glitter and display, the British troops were not invulnerable, they showed a greater readiness to answer the call to arms than ever before. Their harvests were gathered, and many were hastening to places of rendezvous, when occurred an incident which was all that was needed to spur the most timid to resolution; this was the murder of Miss McCrea by one of Burgoyne's Indian allies. The story is too familiar to need re-telling. Burgoyne caused the offending chief to be delivered up, and was at first quite determined to hang him, but it was represented that such an act would inflame the Indians, and certainly result in their secession in a body. The general was in a difficult position; with the responsibility of an army on his hands, he did not feel justified in sustaining so great a loss, and hence, while he condemned and

abhorred the act, he felt constrained to release the chief, only exacting a pledge from the Indians that there should be no repetition of such offenses. Had the murderer been executed the indignation of the people would have been in a measure appeased. As it was, they very unjustly looked upon Burgoyne as an accessory after this fact. Miss McCrea was a member of a tory family, and was betrothed to a young man of the same inclining, who served with Burgoyne. Tories and patriots alike were furious at her death, and Burgoyne lost doubly in making enemies of friends. Gates took command the 19th of August; his army now included all the force of the Northern department, having been reinforced by Morgan's rifles and other troops from the South, and by large bodies of militia. On the 17th it encamped at Stillwater, and Burgoyne, after a toilsome march, lay four miles distant on the opposite side of the river. On the 18th he repaired the bridge between the two armies, under cover of a heavy cannonade, and, on the 19th, the day of Gates' arrival, he moved across and advanced upon the left of the Americans. He was met by Morgan's riflemen, who, advancing too far, were driven back; reinforcements came and the fight was resumed, the Americans being formed under cover of the woods. All day the battle continued, the colonials invariably repulsing the British whenever the latter advanced, and, if they pursued, being as often driven back in return. Reinforcements arrived, from time to time, for each party, and, when nightfall came, more than three thousand Americans were engaged with the whole British right, led by Burgoyne in person. With the coming of darkness, the former retired to their camp, while the British slept upon their arms. The Americans lost between three and four hundred men during the day, the British upwards of five hundred. The advantage of the fight was assuredly with the colonial army, which had checked the British, while Burgoyne, with a definite object in view, had failed of accomplishing it. On the following day Burgoyne took a position within cannon shot of the American lines, and proceeded to entrench. Receiving a letter from Sir Henry Clinton announcing that the latter would attack Fort Montgomery about the 20th of September, he sent a reply, stating his distress and imminent danger, and promising to strive by every means to hold his position until the 12th of October, hoping for relief from the south.

Neither Gates nor Burgoyne made any change of position, or any movement to attack, until the 7th of October. Burgoyne was then in desperate straits for provisions, his army being upon short allowance; he saw no prospect of immediate relief from Howe and determined to risk an action rather than to face starvation within his own lines. Hence he drew out on his right one thousand five hundred picked men, which he led in person, with the assistance of Generals Phillips, Riedesel, and Fraser. At the same time he sent a body of Indians and rangers to make a demonstration in the American rear, to draw attention from the more serious move-

ment in the front. Gates perceived these movements and proceeded to take steps to counteract them. He detached, for this purpose, a strong body of men to meet the advance of the enemy, and ordered Morgan's redoubtable corps to make a circuit and seize a very advantageous position, upon a hill to their right. The advance began and Burgoyne was met by a furious resistance in his front and an assault no less furious upon his left. At almost the same moment a terribly destructive fire was opened by Morgan, on his right. While the British were fighting bravely in the face of this combined attack and opposition, an American division was ordered to intercept their retreat to camp. Against this new manœuvre Burgoyne provided by ordering General Fraser to cover his flank. While Fraser was executing this order, a portion of the British right gave way, and he went to its support with his light infantry, which was exposed to the deadly fire of Morgan's men. Fraser himself, one of the most valuable officers in the army, was mortally wounded. Burgoyne then commenced a retreat and succeeded, with the loss of his field-pieces and nearly all of his artillery corps, in regaining his camp. The Americans were close behind him, and made repeated assaults upon his works. Late in the day Arnold, who had no regular command, dashed to the front, placed himself at the head of a body of men, and actually forced himself into the camp, but, his horse being killed and he wounded, retired. At the very close of the fight Lieutenant-colonel Brooks, with a Massachusetts regiment, turned the British right, stormed and carried the works of the Brunswickers, which he held, in spite of every attempt to dislodge him, and his men slept on the ground with their arms in hand. Burgoyne, recognizing that his position was untenable, changed it during the night for one upon the river bank, which he intrenched and hoped to be able to hold for a short time. Gates, however, dispatched a party higher up the river to cut off retreat in that direction, and placed a second detachment upon the bank, opposite Burgoyne's camp, thus effectually hemming him in. The British then retired, by a night march, to Saratoga, losing their hospital and considerable amounts of provisions and baggage. The next movement of their commander was to dispatch a body of engineers to repair the road to Fort Edward, but they had scarcely set out, when a strong body of Americans appeared upon the bank opposite the camp, and indicated a design to cross. Upon seeing these, the provincial loyalists, who formed a portion of the escort, ran away, while the Europeans thought prudent to retire. It was then boldly resolved to desert everything but such baggage and ammunition as the men could carry upon their backs, and endeavor to force a retreat to Fort George. Spies were sent out, but returned with information that the Americans had guarded every ford of the Hudson and had also established a fortified camp between Fort Edward and Fort George, so that this last resource was necessarily abandoned. There now seemed no hope for the army, and, on the 17th

day of October, having waited five days longer than he had promised General Clinton, Burgoyne opened negotiations with Gates for a surrender. A letter written by him to Lord Germain, Secretary of State for America, graphically states the condition of his army. It says: "A series of hard toil; incessant effort; stubborn action, until disabled in the collateral branches of the army by the total defection of the Indians, the desertion or timidity of the Canadians and provincials, some individuals excepted; disappointed in the last hope of co-operation from other armies; the regular troops reduced by losses from the best parts, to three thousand five hundred fighting men, not two thousand of which were British; only three days provisions, upon short allowance, in store; invested by an army of sixteen thousand men; and no appearance of retreat remaining, I called into council all the generals, field officers, and captains commanding corps, and, by their unanimous concurrence and advice, I was induced to open a treaty with Major-general Gates."

Upon the same day when the proposal was made, terms were agreed upon, and articles signed, whereby the British army was to move out of the camp with the honors of war, and give their parole to not again serve against the colonies during the war. Officers were to retain their arms, and private baggage to be untouched.

Upon the very day of this surrender, after the terms were agreed upon, but before they had been signed, came news which, had it been sooner received, might have induced Burgoyne to make still further resistance. It was to the effect that Forts Independence and Montgomery had fallen into the hands of Clinton, that the river was open, and that a force would be at once dispatched to his relief. When this message had been read in the council of war, the question of retiring from negotiation was considered, but all agreed that such action would be neither safe nor honorable.

The movement which resulted in the capture of the Hudson forts was begun by the embarkation of between three thousand and four thousand men under Clinton, who landed below Peekskill and made a feint upon Fort Independence. A large portion of the force crossed the river, completely deceiving Putnam, who commanded at Peekskill, and captured Forts Clinton and Montgomery, which were under command of General James Clinton and Governor Clinton. The latter's messages to Putnam, calling for reinforcements, were captured, and only the heavy cannonading awoke the general to a realization of the fact that he had been duped. On the following day the American vessels of war lying above the boom which spanned the river between the forts were burned, and Forts Independence and Constitution evacuated. This left the river in the hands of the British, who signalized their triumph by burning Continental village and Kingston (then Esopus), the capital of New York, as well as by committing other unpardonable outrages. The army then re-embarked and pushed up the river with Gover-

nor Clinton keeping abreast of it on one side and Putnam on the other. Then it put about, having heard of Burgoyne's surrender, destroyed the captured forts and returned to New York, having done little real harm to the Americans—less than the brutal burning and pillaging had done to their own cause, in inflaming their enemies and alienating their friends.

The account of this campaign has been given thus at length with the object of making clear the basis of the conspiracy which was meant to overthrow Washington and make Gates the commander of the army. Its intrinsic importance makes it one of the most interesting in the history of the Revolution, as it was followed by the permanent retirement of the British from the northern posts to St. Johns, and as it upset the plan of bisecting the colonies, by a line of posts from New York to Canada. It renewed the confidence of the people, well nigh silenced the tories of the North, frightened the Indians into good behavior, and laid a solid foundation for the formation of future armies. No campaign of the war exhibited such revulsion of fortune, was more bravely fought or more honorably concluded by either party, yet all this would not justify so prolonged a discussion of the subject in this place, had it not an ulterior significance, germane to the principal purpose of the author's work.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE WINTER AT VALLEY FORGE.—CONWAY'S CABAL.

THE story of that terrible winter at Valley Forge does not need recording in this place. The very name of the spot has passed into history as the synonym of privation and suffering. Probably no army engaged in a civilized warfare and in a rigorous climate, ever went into winter quarters so ill equipped, so ill fed, so utterly unprepared and unprotected as did they. Had one desired to follow their march, he might have done so by the bloody footprints of two thousand shoeless men in the cruel snow; there were days when they had no bread, many days when they had no meat, and the times were neither few nor far between when they had neither bread nor meat, and starvation literally stared them in the face. Cold, hungry, naked, sick—no memory of victory in the campaign passed; no reason for hoping better things for the future—what wonder that many murmured—yet those who murmured were fewer than those who suffered in silence; what wonder that some threatened mutiny and disobedience,—yet these were but a handful to the hundreds who died in mute and heroic endurance. Through it all Washington stood with his men, cheering and encouraging them by his words, fortifying them by his example. His heart bled for them as they suffered, and burned with indignation at the sloth and carelessness that made such suffering for the time unavoidable. Whatever of repute the most brilliant achievement in the field may have earned for Washington, none of all his noble works was more truly great than the bravery, cheerfulness, and devotion which bridged over the winter of 1778, and kept to its close an army so sorely needed. Others might and did win battles. He only could have done this thing. Yet there was so little of justice and sympathy in the people whose cause he had espoused! At the very outset, the Pennsylvania legislature adopted a memorial to Congress, protesting against the placing of the army in winter quarters and urging that it be kept in the field. Then, for once, Washington seemed



BURGOYNE'S SURRENDER.

to lose his usual patience, and wrote a letter to the president of Congress which tells more of the actual condition of affairs than could pages of description, and at the same time gives some idea of his own perplexities and troubles. He wrote:

"Though I have been tender, heretofore, of giving any opinion or lodging complaints, as the change in that department* took place contrary to my judgment, and the consequences thereof were predicted; yet, finding that the inactivity of the army, whether for want of provisions, clothes, or other essentials, is charged to my account, not only by the common vulgar, but by those in power, it is time to speak plainly in exculpation of myself. In truth, then, I can declare that no man, in my opinion, ever had his measures more impeded than I have, by every department of the army. Since the month of July we have had no assistance from the quartermaster-general; and, to want of assistance from this department, the commissary-general charges great part of his deficiency. To this I am to add that notwithstanding it is a standing order and often repeated, that the troops shall always have two days provisions by them, that they might be ready at any sudden call; yet an opportunity has scarcely ever offered of taking an advantage of the enemy, that it has not been either totally obstructed or greatly impeded on this account. As a proof of the little benefit received from a clothier-general, and as a further proof of the inability of an army under the circumstances of this, to perform the common duties of soldiers (besides a number of men confined to hospitals, for want of shoes, and others in farmers' houses on the same account) we have, by a field return this day made, no less than two thousand eight hundred and ninety-eight men now in camp, unfit for duty, because they are barefoot and otherwise naked. By the same return it appears that our whole strength in Continental troops, including the Eastern brigades which have joined us since the surrender of Burgoyne, exclusive of the Maryland troops sent to Wilmington, amounts to no more than eight thousand two hundred in camp, fit for duty; notwithstanding which, and that, since the 4th instant, our numbers fit for duty from the hardships and exposure they have undergone—particularly on account of blankets, numbers having been obliged, and still are, to sit up all night by the fires, instead of taking comfortable rest in a natural and common way—have decreased near two thousand men. We find gentlemen, without knowing whether the army was really going into winter quarters or not, (for I am sure no resolution of mine could warrant the remonstrance,) reprobating the measure as much as if they thought the soldiers were made of stocks or stones, and equally insensible of frost and snow; and, moreover, as if they conceived it easily practicable for an inferior army, under the disadvantages I have described ours to be in—which are by no

* The Quartermaster's.

means exaggerated—to confine a superior one in all respects, well appointed and provided for a winter's campaign, within the city of Philadelphia, and to cover from depredation and waste the States of Pennsylvania and New Jersey. But what makes this matter still more extraordinary in my eyes is, that these very gentlemen, who were well apprised of the nakedness of the troops from ocular demonstration—who advised me near a month ago to postpone the execution of a plan I was about to adopt, in consequence of a resolve of Congress for seizing clothes, under strong assurances that an ample supply would be collected in ten days, agreeably to a decree of the State (not one article of which, by the way, is yet come to hand) should think a winter's campaign and the covering of those States from the invasion of an enemy, so easy and practicable a business. I can assure those gentlemen that it is a much easier and less distressing thing to draw remonstrances in a comfortable room, by a good fireside, than to occupy a cold, bleak hill, and sleep under frost and snow, without clothes or blankets. However, they seem to have little feeling for the naked and distressed soldiers, I feel abundantly for them, and, from my soul, I pity those miseries which it is neither in my power to relieve nor prevent. It is for these reasons that I have dwelt upon the subject, and it adds not a little to my difficulties and distress, to find that much more is expected of me than is possible to be performed, and that, upon the ground of safety and policy, I am obliged to conceal the true state of the army from public view, and thereby expose myself to detraction and calumny."

These words from a man of Washington's reticent and forbearing habit, meant much more than they would have done from one accustomed to protestations, and given to answering small criticisms. They were wrung from him after patient months of silence, under misrepresentation, calumny, and abuse. He wrote, even when he did give way to his feelings, moderately and judicially, not so much seeking justice for himself, as hoping that a plain statement of the truth might do something toward alleviating the condition of his suffering army. With the quotation of this long letter, it is necessary to dismiss the subject of a winter doubly memorable, for the hardship, suffering, and death that marked the slow dragging of its days along, and for the heroism of the victims, and the fortitude of their illustrious leader.

It was during the later days of the campaign of 1777, that Washington first became conscious of the existence of a systematic intrigue against himself. He had before recognized the fact that some of his officers—notably Lee and Gates—had failed in that careful respect and prompt and exact obedience to orders, which one more jealous of his own repute, and less single minded in his patriotism, would have exacted. These things hurt him, but he charged them to the defective organization of his army and to loose ideas of military etiquette, rather than to any deliberate intent to insult

and humiliate him. In this his sagacity failed him. The story of the despicable plot is, briefly, as follows: Among the foreign officers who sought service in the American army was one Conway, an Irishman by blood, who claimed to have passed his life in France, and to have served in the French army with the rank of colonel. He also represented himself to be a chevalier of St. Louis, and wore upon his breast the decoration of that order. Conway was unquestionably brave, but he showed himself from the first, to be an undesirable addition to the army, being arrogant and presumptuous to the last degree. These were faults with which Washington had little patience, and he imbibed a strong dislike for Conway. Congress had given the latter a commission as brigadier-general, which seemed to satisfy his ambition until Baron De Kalb, a German, who had also served in France, was made a major-general in the colonial army. Conway was then loud in his complaints. De Kalb, he said, had been his inferior in the army of France, and to now be ranked by him would be a humiliation beyond endurance. He asked Congress for a major-generalship at least simultaneous with that of De Kalb. When this application was brought to Washington's notice, he addressed a vigorous protest to Congress, saying that, if every matter of precedence among foreign officers were to be thus accommodated, it would result in advancing many of them over the heads of Americans, their seniors in the service; that the most valuable of these would resign, and the army be brought to hopeless demoralization and ruin. As a result of this intervention, Conway was for the time disappointed in his ambition, and hence felt very bitterly toward Washington. He at once became the head and front of a movement, looking to the displacement of Washington in favor of Gates, which has, from his participation in it, passed into history as the Conway cabal. The latter, a weak and vain man, had already done much to detract from Washington's reputation. With his head turned by the surrender of Burgoyne, he was but too ready to fall in with a plan which promised to serve his own ambition. The other military members of the cabal were less prominent, but it had much strength—at one time a majority—in Congress, and a large following among the grumblers and fault finders of the people. Lovell, a delegate from Massachusetts, was probably its strongest member in Congress. The first act of any of these precious associates, of which Washington took notice, was the writing of a letter by Conway to General Gates, in which a very insulting allusion was made to the commander in chief. Knowledge of this coming to the latter, he addressed to Conway this simple and dignified letter:

"SIR: A letter which I received last night contained the following paragraph: 'In a letter from General Conway to General Gates, he says: "Heaven has determined to save your country, or a weak general and bad counsellors would have ruined it."' I am, Sir, your humble servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON."

Had Washington flown into a rage, or sent any but the language of simple announcement, Conway would have been less completely demoralized than he was, by this shot thrown into his camp. Accustomed to the rigorous usages of European war, he doubtless saw visions of court-martial and dismissal from the army. Certainly he wrote Washington a letter, in which he made the hopeless effort to excuse himself, upon the ground that the letter was a familiar one, written to a personal friend, and that the language was loosely used, and was not intended to carry its full and legitimate significance. It was fortunate for Washington that this knowledge came to him so soon, for it opened his eyes, and placed him upon his guard. It also explained to him the action of Gates, who, after Burgoyne's surrender, failed to make any other report of the result than one to Congress, leaving his commander to learn it by report. This gross disrespect upon the part of Gates, had drawn from his superior these words, appended to a letter of congratulation upon the result of the campaign: "At the same time, I cannot but regret that a matter of such magnitude, and so interesting to our general operations, should have reached me by report only; or through the channel of letters not bearing that authority which the importance of it required, and which it would have received by a line under your signature, stating the simple fact."

Gates was probably too much elated to feel the sting of this rebuke. He had taken to himself the whole credit and glory of a success which was but the result of Schuyler's wisdom and generalship; the apple had but fallen into his lap, and he claimed the credit of having climbed to pluck it. Any colonel of militia in the army, could have led that army to victory at any time after Gates took command; yet he, a narrow and conceited man of mediocre ability, took to himself the praise, and it made him like Phæton of old, to grasp for the chariot reins of Jove. Had he reached them, he would have fallen as profoundly as did the mythical usurper of divine power.

All this neglect, and Gates' subsequent unwillingness to dispatch troops to the south, were now clear to Washington. Soon after making his lame excuse to Washington, Conway sent in his resignation to Congress, alleging, in conversation, as his reason, that some members of that body had made disparaging remarks concerning him. His real reason was unquestionably far different and more urgent, but he did not betray it, nor did his injured commander. However much or little was known of Conway's letter to Gates, it was certainly well understood in Congress, that Washington and Conway were not in harmony, and that the former would deem it a fortunate event if Conway should leave the army. This being so, the vote upon his resignation was a fair test of the strength of the cabal; it resulted in a refusal to accept, which was only preliminary to his promotion. Thus the cabal won its first victory. Gates,

on his part, was a sharer of Conway's anxiety. General Mifflin, one of the intriguants, wrote him at Albany:

"DEAR GENERAL: An extract from Conway's letter to you has been procured and sent to headquarters. The extract was a collection of just sentiments, yet such as should not have been intrusted to any of your family. General Washington enclosed it to Conway without remark. . . . My dear General, take care of your sincerity and frank disposition. They cannot injure yourself, but may injure some of your best friends.

"Affectionately yours."

Gates was utterly upset at this news; he had received many letters from Conway; which was this that had so mysteriously strayed from his portfolio, to that of his commander in chief? Some were probably more than compromising; was it one of these, or a less important letter? Who was the traitor who had thus betrayed him, and what damage might such an one not do, if undetected? In this state of uncertainty, Gates lost his poor, weak head, and did the very thing of all others which should have been left undone, when he wrote the following letter to Washington:

"SIR: I shall not attempt to describe what, as a private gentleman, I cannot help feeling, on representing to my mind the disagreeable situation in which confidential letters, when exposed to public inspection, may place an unsuspecting correspondent; but as a public officer, I conjure your excellency to give me all the assistance you can, in tracing the author of the infidelity, which put extracts from General Conway's letters to me into your hands. Those letters have been stealingly copied, but which of them, when or by whom, is to me, as yet an unfathomable secret. . . . It is, I believe, in your excellency's power to do me and the United States a very important service, by detecting a wretch who may betray me, and capitally injure the very operations under your immediate directions. The crime being eventually so important that the least loss of time may be attended by the worst consequences, and it being unknown to me whether the letter came to you through a member of Congress or from an officer, I shall have the honor of transmitting a copy of this to the president, that the Congress may, in concert with your excellency, obtain as soon as possible a discovery which so deeply affects the safety of the states. Crimes of that magnitude ought not to remain unpunished."

What a miserably, transparently, disingenuous letter, and how completely defeating its own ends! Gates deprecated publicity, yet gave to Congress, hence to the world, a secret which Washington had considerately kept; he betrayed the fact that he was in confidential correspondence with Conway; that there were in existence other letters, which, if made public, might compromise him; and reached the height of folly and absurdity when he attempted to cover his obvious personal anxiety, with a pretense of zeal for preserving the secrets of the public service.

Washington's answer acquainted him with the agent and extent of his exposure. It was written upon the 4th of January and is in these words: "Your letter of the 8th ultimo came to my hands a few days ago, and, to my great surprise, informed me that a copy of it had been sent to Congress, for what reason I find myself unable to account; but, as some end was doubtless intended to be answered by it, I am laid under the disagreeable necessity of returning my answer through the same channel, lest any member of that honorable body should harbor an unfavorable suspicion of my having practiced some indirect means to come at the contents of the confidential letters, between you and General Conway. I am to inform you, then, that Colonel Wilkinson, on his way to Congress, in the month of October last, fell in with Lord Stirling, at Reading, and, not in confidence that I ever understood, informed his *aide de camp*, Major McWilliams, that General Conway had written this to you: 'Heaven has been determined to save your country, or a weak general and bad counsellors would have ruined it.' Lord Stirling, from motives of friendship, transmitted the account with this remark: 'The enclosed was communicated by Colonel Wilkinson to Major McWilliams. Such wicked duplicity of conduct I shall always think it my duty to detect.' . . Neither this letter, nor the information which occasioned it, was ever, directly or indirectly, communicated by me to a single officer of this army, outside of my own family, excepting the Marquis de Lafayette, who, having been spoken to on the subject by General Conway, applied for, and saw, under injunctions of secrecy, the letter which contained Wilkinson's information; so desirous was I of concealing every matter which could, in its consequences, give the smallest interruption to the tranquility of the army, or afford a gleam of hope to the enemy by dissensions therein. . . . Till Lord Stirling's letter came to my hands, I never knew that General Conway, whom I viewed in the light of a stranger to you, was a correspondent of yours; much less did I suspect that I was the subject of your confidential letters. Pardon me then, for adding that so far from considering the safety of the States can be affected, or in the smallest degree injured by a discovery of this kind, or that I should be called upon, in such solemn words to point out the author, I considered the information as coming from yourself, and given with a view to forewarn and so forearm me against a secret enemy, or, in other words, a dangerous incendiary; in which character, sooner or later, this country will know General Conway. But in this, as in other matters of late, I have found myself mistaken."

When this letter came to Gates, he was greatly relieved at finding that but one clause of a single letter had come to the hands of the commander in chief, and that not through a channel which promised any further exposure of what was doubtless, as a whole, a very damaging correspondence. It gave him, too, a scapegoat, in the person of Wilkinson, who, as

his *aide de camp*, had been one of the most subservient of the minor creatures of the cabal. One of the measures adopted by Congress, and which clearly indicated the strength of the combination against Washington, was the increase of the board of war, from three to five members, including Joseph Trumbull, General Mifflin, and General Gates, the last named being made president of the board. This occurred on the 27th of November. In December, Congress carried into effect one of the earliest recommendations of the board of war, by appointing two inspectors-general, for the promotion of discipline and reformation of abuses in the army, and, to one of these positions, appointed Conway, with the rank of major-general. A more pointed and deliberate affront to the commander in chief could scarcely have been conceived, and his resignation would doubtless have followed, but for the single-minded patriotism which invariably led him to sacrifice everything of personal feeling for the advancement of the cause which he held so dear. Gates was urged by his associates and supporters to make haste in assuming his place at the head of the board of war and thus save the southern army and his country. In compliance he hastened to Yorktown, the then seat of government, and it was at that place, early in January, that he received Washington's answer to his letter of inquiry. He at once penned the following reply: "The letter which I had the honor to receive yesterday from your Excellency, has relieved me from unspeakable uneasiness. I now anticipate the pleasure it will give you, when you discover that what has been conveyed to you as an abstract of General Conway's letter to me, was not an information which friendly motives induced a man of honor to give, that injured virtue might be forearmed against secret enemies. The paragraph which your Excellency has condescended to transcribe, is spurious. It was certainly fabricated to answer the most selfish and wicked purposes."

The letter proceeds at length to state that the genuine communication from Conway did, in fact, contain proper criticisms of the army, relating to its organization and discipline, but nothing assailing the commander in chief. He follows with a lame excuse for his former agitation and for having made his communication to Congress as well as to Washington in person, and concludes: "About the time I was forwarding those letters, Brigadier-general Wilkinson returned to Albany. I informed him of the treachery which had been committed, but I concealed from him the measures I was pursuing to unmask the author. Wilkinson answered he was assured it never would come to light, and endeavored to fix my suspicions on Lieutenant-colonel Troup, who, he said, might have incautiously conversed on the substance of General Conway's letter with Colonel Hamilton, whom you had sent not long before to Albany. I did not listen to this insinuation against your *aide-de-camp* and mine." The original draft of this letter, which remains among the papers of Gates, is thus quoted by Irving:

"But the light your Excellency has just assisted me with, exhibiting the many qualifications which are necessarily blended together in the head and heart of General Wilkinson, I would not avoid this fact: it will enable your Excellency to judge whether or no he would scruple to make such a forgery as that which he now stands charged with, and ought to be exemplarily punished." This, and much more of the same purport was erased by Gates, and not included in his final letter to Washington, but came, in some manner, into the hands of Wilkinson. Conway wrote to Washington on the 27th of January, informing the commander in chief that the letter had been returned by Gates and that he was very happy to find "that the paragraph so much spoken of did not exist in the said letter, nor anything like it."

Washington for once felt too deeply the personal treachery which had been directed against him, to remain silent and thus tacitly accept the explanation conveyed in these two obviously disingenuous, if not untruthful, letters. He wrote Gates, judicially analyzing the two letters written by the latter, and pointing out their inconsistency with each other and that of each within itself; how what he had practically admitted in one was denied in the other, in which he had pronounced the extract from Conway's letter "a wicked forgery." Washington continued: "It is not my intention to contradict this assertion, but only to intimate some considerations which tend to induce the supposition that, though none of General Conway's letters to you contained the offensive passage mentioned, there might have been something too nearly related to it, that could give such an extraordinary alarm; if this is not the case, how easy to have declared in the first instance that there was nothing exceptionable in them, and to have produced the letters themselves in support of it. The propriety of the objections suggested against submitting them to inspection may well be questioned. The various reports circulated concerning their contents were, perhaps, so many arguments for making them speak for themselves, to place the matter upon the footing of certainty. Concealment in an affair which had made so much noise, though not by my means, will naturally lead men to conjecture the worst, and it will be a subject of speculation even to candor itself. The anxiety and jealousy you apprehend from revealing the letter will be very apt to be increased by suppressing it. Notwithstanding the hopeful presages you are pleased to figure to yourself, of General Conway's firm and constant friendship to America, I cannot persuade myself to retract the prediction concerning him, which you so emphatically wish had not been inserted in my last. A better acquaintance with him than I have reason to think you have had, from what you say, and a concurrence of circumstances, oblige me to give him but little credit for the qualifications of his heart, of which, at least, I beg leave to assume the privilege of being a tolerable judge. Were it necessary, more instances than one might be adduced, from his behavior and conversation, to manifest that he is capable of all the malig-



HORATIO GATES.

nity of detraction, and all the meanness of intrigue, to gratify the absurd resentment of disappointed vanity, or to answer the purpose of personal aggrandizement and promote the interest of faction."

An anonymous letter, dated at Yorktown on the 12th of January, and addressed to Patrick Henry, contained these words: "We have only passed the Red Sea. A dreary wilderness is still before us, and, unless a Moses or a Joshua is raised up in our behalf, we must perish before we reach the promised land. But is our cause desperate? By no means. We have wisdom, virtue, and strength enough to save us, if they could be called into action. The Northern army has shown us what Americans are capable of doing with a general at their head. The spirit of the Southern army is in no way inferior to the spirit of the Northern. A Gates, a Lee, or a Conway would, in a few weeks, render them an irresistible body of men."

Another anonymous letter in the same tone, and bearing marks of the same handiwork, was sent to Mr. Laurens, for presentation to Congress. It concludes as follows: "That the head cannot possibly be sound when the whole body is disordered; that the people of America have been guilty of idolatry, by making a man their god, and the God of Heaven and earth will convince them, by woful experience, that he is only a man; that no good can be expected of the standing army until Baal and his worshippers are banished from the camp."

Mr. Laurens did not present this letter to Congress, but, instead, sent it to Washington. The latter made the following characteristic reply to the letter in which it was inclosed: "I can not sufficiently express the obligation I feel to you for your friendship and politeness, upon an occasion in which I am so deeply interested. I was not unapprised that a malignant faction had been for some time forming to my prejudice; and which, conscious as I am of having ever done all in my power to answer the important purposes of the trust reposed in me, could not but give me some pain on a personal account. But my chief concern arises from an apprehension of the dangerous consequences which intestine dissensions may produce to the common cause. My enemies take an ungenerous advantage of me. They know the delicacy of my situation, and that motives of policy deprive me of the defense I might otherwise make against their insidious attacks. They know I cannot combat their insinuations, however injurious, without disclosing secrets which it is of the utmost moment to conceal. But why should I expect to be exempt from censure, the unfailing lot of an elevated station? Merit and talents with which I can have no pretense of rivalship, have ever been subjected to it. My heart tells me that it has ever been my unremitting aim to do the best that circumstances would permit; yet I have been very often mistaken in my judgment of the means, and may, in many instances, deserve the imputation of error."

Gates was impatient to make some bold stroke as president of the board

of war, which should secure his position and promote his aims. To this end he and his counsellors projected a winter expedition against Canada, to set out from Albany, pass Lake Champlain upon the ice, destroy the British vessels at St. Johns, and capture Montreal. With a view to seduce Lafayette from his allegiance to Washington, it was proposed to give the command of the expedition to him, with Conway as second in command. The first intimation that the commander in chief received that so foolhardy an undertaking had been agreed upon, was the forwarding of notice of Lafayette's appointment to the command, in a letter from Gates to himself, asking his advice, as a mere matter of form, more insulting in its observance than in its omission. Lafayette was at first determined not to accept the command, but Washington persuaded him to alter his resolution, and he proceeded to Yorktown, where he dissipated the hopes of the cabal, by proposing the health of the commander in chief at the dinner-table of General Gates, and by insisting that Baron De Kalb should receive an appointment to accompany him to the North. The history of the abortive and ill-advised expedition does not need recounting here. It was the first stone hung about the neck of the cabal, which eventually aided to sink it.

The last of the Conway-Gates correspondence was not yet. Wilkinson, who was a most accomplished liar, had denied to General Gates, the telling of tales about the Conway correspondence to Lord Stirling or Major McWilliams. Stirling thereupon wrote him a note asking an explanation, when, with mighty rhetorical flourish, Wilkinson responded, saying that he might, in a moment of confidence, have said something of the import alleged. Gates, upon his part, did not receive the denial of his former aide as absolutely conclusive, and Wilkinson challenged Gates to a duel, which was, however, never fought, being interrupted by a touching and lachrymose reconciliation of the two men, who had only ceased villifying each other to appeal to the code.

The cabal had already begun to suffer from its exposure. The people love fair play, and the publication of the existence of an organized movement to crush any public man is apt to cause its recoil upon its originators. The scandal connected with the Conway-Gates letter, had been of less injury than benefit to Washington. Following it, the course of Wilkinson had placed that officer before the world in a most unenviable light, and, as was inevitable, those with whom he had been associated, suffered by that fact.

One crowning and overreaching act of folly remained to signalize the closing days of the conspiracy. During the winter of 1778, a number of letters, purporting to have been written by Washington, were republished in pamphlet form in England, and reproduced in pamphlet and broadside in New York and Philadelphia. These were forged, though by a clever hand and by some person having a degree of familiarity with the private affairs of the commander in chief. Some

of the letters were addressed to Mrs. Washington, but the majority to Lund Washington, the general's man of business. They were circulated under the representation that they were first draughts of the letters, and had been left in the charge of Washington's colored valet, who was ill at Fort Lee, and was left behind upon its evacuation. The letters were mostly upon domestic and business subjects, and were artfully drawn to give them an appearance of genuineness. Mingled with other matters were occasional allusions to subjects connected with the army and the war, so flippant, so selfish and heartless in tone, that, had they been genuine, or generally believed so to be, they must have irreparably ruined the general. As it was, they were not so accepted. The writers had overreached themselves by too hardly taxing the credulity of the world. People might have been made to doubt the wisdom and generalship of Washington, but they knew him, his efforts and sacrifices, too well to believe him other than single hearted and truly patriotic. The letters, too, have intrinsic evidence of spuriousness. The unlikelihood of a busy man's re-writing letters to his wife and agent; the improbability of a wise man leaving compromising papers in the hands of a servant, and at an exposed fort; more than all, the tone of the letters, utterly foreign to the character of their alleged author and at varience with all his public and private utterances, all these considerations combined to defeat the design of the contemptible villain who uttered the forgeries. Who this was has never been discovered, but people were not slow to charge the cabal with the responsibility, and it reaped, whether or not the seeds were of its own sowing, a most unhappy harvest. Save in his private intercourse and correspondence, Washington never denied having written these letters, until his final retirement from the Presidential chair, when he deemed himself free from all chance of misconception. Then he dismissed the subject with a few words of simple assertion.

Early in the spring of 1778, Washington had a conversation with Wilkinson, and laid before that mercurial officer the letters which had passed between himself and Gates. This drew from Wilkinson the following: "I beg you to receive the grateful homage of a sensible mind for your condescension in exposing to me General Gates' letters, which unmask his artifices and efforts to ruin me. The authenticity of the information received through Lord Stirling, I cannot confirm, as I solemnly assure your excellency I do not remember the conversation which passed on that occasion, nor can I recollect particular passages of that letter, as I had but a cursory view of it at a late hour. However, I so well remember its general tenor, that, although General Gates has pledged his word it was a wicked and malicious forgery, I would stake my reputation, if the genuine letter is produced, that words to the same effect would appear." A few days later Wilkinson, who had been made secretary of the board of war, of which, as

will be remembered, Gates was president, sent to the president of Congress the following communication :

"SIR:—While I make my acknowledgments to Congress for my appointment as secretary to the board of war and ordnance, I am sorry I should be constrained to resign that office; but, after the acts of treachery and falsehood, in which I have detected Major-general Gates, the president of that board, it is impossible for me to reconcile it with my honor to serve with him." This is justly the last heard of Wilkinson.

The power of the cabal to harm Washington was practically at an end. Early in the following campaign it was officially defeated by a vote of Congress. Washington dismissed it in a letter to Patrick Henry, with these words: "I cannot precisely mark the extent of their views; but it appeared, in general, that General Gates was to be appointed upon the ruins of my reputation and influence. This I am authorized to say, from undeniable facts in my possession, from publications, the evident scope of which could not be mistaken, and from private detractions industriously circulated. General Mifflin, it is commonly supposed, bore the second part in the cabal; and General Conway, I know was a very active and malignant partisan; but I have good reason to believe that their machinations have recoiled most seriously upon themselves."

The remaining history of the cabal may be very tersely summed up. It had lost its power and what small amount of popularity it ever possessed. Congress transferred Gates to the command of the Hudson, and placed him directly under the orders of the man whom he had sought to humiliate. Conway, who set out for Canada with Lafayette, and for a time, remained in command at Albany, was thence ordered to Peekskill, and, in the face of a campaign, was again sent to Albany. After the last mentioned transfer, he wrote an exceedingly impertinent letter to the president of Congress, intimating a desire to resign his commission. To his intense surprise and mortification, he found himself taken at his word, and the most abject effort upon his part failed to secure him a re-instatement. The position of inspector-general, with the rank and pay of major-general, thus vacated, was, upon Washington's recommendation, given to the gallant Baron Steuben. After leaving the army, Conway frequently indulged in abuse of Washington and his friends. This, on one occasion, gave offense to General John Cadwalader; a challenge passed, a duel was fought, and Conway was dangerously, as he supposed, fatally, wounded. Like many another weak man, he was ready and anxious to give that justice upon his death-bed, which he had refused when it would have been of value. Hence, he penned these lines, and dispatched them to Washington:

"PHILADELPHIA, 23d July, 1778.

"SIR:—I find myself just able to hold the pen during a few minutes, and take this opportunity of expressing my sincere grief for having done, written,

or said anything disagreeable to your Excellency. My career will soon be over, therefore justice and truth prompt me to declare my last sentiments. You are, in my eyes, the great and good man. May you long enjoy the love, veneration, and esteem of these States, whose liberties you have asserted by your virtues.

"I am, with great respect, etc.,

THOMAS CONWAY."

Had Conway possessed the grace to die at once, after writing these lines, he might have been forgiven, as one is apt to be, who repents and confesses *in extremis*, but he persisted in recovering, and finding himself universally avoided and held in contempt, sailed for France and went out of sight forever. With his disappearance we gladly dismiss the infamous intrigue to which he gave a name.

CHAPTER XX.

THE PEACE COMMISSION—ATTEMPT AGAINST LAFAYETTE—THE FRENCH ALLIANCE.

THE effect of the surrender of Burgoyne upon the opinion of the British Parliament and people, was effectual in decidedly modifying the tone adopted in discussing the American war. Not the least cause of this change of heart could be found in the fear that France would be led into an alliance with the colonies. When, therefore, early in the winter, Lord North presented his famous "conciliatory bills," they met but small opposition. The principal argument used against them was that embodied by Stedman, the British historian, in the words: "If what was now proposed was a right measure, it ought to have been adopted at first, and before the sword was drawn; on the other hand, if the claims of the mother country over her colonies were originally worth contending for, the strength and resources of the nation were not yet so far exhausted, as to justify ministers in relinquishing them without a further struggle." Scarcely had Lord North's resolutions been adopted, when came news from Versailles that confirmed the worst fears of that statesman. It was to the effect that Benjamin Franklin, Silas Deane, and Arthur Lee, American commissioners to the court of His Christian Majesty, had obtained the recognition of the independence of the United States, and that an alliance, offensive and defensive, had been perfected between the greatest European rival of Great Britain, and her revolting colonies. The treaty stipulated that, should war ensue between France and England, it should be made a common cause, that neither France nor America should make peace without the consent of the other, nor should either lay down its arms until the independence of the colonies should be established.

No sooner did the English ministry learn of the conclusion of this treaty, than it dispatched post haste to America, a copy of North's bill, intending to pave the way for the peace commission and also to forestall the effect of the French alliance. Immediately upon the arrival of the document at New York, Governor Tryon had copies printed and sent throughout the country for circulation. He even had the inconceivable impudence to send copies to

Washington, accompanied by a personal letter to the commander, requesting that they be communicated to the army. Washington sent them, instead, to Congress, with the comment that the time for such negotiation had passed, and that nothing short of independence should form a basis of peace negotiations. Congress took the same view, and determined in advance to hold no conference with the commission and enter into no peace negotiations, until the fleets and armies should be withdrawn from America, or the independence of the colonies expressly recognized. On the following day, April 23d, Congress passed resolutions recommending that the various colonies should offer amnesty to such of their citizens as had levied war against the United States and should return to their allegiance on or before the 16th of June following. Copies of these resolutions were printed in English and German, and ordered to be distributed throughout the land. Washington was not given to joking; he was naturally a serious man, and the heavy responsibility which he bore tended to heighten his gravity. We cannot, however, but believe, that, when he penned the following lines to Governor Tyron, he must have smiled at the clever *argumentum ad hominem* which they conveyed:

"SIR: Your letter of the 17th and a triplicate of the same, were duly received. I had the pleasure of seeing the drafts of the two bills before those sent by you came to hand; and I can assure you they were allowed to have a free currency among the officers and men under my command, in whose fidelity to the United States I have the most perfect confidence. The enclosed Gazette, published the 24th at Yorktown, will show you that it is the wish of Congress that they should have an unrestrained circulation. I take the liberty to transmit to you a few copies of a resolution of Congress of the 23d instant, and to request that you will be instrumental in communicating its contents, so far as in may be in your power, to the persons who are the objects of its operations. The benevolent purpose it is intended to answer will, I persuade myself, sufficiently recommend it to your candor.

"I am, Sir, &c."

The manifesto of Great Britain had little or no effect in moving the public. In Rhode Island, the copies which came into the colony were burned under the gallows, by the public executioner; everywhere its concessions were regarded as a sign of weakening, and it defeated its own aims, encouraging the confidence of some in every colony, who were somewhat fearful for the result. Early in May came the news of the French alliance. Its effect upon America was indescribable. The tories were dumb with apprehension; the patriots wild with joy. Everywhere bells rang, cannon pealed, fires blazed, and all restraint was cast off, in the universal delight of the hour. At Valley Forge a banquet was given by the officers; Washington was toasted and cheered, and, when at last he left the room, mounted his horse, and rode down the lines to headquarters, every regiment united in

loud huzzas, and he was repeatedly constrained to halt and uncover, in recognition of the spontaneous tribute. As Irving says: "Gates and Mifflin, if they were in the camp at the time, must have seen enough to convince them that the commander in chief was supreme in the affections of the army."

General Sir William Howe had long been discontented with his treatment by the British ministry; he deemed that his recommendations and advice were not respectfully considered, and that his requests for reinforcements and supplies did not elicit the prompt response which they deserved. Hence, during the winter of 1778, he tendered his resignation to the minister of war; in May he received notification that the same had been accepted, and, Sir Henry Clinton being ordered to relieve him, he surrendered command on the 11th of May, and departed for England. Later in the season Admiral Lord Howe imitated him, and the maritime command passed into other hands. There is no question that there was much in General Howe's conduct of the war to justify the criticisms that were freely made upon him. He lacked decision and activity; he was prone, by his easy habit, to fail of following up an advantage to a decisive end. Again and again he might have crushed an enemy already defeated, but always moved so deliberately as to give time for recuperation and re-array. Such was the case on Long island; at Throg's neck; at Brandywine. His brother presented, in every particular, an entire contrast to Sir William, and his resignation was a great loss to the British cause in America.

No sooner had Clinton taken command at Philadelphia, than there were evident indications of a design to abandon that city. He had, in fact, received orders to remove his army and fleet from that place, as being untenable in the event of the arrival of a French fleet; to mass his army at New York, and to confine himself, for the time being, to waging a predatory warfare upon the adjacent colonies. These instructions at such a time were foolish and blind to a degree almost beyond belief. England held out with one hand the olive branch of peace; with persuasive smile she allured her erring children to return; in the other she held the scourge, and, while she caressed and fondled, beat with the most stinging of weapons. Had she found the colonies ever so well disposed for the dishonorable peace proposed, the burning houses, the pillaged farms, the bleeding victims who fell unarmed before the silent bayonets of her authorized robbers and marauders, would have forever dispelled the possibility.

Receiving report of the preparations for a movement from Philadelphia, Lafayette was detached with twenty-one hundred chosen men, to hover about the city, obtain useful information regarding the movements of the enemy, check his marauding parties, and be prepared to assail his rear when the evacuation should at length be made. Observing the approach of Lafayette, Clinton determined to entrap him, and to this end detached General



La Fayette

Grant, with five thousand men. Lafayette was posted about eleven miles from Philadelphia. Between him and the main body of the patriot army, flowed the Schuylkill; behind him, the road divided, leading, on the one hand, to Matson's ford, on the other to Valley Forge, by way of Sweden's ford. He had taken his position with good judgment, and no precaution was omitted to guard against surprise. The duty of guarding the road to White Marsh, was committed to six hundred Pennsylvania militia, and it was along this road that Grant's men made a night advance, intending to get to the rear of the American position. The militia, with characteristic disregard of orders, had moved to the rear, and the road was quite unguarded. Early in the morning Lafayette was apprised of the approach of the red coats, and discovered that Sweden's ford was already held by them in force. In a very short time he was certain to be hopelessly surrounded. His action in this emergency was cool and admirably well considered. He threw out bodies of men to appear before the enemy in order of battle, as if a regular engagement were intended. Grant, preparing for such an event, checked his advance, and Lafayette drew off his main body by Matson's ford, his advanced parties followed in safety, and the British general appreciated the stratagem only in time to reach the river as the artillery was passing over, and to find Lafayette so placed upon the opposite bank as to forbid pursuit. This masterly extrication of his force from a grave peril, greatly raised Lafayette in the esteem of his commander and of the people. Washington and his aides, alarmed by the firing, had hastened from Valley Forge to a hill upon the banks of the Schuylkill, and, by the aid of their glasses, were witnesses of the peril and escape of the force.

In the meantime the British peace commission had arrived at Philadelphia. It was as badly constituted as could well be imagined. A fashionable and elegant young peer—Lord Carlisle—was at its head; associated with him were William Eden, a man of strong anti-American prejudices, and George Johnstone, an opposition member of parliament, whom Irving pronounces to have been its most valuable member.

The commissioners reached Philadelphia on the 6th of June, and found the city in the bustle and confusion which preceded its evacuation. At this they were much chagrined, as it not only indicated that they had not been taken completely into the confidence of the cabinet, but promised to weaken their influence and put them to much personal inconvenience. Indeed, Johnstone declared that, had he known of the orders for the evacuation, he should not have undertaken the mission. As the event proved, all might as well have spared themselves the trouble. Having intended at first only to communicate to Congress an announcement of their presence and readiness to treat, they were compelled to hasten proceedings. Hence Clinton communicated with Washington, requesting a passport which should permit the secretary of the commission to visit Yorktown, and bear a letter to Con-

gress. Not desiring to take this responsibility, Washington forwarded the request to Congress, and the commission, without awaiting a reply, sent to that body by post, copies of the conciliatory acts, the credentials of the commissioners, and a letter intended to forward negotiations. The latter charged France with being the secret enemy both of England and America, which charge caused great excitement, and drew forth an answer which stated that only a desire to prevent an unnecessary effusion of blood, could induce the Congress to consider a communication containing matter so disrespectful to the king of France, but announcing, as well, a readiness to treat, when Great Britain, as a pledge of her sincerity, should have withdrawn her armies and navy from America, or expressly acknowledged the independence of the United States. This, in effect, announced the failure of the commission, but the sapient men who composed it, were equal to the folly of making certain failure doubly sure, by attempting to bribe General Joseph Reed, then a member of Congress, by the offer of £10,000, for "effectual services in their behalf," and by intimating, in a letter to Robert Morris, that General Washington and the president of Congress, might be substantially remembered by Great Britain, did the negotiation prove effectual. Reed's proud answer to the proposal, was: "I am not worth purchasing, but, such as I am, the king of Great Britain is not rich enough to do it." These offers and hints coming to the knowledge of Congress, all communication with the commissioners was broken off. The latter then turned their attention to the people, and published addresses—one day conciliatory, the next full of threatenings and slaughter, but these had no more effect than had the appeals to Congress. Hence the agents of the king came to the wise conclusion that, where lead had failed to intimidate, words could have but little weight, and took their departure for home, much mortified at their signal failure either to corrupt or cajole America.

CHAPTER XXI.

BATTLE OF MONMOUTH—COURT-MARTIAL OF LEE.

PENDING the negotiation of the commissioners, Clinton had very much reduced his force in Philadelphia. A large detachment had gone to the West Indies for service against the French; another had been sent to Florida; a large number of troops had proceeded to New York by water, accompanying the stores and baggage, and somewhat less than ten thousand of the effective line remained. On the 17th of June, Washington called a council of war to consult as to the plan of operations to be adopted in connection with the evacuation now evidently imminent. General Charles Lee had been exchanged by the British for General Prescott, and took part in the council. Washington was decidedly in favor of an attack upon Clinton. His own force was numerically greater than that of the British and he could not conceive that a better time for striking an effective blow would ever come. Lee was strongly opposed to any attack, holding that it was very unwise to run risk of defeat, when the co-operation of France might soon be looked for. Greene, Wayne, and Cadwalader held with Washington, while Lafayette took a middle course, and advised a partial, but not a general engagement. Early in the morning of the 18th, Clinton began the evacuation, and by 10 o'clock his rear had crossed the Delaware, and was in New Jersey. Washington at once detached a force to annoy the enemy's rear, and another, under Arnold, to take possession of Philadelphia. Clinton's line of march lay directly up the Delaware to a point beyond Trenton, and Washington was obliged to make an extensive circuit, crossing the river at Coryell's ferry, in order to gain the high ground of New Jersey, where he might choose a policy of action or defense. On the 25th of June, the British army was moving toward Monmouth court house, and Washington determined to risk an engagement upon his own judgment. Detachments, amounting in the aggregate to about four thousand men, were already hanging upon the flanks and rear of the enemy. These he reinforced with one thousand picked men under Wayne. The advance thus amounted to five thousand men. Washington decided to place it under the command of a major-general. The duty belonged of right to Lee, as the ranking major-general, but he, having opposed an action, was seized with a fit of the sulks, and volun-

tarily resigned the command to Lafayette, much to the satisfaction of the commander in chief. Lafayette proceeded, with orders to join the advance, to give the enemy every practicable annoyance, and to attack his left flank and rear in force or by detachment, as seemed best. Scarcely had Lafayette set out, when Lee, seeing that there was to be serious duty, earnestly requested the command. Washington, desiring to do justice to Lee's claims, without hurting the feelings of Lafayette, ordered the former forward with a reinforcement of two brigades. His rank would of course give him command, but he was expressly instructed not to interfere with any plan which Lafayette might have already formed. In the meantime Washington moved his main body forward, that he might be ready to support the advance in the case of necessity. Night fell; the enemy encamped near Monmouth court house, and Lee five miles distant, at Engletown. Washington rode forward to reconnoitre, and, seeing that, if Clinton were given time to march but ten miles, he would be in a position to make an attack extremely difficult, gave distinct orders to Lee to attack him early in the morning. In the morning Washington learned that the enemy was in motion and repeated his former orders to Lee. Skirmishing began early, and Lee advanced to the support of the skirmishing parties, leading about four thousand men. Reaching Freehold, he saw what he took to be a British covering party, marching through the woods. He detailed Wayne to engage it, while he should made a circuit with the main body, and cut it off from the British column. He had made a mistake; it was not a covering party, but the whole rear division of the British army. Washington was moving along the road toward Freehold, when he was apprised, by the sound of cannonading, that the battle had begun, and immediately made disposition to support his advance.

Before making the attack, Lee had sent word to Washington that he was about to engage a covering party of the enemy. Judge, then, of the surprise of the latter, when he met terrified stragglers, then entire regiments, in full retreat. He was dumfounded, and, ordering the officers, as he passed, to rally their men, spurred on at the top of his speed. Arrived at a rising ground near Freehold, he met Lee, retreating, with the main body. Let Irving tell what ensued:

"What is the meaning of this, sir?" demanded he in the sternest, and even fiercest tone, as he rode up.

Lee, for a moment, was disconcerted and hesitated in making a reply, for Washington's aspect, according to Lafayette, was terrible.

"I desire to know the meaning of this disorder and confusion," was again demanded, still more vehemently.

Lee, stung by the manner, more than the words of the demand, made an angry reply, which provoked still sharper expressions, that have been variously reported. He attempted a hurried explanation. His troops had

been thrown into disorder by contradictory intelligence; by disobedience of orders; by the meddling and blundering of individuals; and he had not felt disposed, he said, to beard the whole British army, with troops in such a situation.

"I have certain information," rejoined Washington, "that it was merely a strong covering party."

"That may be, but it was stronger than mine, and I did not think proper to run such a risk."

"I am very sorry," replied Washington, "that you undertook the command unless you meant to fight the enemy."

"I did not think it prudent to bring on a general engagement."

"Whatever your opinion may have been," replied Washington, disdainfully, "I expected my orders would have been obeyed."

All this passed very quickly. The immediate and pressing necessity was to change the fortune of the day. The ground where Washington had met Lee was favorable for a stand, being elevated and capable of approach from in front, only over a narrow causeway. The troops were hastily formed upon the high ground, with batteries upon the height, and, masked by the woods, on the left, for their support. Lee expected to be relieved, but Washington ordered him to take command of this position, while he himself formed the main body upon the next elevation.

A warm cannonade held the enemy for a time, and Washington had formed his reserve in an advantageous position between woods and a morass, before Lee was directly assailed. The latter made a gallant resistance, and was himself the last to leave the ground, when obliged to give way; his troops retired in good order, across the causeway leading to the position of the American right, under command of Lord Stirling. The British advanced, but, finding themselves warmly opposed by the American front, changed their tactics and made an effort to turn the left, where General Greene was in command. Here again were they checked, Greene's artillery doing great execution upon them, and also enfilading the British force in front of the left. General Wayne, advancing with an infantry reserve, opened so hot and well directed a fire as to compel the enemy to withdraw to the ground from which they had driven Lee. Though this position was very strong, Washington determined to assail it, and advanced his artillery to the causeway, while he detached forces, on either hand, to attack the enemy's flanks. The battle was renewed on this ground with great spirit, and was continued until night fell, and left the Americans with the advantage upon their side. Two hours more of daylight would have been enough to make the result decisive. The American force slept on their arms, Washington himself lying, wrapped in a blanket, at the foot of a tree, with Lafayette beside him. During the night, however, the British, sending their wounded in advance, deserted the field, and, as it was certain that they

must reach the strong ground about Middletown, before they could be overtaken, and the advantage would then be all on their side, it was deemed wise not to attempt a pursuit. The Americans lost in the battle eight officers and sixty-one privates, killed; and one hundred and sixty wounded. The burying parties found four British officers, and two hundred and forty-five non-commissioned officers and privates, dead on the field, and many fresh graves. About one hundred prisoners were also taken, most of whom were wounded. Lafayette says of the battle: "Never was General Washington greater in victory, than in this action. His presence stopped the retreat. His disposition fixed the victory. His fine appearance on horseback; his calm courage, roused by the animation produced by the vexation of the morning, gave him the air best calculated to excite enthusiasm."

The conduct of Lee had excited the most decided disapproval of Washington, yet it is more than likely that a frank explanation, on the part of the former, might have smoothed the matter over, for he certainly was outnumbered, and he afterward made the very plausible explanation that his intention in retreating was only to form upon more advantageous ground, and that the spot where he met Washington was that which he had selected for his stand. He did not, however, choose so wise a course, but, stung by his public rebuke, wrote the commander in chief a very impertinent letter, calling for an explanation of "the very singular expressions" used by the latter in their encounter. Washington answered in a dignified tone, when Lee replied in a still more objectionable manner, demanding an investigation, and indicating a preference for a court-martial, rather than a simple court of inquiry. Washington promised to gratify this desire, and, at the earliest moment caused the arrest of Lee, and preferred against him the following charges:

First. For disobedience of orders in not attacking the enemy on the 28th of June, agreeably to repeated instructions.

Secondly. For misbehavior before the enemy, on the same day, in making an unnecessary, disorderly, and shameful retreat.

Thirdly. For disrespect to the commander in chief, in two letters.

A court-martial was at once appointed, and sat from day to day, following the march of the army, from the 4th of July to the 12th of August. The testimony revealed extenuating circumstances, and, in the end, Lee was found guilty upon all the charges, the sole amendment being to strike out the word shameful from the second. He was sentenced to suspension for one year, subject to the approval of Congress, and, that body having somewhat reluctantly confirmed the judgment, the sentence went into effect. Though he had courted investigation, and had requested that it be by court-martial, he chose, from the moment of his arrest, to pose as a persecuted and injured man. He was loud and constant in his abuse of Washington, while the latter, so far as possible, avoided mentioning his name in public, and,

when compelled to use it, spoke of him with the greatest forbearance.

As Lee's name does not again appear in connection with the conduct of the war, it may be well to dismiss him, with a few words regarding his further history. Upon the confirmation of his sentence, he purchased and retired to a plantation in Virginia, having previously been wounded by Colonel Laurens, one of Washington's aides, in a duel arising from a particularly abusive remark concerning the commander in chief. The house in which he lived upon this plantation, was little more than a shell, having no partitions to divide it. Lee, with a grim humor which was one of his characteristics, chalked off lines upon the floor, dividing the house into sleeping rooms, drawing and dining rooms, etc., and, as he said, had the advantage of sitting in one corner and overlooking the whole, without the trouble of rising. Becoming tired of a country life, he made efforts to sell his plantation, and, while in Philadelphia upon that mission, was seized with a fever and died. The closing lines of his will were these: "I desire most earnestly that I may not be buried in any church or churchyard, or within a mile of any Presbyterian or any Baptist meeting-house, for, since I have resided in this country, I have kept so much bad company while living, that I do not choose to continue it when dead." He was, however, buried with military honors in the cemetery of Christ church, Philadelphia.

CHAPTER XXII.

ARRIVAL OF A FRENCH FLEET—ATTEMPT AGAINST NEWPORT—STONY POINT.

AFTER the battle of Monmouth, Washington, apprehending a British movement against the Hudson, forced his march in that direction, coming to a halt, for the purpose of resting his men, only when, having reached Paramus, he learned that the enemy, dividing his army into three divisions, had gone into camp upon Long island, Staten island, and New York island. It was while still at Paramus, and on the night of the 13th of July, that he received from Congress, notice of the arrival of a French fleet, under Admiral the Count D'Estaing, with directions to communicate with the latter, and concert a plan for co-operation with him. The fleet consisted of six ships of the line and twelve frigates, and brought a land force of four thousand men. Leaving Toulon on the 12th of April, the adversity of the wind had prolonged the passage to eighty-five days. It finally dropped anchor, off the mouth of the Delaware, on the 8th of July, just too late to entrap the British fleet, which had sailed to New York. D'Estaing, immediately upon his arrival, sent a very courteous letter to Washington, from which the following is an extract: "I have the honor of imparting to your Excellency, the arrival of the king's fleet, charged by His Majesty with the glorious task of giving his allies, the United States of America, the most striking proofs of his affection. Nothing can be wanting in my happiness, if I can succeed in it. It is augmented by the consideration of concerting my operations with a general such as your Excellency. The talents and great actions of General Washington have insured him, in the eyes of Europe, the title, truly sublime, of Deliverer of America."

Accompanying D'Estaing, were the newly and first appointed French minister to the United States, and Mr. Silas Deane, one of the American commissioners who had negotiated the alliance. These were sent up to Philadelphia in a frigate, and the remainder of the squadron sailed along the coast to Sandy Hook, where, having arrived, D'Estaing discovered the



English fleet snugly anchored in the harbor. The British were very much excited, and the people of New York city were, as usual, in a condition bordering on the hysterical. All supposed that the French armament would engage the British at once, and such was D'Estaing's intention, until he discovered that there was not sufficient water on the bar to permit of the passage of his heaviest ships of the line. Had such a passage been possible, the result would have been one of the most desperate battles in history, for, the narrow limits of the bay forbidding any manœuvering for an advantage, the fight must have been one to the death.

A frank and cordial correspondence followed, between the French commander and General Washington. The latter sent his aides, Colonels Laurens and Hamilton, aboard the fleet, and a French officer returned the civility by a visit to the camp. This interchange of visits was the means of bringing about not only a cordial feeling, but a clear understanding of the plans to be adopted. An attempt upon New York being deemed infeasible, it was determined to make a concerted movement by land and sea against Newport, Rhode Island, then held by the British under General Pigot. To the command of the movement by land, General Sullivan was appointed, and at once went on board the fleet to concert measures with D'Estaing. It was then arranged that the fleet should enter the harbor and land French troops on the west side of the island, while the Americans, under cover of a frigate, were to attack from the opposite side. The Americans, under Sullivan, with Greene second in command, were somewhat delayed by the non-arrival of Massachusetts and New Hampshire militia, and were obliged to delay the movement, but, on the 8th of August, hearing that the militia was near at hand, Sullivan signalled the fleet, and the French vessels, passing the batteries with little damage, entered the harbor. The militia, did not, however, come just at the time expected, and the attack was deferred until the next day. Pigot had in the meantime withdrawn his troops from the outer lines, and Sullivan at once took possession of the works so deserted, thus, as the event proved, offending the count's ideas of military punctilio. The latter refused to answer Sullivan's letter of explanation, and evidently thought that an effort had been made to rob him of his share in the enterprise.

After the departure of D'Estaing from Sandy Hook, there had arrived at New York four of twelve ships of the line, which had been sent from England under Admiral Byron, to reinforce Lord Howe, and had been scattered by storms. Howe, though still inferior to D'Estaing, resolved to attempt the relief of Newport and, sailing at once, arrived off that place while D'Estaing was still in a state of ruffled dignity, came close to the shore and signaled Pigot, then drew off to the vicinity of Point Sudity, at the entrance of the channel, and lay to. D'Estaing, having the wind in his favor, sailed out to engage the fleet ; all day the hostile vessels manœuvred

for advantage of wind and position, and, at nightfall, had quite disappeared from sight. Sullivan was thus left in a most disagreeable position. His force was not large enough to attempt an independent attack, nor to be quite safe in case a sortie were made against him. He determined, however, to attempt holding his position until he heard from the French fleet.

On the 14th, four days after his departure, D'Estaing re-appeared. No action had taken place, save between some individual vessels of the opposed fleets. A terrific storm had arisen, and, Howe having retired to New York in a sadly shattered condition, D'Estaing had put back to Newport in a plight not much to be preferred. He at once dispatched a letter to Sullivan, in which he declared his intention, in obedience to orders, to put into Boston and refit. Sullivan sent Greene and Lafayette aboard the flagship with an answer, representing the certainty of carrying Newport with ease, and remonstrating against deserting so favorable an enterprise. Expressions of good will and of a desire for harmony were added, but D'Estaing was bound by his letter of instructions, and sailed for Boston, from which port he later proceeded to the West Indies, taking no further part in the campaign. Sullivan then attempted to raise five thousand New England volunteers, which he deemed would justify him in making an assault, but the militia, disheartened by the departure of the French, would not respond, and, on the night of the 28th, he retired to the northern end of the island, covering his rear and entrenching. Early in the morning the British gave pursuit, and engaged the American rear guard, which retreated slowly and in order to where the main body was drawn up in array. The enemy took possession of Quaker hill, a mile from the American lines, and the day was spent until two o'clock in cannonading and skirmishing. Then the British advanced to an assault, attempting to turn the American right. After a sharp engagement of half an hour they were repulsed, and retired to Quaker hill, to continue cannonading during the remainder of the day and night. The next day was spent in the same manner, and, on the night of August 31st, Sullivan withdrew, unobserved, to the main land. This retreat was made none too soon for, on the following day, arrived Sir Henry Clinton, with force enough to have annihilated the American army.

The failure of the movement against Newport, for which success had been confidently anticipated, was very mortifying to all interested in the American cause, and, connected with this disappointment, was the grave danger which menaced the good understanding of France and America, by reason of the ill feeling engendered by the action of D'Estaing. It required all the tact and address of Washington to soothe the feelings of the officers of the army and the fleet, and to prevent a public discussion of the responsibility for the failure.

Washington wrote to D'Estaing a very delicate letter regarding the

affair, in which he said: "If the deepest regret, that the best concerted enterprise and bravest exertions should have been rendered fruitless by a disaster, which human prudence was incapable of foreseeing or preventing, can alleviate disappointment, you may be assured that the whole continent sympathizes with you. It will be a consolation to you to reflect that the thinking part of mankind do not form their judgment from events; and that their equity will ever attach equal glory to those actions which deserve success, and those which have been crowned with it. It is in the trying circumstances to which your excellency has been exposed, that the virtues of a great mind are displayed in their brightest luster, and that a general's character is better known than in the hour of victory. It was yours by every title which can give it, and the adverse element which robbed you of your prize, can never deprive you of the glory due to you." This letter was not merely a politic salve to the wounded pride of an ally, but an expression of strict truth. D'Estaing had acted under orders which imperatively directed him in case of disaster to his fleet or the appearance upon the coast of a superior British armament, to retire for refitting or protection to Boston.

The remainder of the campaign of 1778 may be very briefly dismissed. Indeed, from this point it will be unnecessary and impossible to follow the events of the war so closely as heretofore. Washington was thenceforth devoted more to the direction of the war, less to the command of troops in the field than before, and hence a very general view of events will suffice. Sir Henry Clinton carried out his orders, and waged a most bitter and disgraceful predatory war against the northern and middle colonies. General Grey, a cruel and bloodthirsty officer, who might have adorned the army of Nero, was the commander of several expeditions directed to the capture of stores and supplies. He always moved to surprise, and was wont to compel his men to remove the flints and priming of their guns, and, should he succeed in coming unseen upon an unarmed and sleeping guard or escort, the work of death was thorough and silent, little quarter being ever given. One of the exploits of this class was the surprise of three companies of foot and a troop of horse, belonging to the command of Count Pulaski. These men were sleeping in their houses in New Jersey. Two hundred and fifty British took advantage of information given by a deserter, and ascended the river by night, surrounded the houses and attacked the naked and unarmed men. The official report of Captain Ferguson, who commanded, tells the result: "It being a night attack," said he, "little quarter of course could be given, *so there were only five prisoners.*" Grey, the most fiendish of the assassins who performed such service for the crown, was later elevated to the peerage, and his son was prime minister of England.

Such movements occupied the British regulars at the North. The only other important event of the latter portion of the campaign, was one well fitted to be recorded, column beside column, with this predatory warfare;

that was the descent from Canada upon the Wyoming valley, and the horrible devastation that followed; savage Indians and more savage tories entered the almost unprotected valley, and, overpowering the hasty levies of old men and boys, burned, robbed, and butchered, tortured and outraged, sparing neither childhood nor age, man or woman. The outrage—the horrible crime—of that massacre lay at the doors of the British cabinet, which allowed the employment of such means of war. The story sickens one who reads, and its deep disgrace can never be wiped from the British escutcheon.

In September Admiral Byron, having collected and refitted his squadron, put to sea and sailed for Boston, hoping to entrap D'Estaing. He found the French admiral still in port, and was preparing for an attack, when he again encountered so violent a storm as to compel him to put about and take refuge at Newport for repairs. D'Estaing then sailed for the West Indies, first issuing a proclamation to the French inhabitants of Canada, calling upon them to resume their allegiance to the king of France. Sir Henry Clinton in the meantime greatly diminished his force at New York, by detachment, one large body of troops being sent to the West Indies, another, under Colonel Campbell, who commanded in Florida, to co-operate with General Prevost, in the reduction of Georgia. This latter enterprise was accomplished in the face of very slight opposition, and, with the middle of January, 1779, closed the active operations of the year. It being evident that the South was to be an object of attack during the following year, Major-general Lincoln was assigned to command in that department, his splendid service in the Burgoyne campaign having won him unbounded confidence.

Early in December, Washington placed his men in winter quarters, in a line extending from Long Island sound to the Delaware, so posted as to give the best protection against the marauding of the British. He perfected an excellent code of signals, and, though constantly prepared for action, passed the winter unmolested. At the close of the campaign Lafayette had expressed a desire to return, for a time, at least, to France, as there was now certainty of war between France and England. He had, moreover, devised a plan for persuading France to unite with America in a grand concerted movement against the Canadian ports from Quebec to Detroit, thus wresting the Canadas from Great Britain. Washington disapproved of this plan, for the reason that it would require more men, even considering the assistance of France, than the colonies could afford to devote to such an enterprise, and, more important still, recognizing that such an effort on the part of France would be for the conquest of Canada,—a possibility which he could not but regard with jealousy. He communicated his fears to Congress and that body declined to commit itself to the plan, though it granted the marquis an indefinite leave of absence, expressing, at the same time, high appreciation of his services to America, and the best wishes for his

success at home. The young nobleman, therefore, left America, much regretted by all; most by Washington, to whom he had been so warmly and faithfully attached.

The winter wore away,—very quickly to Washington, who was busy and engrossed. The secondary effect of the alliance with France was becoming apparent, in a fatal apathy and inactivity. There was a tendency to settle back and view the war in a disinterested manner, relying upon France to carry it through. This spirit did not alone prevail among the people; it reached the hall of Congress, and, as usual, it became his duty to arouse the people and the Congress as well, to a sense of the very grave importance of continued and even increased activity. During the latter portion of the winter Washington was busy in projecting a plan of operations against the Indians and tories of the North. His early experience had made him a master in organizing and carrying on a war of this kind, and he selected men and methods for the service that produced the best results, as a brief recital of the enterprise will show. The first expedition set out from Fort Schuyler on the 19th of April, 1779, and consisted of about six hundred men. By a rapid march it succeeded in reaching the town of the Onandagas, before any hint of danger had come to the Indians, and destroyed the entire town; then it returned to the fort without the loss of a man. The second and by far more important movement, was conceived and executed in retaliation for the Wyoming massacre. Early in the summer three thousand men assembled in the Wyoming valley, and, placed under the command of General Sullivan, penetrated the country of the Senecas. This adventure did not, like the other, result in a surprise. Tories and Indians,—one thousand five hundred of the former and some two hundred of the latter—commanded by the very men who had led the Wyoming party, were assembled to resist the advance. On the 29th of August a battle was fought at Newton, which Sullivan won with ease. He then pushed on, destroying everything before him, as far as the Genesee river. The Indians and tories took refuge with the British garrison at Fort Niagara, and Sullivan returned to Pennsylvania, and, compelled by failing health, retired from the army. The third expedition of the Indian campaign, set out from Pittsburg, moved up the Allegheny, and was as successful as the others. The combined effect of all was to whip both tories and Indians into enforced submission, and it was only at rare intervals and in unimportant numbers, that they ever forgot the lesson.

Having thus anticipated events, in giving a brief summary of operations against the Indians, it is necessary to return to the main army, under the command of Washington. The usual embarrassments arising from the faulty organization of the army, defaults of Congress and the colonies in paying the men, disorganized commissariat and quartermasters' departments, etc., had been met by the commander in chief, and so far overcome that he found

himself in the spring, at the head of a larger and more effective army than any with which he had ever opened a campaign. The war was to be again prosecuted in two quarters; the South was evidently to be the scene of one campaign; the North of a second. Sir Henry Clinton's force, aside from the army of the South, was not far from seventeen thousand men, all of whom, save those occupying Rhode Island, were in New York. Against this army, Washington had—excluding the troops engaged in the South and Sullivan's army which had proceeded against the Indians—sixteen thousand troops—three thousand in Rhode Island; thirteen thousand in cantonments between the Hudson and the Delaware. The force of the armies was so nearly equal that neither cared to risk an engagement, save with a very decided advantage of position, and, as no such advantage was offered, the campaign in the North was from first to last defensive on the part of the Americans, and one of detachment on the enemy's side. Most of the British movements were merely armed marauds, so similar in conception and detail, and so numerous as to forbid description in these pages. They were alike in being cruel, bloody, and licentious, involving little risk, and effecting often nothing more than the robbery and ruin of defenceless persons, whom some tory had denounced for adherence to the patriot cause. The principal exception to this mode of warfare which was the rule, was the expedition undertaken by Clinton against the American forts upon the Hudson. After the destruction of Forts Montgomery and Clinton in 1777, ground had been sought for more secure defenses, which should, in fact, protect the great water way of the north from hostile control. King's ferry, at some distance below West Point, was selected, for the double reason that it was an important strategic point, and one easily capable of defense. On the west side of the river, rose Stony Point, an abrupt and difficult promontory, while into the stream from the east bank extended Verplanck's point. A small but strong work had been erected upon the latter, and was garrisoned by seventy men, under Captain Armstrong. A more extensive and important work was in process of construction upon Stony Point.

Late in May, Washington saw unmistakable signs of an intention on the part of Clinton to move up the Hudson, no doubt primarily against these twin forts. On the 30th of May, Sir Henry set out from New York, with an armament of seventy sail and one hundred and fifty flat boats. Verplanck's and Stony Points lay first in his path, but the strength with which he moved, indicated to Washington that some ulterior aim was in view. This was, in truth, the case, his design being to capture and garrison those and other strong posts in the Highlands, and gain and hold control of the Hudson. On the morning of the 31st, Clinton landed his men in two divisions, one about eight miles from Verplanck's Point; the other on the western shore, about three miles above Stony Point. The few men in the unfinished works abandoned them at the

approach of the enemy, and the British took possession in the evening of the 31st, dragged cannon and mortars to the summit during the night, and in the morning, opened a tremendous cannonade upon Fort Lafayette, as the works upon Verplanck's Point had been named. At the same time the vessels in the river opened fire upon it, and the force landed the day before, approached it from the rear. Under the circumstances there was but one course open to the little garrison,—to surrender at discretion, and this was adopted. Clinton placed strong garrisons in both forts, and hastened the completion of that on Stony Point. Washington, in the mean time, so disposed his troops as to render possible the protection of West Point, and prosecuted the work of strengthening his defenses there with no less vigor than Sir Henry Clinton devoted to those below. Finding the position of the Americans too strong to be assailed with safety, Clinton returned to New York, and sent out an expedition to ravage Connecticut, hoping to accomplish the double purpose of punishing a people who had been especially active in forwarding the Revolution, and of tempting the American force from its stronghold, and laying the Hudson open to his designs. The notorious tory governor, Tryon, now holding a king's commission as general, was selected for the duty, and, with twenty-six hundred men, set out, captured New Haven, destroying the vessels in its harbor, and large amounts of ammunition and military stores, and sacked and burned the towns of Fairfield and Norwalk. It was intended to proceed against New London, but the prospect of opposition was such, that the force was withdrawn to the sound to await reinforcements. Washington had not allowed all these outrages to be committed, without making an effort to arrest them. As soon as Tryon's expedition set out, he had detached General Heath with all the men who could be safely spared from the Hudson, to thwart the enemy, in his unknown mission, so far as might be possible. So great, however, were the facilities for rapid movement possessed by the British, that Heath had been unable to accomplish anything.

Pending Clinton's movement against Connecticut, the American commander planned no less an attempt than the re-capture of Stony Point and Fort Lafayette. This could only be accomplished by surprise, and was, at best, a very perilous undertaking. Washington finally determined to take the risk, and arranged his plan for a night attack by a body of light infantry, which should advance in silence, securing the sentinels as they went. For the critical duty in hand he selected "Mad Anthony" Wayne, to whom such a service was particularly grateful. It was arranged that the main body of the army should follow Wayne at no great distance, prepared to co-operate, and that a detachment should move down the east bank of the river, and be in readiness to act against Fort Lafayette, so soon as Wayne, in case of success, should turn the guns of Stony Point upon it.

About noon on July 15th, Wayne set out, from Sandy Beach, at the

head of about three hundred men. He had a hard march of fifteen miles before him, over rugged hills and along the narrow passes of the Dunderberg. It was after nightfall when, safe and undiscovered, he reached a halting place, about two miles from his objective point. Irving says that all the dogs in the neighborhood had been privately made way with; at all events, no one of them gave the signal of alarm by so much as a single bark. A half an hour before midnight, the little party advanced, with fixed bayonets, and unloaded guns, to meet victory or almost certain death, as fortune might decree. Their guide was a negro, who had been many times to the post, ostensibly to sell fruit. With him were two strong men, disguised as farmers. The countersign was given to the first sentinel, and, while the negro talked with him, he was seized, bound, and gagged. Not a sound. The troops were delayed at the morass, which was to be crossed before the ascent could be begun. Then the men were divided into two columns, each with a forlorn hope before it, which was charged with removing the abatis upon the hill-side. Not until the Americans were close upon the outworks of the fort, was their approach discovered; then there was sharp skirmishing, the British making the noise with their muskets; the Americans doing the execution with their bayonets. The alarmed garrison sprang to arms, and opened a tremendous fire upon their assailants, with grape and musketry. They were, however, forced back. The gallant Fleury struck the flag. Wayne received a shock from a spent ball, which struck him in the head, and gave him all the sensations of a fatal wound. Staggering, and about to fall, he was caught by a soldier, when he exclaimed: "Carry me into the fort, and let me die at the head of my column!" Such spirit as was shown by every officer and man in the little attacking party, was too much for the garrison, who surrendered at discretion. At daybreak, the guns of the fort were turned upon the shipping, when the vessels cut their cables and dropped down the river to a place of safety. Some one blundered in the conduct of the party which moved against Fort Lafayette, and, though the fort was vigorously cannonaded, there was no cooperation, and it was not captured.

The storming and capture of Stony Point is justly esteemed one of the most brilliant achievements in the War of Independence, and, in boldness of device, and bravery of execution, compares favorably with any like occurrence in history. The very unlikelihood of success was the salvation of the plan; it seemed so nearly impossible of accomplishment, that the British were lulled to a false security, which was their ruin. One of the last and most graceful acts of Charles Lee, was to write a letter to Wayne, acknowledging the exceeding brilliancy of his exploit, and warmly congratulating him upon it. This compliment has an especial significance, when it is stated that Wayne was one of the most damaging witnesses before the court-martial that tried, condemned, and

sentenced Lee. Not the least honorable feature of the affair was, that, though the Americans had received so great provocation, not a soldier of the garrison was killed or injured, after he ceased to resist. The re-capture of Stony Point had the effect of checking the movement against Connecticut. Clinton recalled the force which had been detailed for that purpose, and again moved up the Hudson to regain his lost ground, and compass an engagement with Washington, if such were practicable. Again the prudent policy of the American commander confounded the enemy. Finding that he could not maintain the fort at Stony Point, with less than fifteen hundred men, which was a greater number than he could afford to detach, Washington dismantled the works, removed the artillery to West Point, and himself retired thither with his army, before the advance of Clinton. The latter, not deeming it best to follow, returned to New York.

Passing by the abortive attempt of New England partisans, to surprise the British at Penobscot, and the brilliant achievement of "Light-Horse Harry" Lee, who surprised the British post at Paulus Hook, and took one hundred and fifty-nine prisoners, with the loss of two men, it is necessary to dismiss the campaign with a few words. Early in the autumn, Clinton was reinforced by the arrival of a fleet, under Admiral Arbuthnot, bringing three thousand fresh troops. About the same time came news that the Count D'Estaing had arrived off the coast of Georgia, with a powerful fleet, fresh from victories won in the West Indies. A combined movement against New York was again projected. Clinton abandoned Rhode Island and the Hudson posts, and massed his entire army in and about New York city. At the same time, Washington made a call for militia, which he concentrated in considerable numbers, to act with the army in co-operation with D'Estaing. The latter, however, decided to act with Lincoln, for the recapture of Savannah. An investment, by regular approaches, followed; the works were stormed, and the American flag twice placed upon them, but each time the assailants were driven back, and finally gave up the effort, D'Estaing having lost six hundred killed, and Lincoln nearly four hundred, while the garrison escaped with very small loss. D'Estaing at once put to sea; his fleet was crippled by a storm; he, with part of his ships, returned to France; the remainder to the West Indies. This news reached the American camp in November; Washington dismissed his militia, dispatched the troops of Virginia and the Carolinas to the South; placed a detachment of the army, under General Heath, in the Highlands, and took the main body into winter quarters at Morristown, New Jersey. In the meantime, the Southern army, under Lincoln, was in sad need of the aid which Washington had sent. After the defeat at Savannah, it had crossed into South Carolina, and against that colony, especially the city

of Charleston, Sir Henry Clinton and Lord Cornwallis sailed, on the 26th of December, with several thousand men, in transports, convoyed by five ships of the line, and a number of frigates. Knyphausen was left in command at New York.

CHAPTER XXIII.

SIEGE AND FALL OF CHARLESTON—TARLETON'S BUTCHERY.

IT is now necessary to glance very briefly at the campaign in the South, which, as Washington had no personal part in it, is only of collateral significance. Lincoln was in command at Charleston, when General Clinton arrived at Tybee bay, on the Savannah, in the latter part of January. On the 11th of February, the greater part of the British army landed at a point thirty miles below Charleston, leaving the fleet to make a circuit by sea and appear before the city, while the army marched by land. The enemy advanced slowly, fortifying many points as he went, and taking the further precaution to direct the forwarding of reinforcements from Savannah and New York. Charleston, standing upon an isthmus between the Ashley and Cooper rivers, was weakly garrisoned, but Lincoln took every means to strengthen its defences. He connected the two rivers, above the city, by a canal; beyond this he placed two rows of abatis and a picketed ditch, and, between the canal and the main works, threw up redoubts, so placed as to flank an approaching enemy. The Governor at Charleston gave orders for the mustering of the militia, and a small squadron of armed vessels was in the harbor, to co-operate with Forts Moultrie and Johnston, for its defence. On the 12th of March Clinton arrived, and posted his army upon Charleston neck, a few miles from the town. This condition of affairs being communicated to Washington, he ordered the troops of Maryland and Delaware, with a regiment of artillery, to reinforce Lincoln.

The next point in the British plan was to bring the vessels of the fleet into the harbor, and thus be in a position to rake the batteries of the town. The defence of Charleston really depended upon the prevention of this movement, and the existence of a difficult bar at the entrance of the harbor made it a very hazardous one, in the face of opposition. The American commodore, Whipple, finding, by soundings, that he could not anchor within three miles of the bar, gave up the idea of defending it, and

retired to a position in line with the forts. Admiral Arbuthnot effected the passage on the 20th of March, having removed his guns to lighten the vessels, and lay within the bar, engaged in replacing his artillery. Then was the time when Charleston should have been evacuated, for its defence was hopeless, but a letter from the commander in chief, intimating the desirability of abandoning the town in such an event, had been detained, and came too late to influence Lincoln, who prepared for defence, and the American vessels-of-war were sunk in line across the Cooper river.

The British were reinforced from Savannah, before the arrival of the anxiously expected Northern troops. On the 9th of April, Clinton completed his first parallel, within eight hundred yards of the American lines, and, on the same day, Arbuthnot sailed past Fort Moultrie, with little loss, and anchored inside, out of range of the guns of either fort. Lincoln was then summoned to surrender, but returned a firm refusal. About the same time General Woodford, with seven hundred Virginia troops, passed into the city, from the north, by the only remaining way. On the 14th, Clinton detached Tarleton and Lieutenant-colonel Webster to surprise the American cavalry, which served to keep open communication with the city. The party met with a signal success, killing or capturing one hundred of the Americans, dispersing the remainder on foot, and capturing four hundred horses. This completed the investment, and placed retreat out of the question, yet Lincoln persisted in maintaining the lines, and the British seemed content to proceed by approaches. Thus the siege wore on, Lincoln having no substantial reason for hope, but determined not to surrender so long as he might obtain delay. The garrison was much fatigued, and many had been killed; supplies were not abundant; the guns were many of them dismounted, and when, on May 7th, the British gained possession of Mount Pleasant, and compelled the surrender of Fort Moultrie, it seemed that resistance had ceased to be wise. By May 12th, the third parallel was completed, within twenty yards of the American works. These were three miles in extent, and to man them Lincoln had but about one thousand troops, many of which were militia. On the 12th, the citizens of Charleston presented a petition, urging Lincoln to surrender, and terms of capitulation being proposed on the same day, he accepted them. The town and all stores passed into the hands of the enemy. The garrison, and such citizens as had assisted in the defence, became prisoners of war; the militia was paroled. The garrison was required to march out and lay down their arms, before the fort, but no humiliation was attached to the surrender. The British lost, during the siege, seventy-six men killed, and one hundred and seventy-six wounded; the casualties of the Americans were not far from the same number. The fall of Charleston was a great advantage to the British, as it was a most serious loss to the Americans. The city was the principal mart of the South, and its fate seemed likely to

be decisive of that of all the country about. With Savannah already conquered and Georgia secured, Charleston added to these, and the service of a moderate army employed in encouraging loyalists and intimidating whigs, Clinton was confident of reducing to submission, the South, from Virginia to the Gulf, and, beyond mere submission, he had hopes of so arousing the loyalty of the tories, as to derive positive support and assistance from that quarter.

Immediately after the surrender Clinton formed another plan. Colonel Buford, having set out, with three hundred and eighty Virginia troops and two field-pieces, for the relief of Charleston, and finding himself too late to be of service, had begun a retreat to North Carolina. On the way he was joined by a remnant of Colonel Washington's cavalry, which had escaped the surprisal by Tarleton. Clinton dispatched a detachment under Cornwallis to pursue and capture this little force. Buford had a considerable advantage in the start, and as he moved rapidly, Cornwallis advanced Colonel Tarleton in pursuit, with one hundred and seventy dragoons and one hundred mounted infantry. It required more than a night and a day of forced march, during which many horses perished and the men suffered exceedingly with the heat, for Tarleton to come within twenty miles of Buford's party. With the intention of delaying the march of the retreating Americans, he then sent forward a messenger bearing the following letter:

"SIR:—Resistance being vain, to prevent the effusion of blood, I make offers which can never be repeated. You are now almost encompassed by a corps of seven hundred light troops on horseback; half of that number are infantry, with cannons. Earl Cornwallis is likewise within reach, with nine British regiments. I warn you of the temerity of further inimical proceedings." The letter closed with an offer to Buford, of the same terms which had been given at Charleston. That officer read the letter, kept the messenger in conversation for some time, without a halt, then returned the following answer:

"SIR:—I reject your proposals, and shall defend myself to the last extremity. I have the honor, &c."

In the meantime Tarleton had continued to press forward, and came up with Buford's rear at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The Americans had not looked for so early an arrival of the enemy, and were in a measure surprised. Buford made an effort to draw his men off at the right of the road and form them, while his advance hurried on with the baggage. He was, however, but ill prepared for the impetuous charge of Tarleton's cavalry, and most of his men, after firing one hasty and ineffective volley, threw down their arms and called for quarter. To what degree this prayer was granted, may be judged by the fact that one hundred and thirty were killed on the spot, one hundred and fifty so mangled and maimed that they were left on the field by the victors, and only about fifty, nearly all wounded,

were made prisoners. The advanced guard of about one hundred infantry escaped, as did Colonel Buford, with a few of the horses. The affair was nothing but a wanton and indiscriminate butchery. Tarleton explained it by saying that, he having been unhorsed at the first fire, his men thought him killed, and were so exasperated that they had finished their work before he could remount. Cornwallis approved of the affair, and recommended Tarleton for promotion, but the world has always, and justly, held him to have been a murderer. The facts that Buford's field-pieces were not discharged, and that Tarleton's loss was but five men killed, and fifteen wounded, seems to more than justify this view of the case.

Immediately upon receiving news of the fall of Charleston and the capture of Lincoln, Washington had desired to place the command of the South in the hands of General Greene, an officer in whose discretion and bravery he had the most implicit confidence. Congress, however, interfered and, as usual, made a *faux pas*, appointing Gates to the duty. Gates was without command and accepted the service very eagerly, though Lee gave him a prophetic warning to beware that his northern laurels did not change to southern willows. At the time of his appointment to the command, the troops of Maryland and Delaware, under the veteran De Kalb, were still in North Carolina, the difficulty of subsisting the army and uncertainty as to orders, having made their march a slow one. The remaining force in the Southern colonies was mostly included in a body of North Carolina militia, under General Caswell, and a body of about eight hundred brave South Carolina volunteers who had chosen their friend and neighbor Colonel Thomas Sumter, to command them.

Gates reached De Kalb's camp on the 25th of July and took command of the little army. He at once made a serious mistake, by ordering an advance, on the 27th, upon roads which the heat and lack of subsistence had prevented either De Kalb or Cornwallis from attempting until after the harvest had been gathered and cooler weather came. His men suffered everything from hunger, thirst, and heat. He effected a junction with Caswell and on the 13th of August, took possession of Rugely's Mills, without opposition from Lord Rawdon, who commanded during Cornwallis' absence at Charleston. Rawdon withdrew to Camden. On the day of his arrival at Clermont, Gates was reinforced by seven hundred Virginia militia, under Brigadier-general Stephens, who had served in the campaign of 1777–78. He also learned from Sumter that an escort of supplies for the British, at Camden, must shortly pass the Wateree, at a ferry about a mile distant from the town, which ferry was protected by a redoubt. He reinforced Sumter with one hundred regulars and gave him orders to intercept the train, at the same time determining himself to cover the enterprise by a demonstration against Camden. He estimated his force for this service at seven thousand, and, upon being informed by the assistant adjutant-general, that he had a line

of but three thousand and fifty-two effectives, he carelessly answered: "There are enough for our purpose." Such was the man who had sought to supplant Washington! Gates advanced in order, flanked on either side by light infantry, the Maryland division, with Virginia and North Carolina militia and artillery forming the main body and the rear.

Cornwallis had, in the meantime, learned of the presence of a considerable body of Americans, and had resumed command at Camden. On the very night when Gates moved upon Camden, he set out to attack the Americans at Clermont, and, at half past two o'clock in the morning of August 16th, the advance parties of the two armies met, to their mutual surprise. Gates was soon informed by prisoners taken in the first skirmish, that he was confronted by Cornwallis and the whole British force. He might then have retired in safety, made a junction with Sumter, chosen a more fitting time and place for engaging the enemy, and, perhaps, have been successful, but he would not adopt the Fabian policy of Washington, and remained on the ground to expose his few regulars and undisciplined militia to the veterans of Cornwallis. The result was what might have been expected. The British attacked him in the morning on equal ground. His militia for the most part broke and fled like sheep, pursued by Tarleton's dreaded cavalry. He strove in vain to check them, and sent officers who endeavored with no better success to overtake and form them to cover a retreat. Gates thought that his whole army had fled, and retired with those about him to Charlotte. De Kalb's regulars had, however, stood their ground, after the whole center and left had deserted them. In this position, outnumbered and outflanked, they fought like tigers, long after all hope of success had disappeared. De Kalb was on foot with the Maryland brigade, and fell in the arms of his *aide-de-camp*, with eleven wounds, from which he died in a few hours. Then Cornwallis attacked the two devoted brigades with the bayonet, at last breaking and scattering them. The defeat was hopeless and complete. The American army was absolutely broken up. Sumter had succeeded in his venture, and, learning of Gates' defeat, made a forced march with the captured train to a place some distance from the field, where he thought it safe to halt and rest his men. During the halt Tarleton made one of his sudden descents, and, before the Americans could reach their arms, completely scattered them and re-captured the train. The Americans lost two hundred wagons and nearly all their baggage, stores, small arms, and cannon. The loss in men was very heavy, British authorities stating it to have been between eight hundred and nine hundred killed, and one thousand prisoners, which, however, doubtless exceeds the truth. The enemy lost but three hundred and twenty-five killed and wounded.

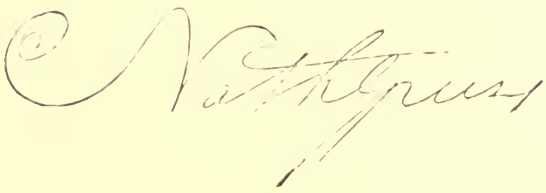
As a result of the reckless folly of General Gates, there was no longer an American army in the South; only a few scattered and hunted fugi-

tives, without shelter, arms, or food, and there seemed to be, indeed, no further hope for Virginia, the Carolinas, or Georgia.

Gates retired to Salisbury, thence to Hillsborough, to collect so much of his scattered force as possible, and await reinforcements.

Two other expeditions had been sent into the Carolinas at the same time as that headed by Cornwallis, but neither saw any service. Both found almost uniform readiness to submit, and their march was but little more than a holiday progress. The negroes joined them, conceiving themselves absolved from service; the tories, always cowards save when in the presence of scarlet cloth, were loud in rejoicing; the doubtful element was, as usual, well affected to the successful party, and the real patriots who were either serving elsewhere, or on parole, were so few and scattered as to be an imperceptible element in the problem. Clinton felt so confident that he released all prisoners save those at Charleston and Moultrie, from their paroles, and subjected them to the obligation of service in the royal cause. Then on the 5th of June, he sailed for New York with a portion of the army leaving Cornwallis, with the rest, to push the war through North Carolina and Virginia.





CHAPTER XXIV.

BATTLE OF KING'S MOUNTAIN GATES RELIEVED BY GREENE.

CORNWALLIS regarded the South as reduced beyond the fear of resistance by the defeat of Gates and the death of De Kalb. He settled himself at Camden for the recuperation of his army, issued a proclamation, calling upon the loyalists of North Carolina to arm and cut off the retreat of the remnant of Gates' army, and dispatched Major Patrick Ferguson, a brave and skillful tory partisan, to keep the war alive upon the western borders of the province. Ferguson's force numbered between eleven hundred and twelve hundred men, light infantry and royal militia, of his own levying and training, and they constituted a very formidable corps for partisan warfare. He was directed to skirt the mountain country between the Catawba and the Yadkin, harass the whigs, inspirit the tories and embody the militia under the royal banner. This done, he was to move to Charlotte, where Cornwallis would be in waiting, prepared for new and more important movements. Having carried out his instructions, Ferguson was returning to Charlotte to rejoin Cornwallis, when he learned that a force of American partisans, under Colonel Elijah Clarke, of Georgia, was retreating towards the mountains of North Carolina. His own strength had been largely increased by the drawing of tories to his standard, and he could not resist the temptation to attempt the cutting off of Clarke. Consequently, he pushed through the narrow and steep defiles of the mountains, and took post at a small frontier village, called Gilberttown. He was confident that no force existed, or could be raised, which could face him with any possibility of success. In this he was deceived. The marauds of his men had aroused the whole mountain region to fury. As a British writer says: "All of a sudden, a numerous, fierce and unexpected enemy, sprung up in the depths of the desert. The scattered inhabitants of the mountains assembled, without noise or warning, under the conduct of six or seven of

their militia colonels, to the number of six hundred strong, daring, well-mounted, and excellent horsemen."

Ferguson took alarm and began a retreat. The frontiersmen collected by twos, threes and half-dozens at Gilberttown, and soon nine hundred of their best mounted men set out in pursuit, leaving their comrades to follow. The first evening they halted at the Cow pens. Early in the morning they again took the march, moving toward King's mountain, twelve miles distant, and, when they had proceeded nine miles, learned that Ferguson had taken a strong position upon that eminence. His men were extended along the level ridge which forms its summit, and their commander had boasted that "if all the rebels out of hell should attack him they would not drive him from it." The Americans dismounted, tied their horses, divided into three nearly equal divisions, and prepared to scale the heights from three sides. Their fighting directions were very simple: the men were to fire at will, and with good aim, as rapidly as possible. If unable to hold their ground, they were to retire to cover, re-form, and again advance, but never to entirely desert the field. The movements were delayed some time that they might be simultaneous. Then the left, commanded by Cleveland, drew the first fire from the enemy, at about 4 o'clock. Almost immediately after, the centre, commanded by Colonel Campbell, came into action, deployed behind trees and fences, and answered the heavy volleys of the enemy with most deadly effect.

Ferguson made a sally and began driving Campbell's force down the mountain; almost immediately, one of the other bodies opened a flanking fire; he turned his attention to that, and had forced it to give way, when the third appeared, and he found Campbell re-formed and advancing. So he fought first one division, then another, always meeting a fresh and confident enemy at every turn; the Americans, being below him, could fire without injuring each other, and it seemed that every bullet told. Still he held his ground bravely, until the field was strewn with dead; his men, no longer able to endure the terrible fire, broke; he endeavored to rally them and was shot from his horse. Then his second in command beat a parley and begged for quarter, and the fight was over. The Americans lost twenty men killed and many wounded, and the enemy lost one hundred and fifty killed, an equal number wounded, and eight hundred and ten captured. On the following day a court-martial was held, a few of the most bitter tories captured, were hanged, in retaliation for similar action on the part of Cornwallis, then the men dispersed to their homes, as quietly and mysteriously as they had assembled, not feeling that they had performed any very remarkable exploit, yet they had, in fact, turned the whole tide of war in the South. Cornwallis, who had intended reducing North Carolina, then forcing a junction with the detachment sent by Howe to Virginia, became alarmed for his own safety and for the security of Georgia and South Caro-

lina, and gave up his plans of aggression. On the 14th of October following the battle, he began his weary and perilous retrograde march. Hungry, footworn, fired upon from every copse and cover, it required two weeks for his army to reach and cross the Catawba, and take position at Winnsborough, South Carolina.

The remainder of the autumn and the early winter were occupied by the British in most vexatious and costly warfare. General Francis Marion, with his handful of hardy partisans; Sumter at the head of his irrepressible followers,—one or the other of these was always in the field, or at least threatening to take the offensive. Tarleton was sent against Marion; the latter, finding himself outnumbered, kept his stronghold. Tarleton adopted the ruse of dividing his men into small bodies, and so disposing them that they might be speedily reunited. This proved successful; Marion, whom his enemies called the "Swamp Rat," came out of his hole, Tarleton concentrated his forces, drove the Americans from one swamp to another, inflicting some damage, and considered their destruction certain, when came word from Cornwallis to return to his assistance, as Sumter was in the field. So, giving up his smaller quarry for more important game, Tarleton returned, attacked Sumter, attempted to carry a log barn in which some of the Americans had taken refuge, and was repulsed, with heavy loss of his best men, in killed and wounded. Night came on, and he retired to a place of safety, while Sumter's men disbanded, and were far enough away when it was sought to avenge the defeat of Tarleton. The Americans lost but seven killed. This is but an example of the daily vexation of Cornwallis, by bodies of men too large to be ignored; too small and nimble to be met according to ordinary rules of war. If he sent out foragers, they found the farmers posted behind trees and fences, and bought with blood the food for which the patriots disdained to accept gold; his dispatches were intercepted; his stragglers cut off, and his command was one of constant worry and irritation.

Gates had, in the meantime, collected the sad remnant of his army at Charlotte. He was crushed by a defeat which he could not but acknowledge was the result of his own folly and negligence. There was little about him of the old self-confidence and vanity. Soon after entering winter quarters, he received news of the death of his only son, and, while this wound was still fresh, came notification that he had been superseded in command by General Greene. In this unhappy complication of troubles, he received a letter from General Washington, condoling with him upon the loss of his child, and referring to his military reverses in terms so considerate and delicate as to quite unman him. It is related, by Irving, that, after reading this letter, "Gates was found walking about his room in the greatest agitation, pressing the letter to his lips, breaking forth into ejaculations of gratitude and admiration, and when he could find utterance to his thoughts, declared

that its tender sympathy and considerate delicacy had conveyed more consolation and delight to his heart, than he had believed it possible ever to have felt again." It is more than likely that he was moved as much by remorse at his former injustice to Washington, as by gratitude at the noble and characteristic utterances of the man he had wronged. On the 2d of December, 1780, Greene arrived at Charlotte and took command of the army. Upon his way southward he had made provision for the strengthening and sustenance of the force in the Carolinas, and for the protection of Virginia from hostile attack. He came charged by Congress not only with the command of the army, but with the delicate duty of providing for a court of inquiry into the conduct of General Gates. Greene, himself a man of sensibility, had probably received from Washington some hints as to his conduct. Certain it is, he behaved with the greatest delicacy and thoughtfulness toward the double misfortunes of his predecessor. Calling a council, it was determined that there were not enough general officers in camp to constitute a proper court of inquiry; that, considering the recent family affliction of General Gates, it would be highly indecorous and indelicate to force him into an investigation, which he could not honorably postpone; that *prima facie* evidence indicated that he had been more unfortunate than criminal, hence, considering all the circumstances, nothing should for the time be done in the matter, and that Congress be urged to reverse its decision. Such kindness and magnanimity are almost unparalleled in military history, as the army is too often marked, instead, by the virulence of its personal enmities and jealousy. Gates was completely overcome. He had regarded Greene with coldness, if not with stronger feeling. From this time he was one of the warmest, most affectionate friends of Greene, as he was, ever after, of the commander in chief. The Virginia General Assembly appointed a committee to wait upon Gates and express to him the sympathy and respect of that body, and with heart touched and comforted by these indications of good will, he left the army and retired to his farm in Berkeley county.

The force which Greene found awaiting him, was little more than an apology for an organization. It numbered but two thousand three hundred men; these were undisciplined, disorganized, depressed, and showed, in every particular, the inevitable result of such a defeat as they had suffered. The country about Charlotte was so exhausted by repeated foragings, that he determined to divide his force, and seek fresh and more hopeful ground for their encampment. To this end he sent one portion, under General Morgan, to the district of Ninety Six, in South Carolina, and with the other himself made a toilsome march to Hick's creek, in the Chesterfield district, and there took position.

CHAPTER XXV.

ARRIVAL OF ROCHAMBEAU—TREASON OF ARNOLD.

THE winter at Valley Forge has been described; that at Morristown, then, needs no description. There was the same want, nakedness, and death; the winter was the coldest ever known in New Jersey. So cold was it, that the remainder of the British fleet at New York was imprisoned by ice, and an army with heavy cannon might have marched across either river to attack the city. The pay of the American soldiers was greatly in arrear, in some cases the men having received no money for five months; when paid it was only in Continental scrip, which was so far depreciated, that three months pay of a soldier would not buy a bushel of wheat, and an officer did not receive as much, in purchasing power, as would a teamster, paid in English money. Provisions were so scanty that meat was often entirely lacking, and, when it came, some officers lived for weeks upon bread and cheese, that they might not lessen the rations of the private soldiers. In the midst of these embarrassments Congress reorganized the commissary department, upon such a basis as to leave it still less efficient, and, soon afterwards, the commissary general gave notice to the commander in chief, that he could no longer supply the army with meat, as he had no money, and his credit was exhausted. In this emergency Washington was again compelled to call upon each of the counties of the State to supply for the army a certain fixed quantity of provisions. If these were forthcoming by a given day, their value was to be appraised by a committee, consisting of two magistrates from the county interested, and the commissary-general, and warrants given for the payment of the same. If not so received, or furnished in sufficient quantities, then, it was announced, that enough to make up the proportion of each county would be impressed, and paid for according to value, estimated in the same manner. To the credit of New Jersey, which had been greatly impoverished by supporting the armies of king and colonies alike, it should be said that the requisitions of the general were

almost uniformly met, several counties exceeding the amount demanded. Forages were made by the British during the winter in various directions from New York, for their own condition was far from comfortable. The ice had cut off the means of supplying the army by water, and fuel was so difficult to be obtained, that old vessels and empty houses were destroyed for fire. The Americans could have captured the city, had their army been in a condition for service. As it was, Lord Stirling made a demonstration against twelve hundred British who were encamped upon Staten island, at the head of twice that number of men, but the enemy learned of his coming, and, retiring to their works, sent to New York for reinforcement, so that nothing was accomplished.

Spring, while it alleviated the sufferings of the army, did not remove the embarrassment of its commander, who, with but a handful of men under him, was compelled to provide for the protection of the North against Knyphausen; to consider the defence of the South, and, at the same time, to provide as best he might, against the ever present possibility of a rapid movement by water, and the formation of a junction of both hostile armies against whichever branch of his own might be weaker. In the face of all, there seemed little promise of success in recruiting; the depreciation of the currency stood as a bar in the way of every movement for the betterment of the condition of affairs. Recognizing the root of the trouble, Washington wrote the president of Congress: "It were devoutly to be wished that a plan could be devised by which everything relating to the army could be conducted on a general principle, under the direction of Congress. This alone can give harmony and consistency to our military establishment, and I am persuaded it will be infinitely conducive to public economy." This letter provoked a very warm debate, which reached a climax when it was proposed to appoint a committee of three persons who should visit the camp, and, in connection with the commander in chief, devise means for the improvement of the military system of the country. Of the reception given this proposal, Irving says: "It was objected that this would put too much power into a few hands, especially into those of the commander in chief; that his influence was already too great, that even his virtues afforded motives for alarm; that the enthusiasm of the army, joined to the kind of dictatorship already confided to him, put Congress and the United States at his mercy; that it was not expedient to expose a man of the highest virtue to such temptations." This jealousy of one man power was very characteristic of the day, and that the distrust extended even to Washington, shows how vigorous was American republicanism, even in its swaddling clothes. The committee was, however, appointed, and consisted of General Schuyler, John Mathews, and Nathaniel Peabody. As a result of the investigation, Congress pledged itself to make up to the soldiers the difference between the nominal and the actual value of their pay, and to consider

all payments theretofore made, as simply applying on the gross indebtedness to each. Thus, at last, there was a prospect for placing the army upon an efficient footing.

Early in May, Washington received a letter from the Marquis de Lafayette, announcing his arrival at Boston, and that he would at once push on to headquarters. The commander was greatly affected when he received this welcome announcement, and, upon the arrival of Lafayette, folded the young officer in his arms in the most affectionate manner,—an act of demonstrative affection quite foreign to his custom. The newcomer could not long remain with his older friend, for he was the bearer of important tidings—that a French fleet, under Chevalier de Ternay, was to put to sea early in April, bound for service in America, and convoying a fleet of transports bringing a land force, under the Count de Rochambeau. Having communicated this glad news, he at once hastened to Philadelphia, to report the same to Congress, while Washington turned his attention to preparing for co-operation with the allies against New York. At his suggestion, Lafayette had dispatched letters to Rochambeau and Ternay, apprising them of Washington's opinion, that a campaign against that point would be advisable, and requesting them to make with all speed for Sandy Hook. Washington had little fear that, with the slender garrison and small naval force at New York, he could have trouble in capturing that city, by the aid of the French. His principal anxiety arose from the inefficiency of his own army, and he turned all his energies to finding a remedy.

Washington's first knowledge of the surrender of Charleston, was conveyed on June 1st, by a hand-bill, circulated in New York, and, almost at the same time, he was informed that a fleet of about one hundred war vessels and transports had appeared at Sandy Hook. This latter he took to be a portion of the British force which had been employed in the South, and his fear for the safety of the Hudson was aroused. He soon learned, however, that the report regarding the flotilla was false; but, on the 6th of June, came news that the British were landing at Elizabethtown point, for an incursion into New Jersey. Knyphausen had, in fact, received exaggerated reports of the discontents of the American army, and deemed that a timely demonstration might draw largely from its ranks, and also lead to the re-establishment of British influence in the Jerseys. He had made a grand mistake in accepting these reports at their face value. No sooner was his intention manifest, than signal guns and fires gave warning, and, along every road, by twos and threes, hurried the hardy yeomanry of the colony, to the danger stations. At Connecticut Farms he met his first opposition. This amounted only to a momentary stand; the British, with artillery and reinforcements, soon broke the provincial line, and revenged its temerity by sacking and burning the village. During this barbarous retaliation, Mrs. Caldwell, wife of a fighting chaplain in the American army,

while sitting in a house, with her children beside her, was killed by two musket balls discharged through an open window. Yet this expedition had for one of its objects, the bringing of New Jersey colonists back to fealty to the crown! The death of Mrs. Caldwell drove many a doubtful yeoman to the rebel ranks, and the British paid for her life a hundred times over.

Springfield, on the road to Morristown, had been made the rallying-point of the American army. There was posted in advance, General Maxwell, with his brigade and the levies of the vicinity, while on the heights behind, was Washington, with the main body of the army. Knyphausen halted, reconnoitered, and very wisely turned about, and made the best of his way to Elizabethtown point, his place of debarkation. There he lingered, in indecision, sending a portion of his troops across the channel; then recalling them. On June 18th, Clinton, with a portion of his southern army, actually arrived at New York, and Washington, leaving behind Greene, and Henry Lee, with his light horse, began a weary march toward the Highlands. He had advanced but a short distance, when he received news that the enemy was again moving from Elizabethtown, whereupon he sent reinforcements to Greene, and, himself, fell back to a point where he might at once watch the Hudson, and be in a position to co-operate with the Jersey troops. Knyphausen, five thousand strong, with cavalry and artillery, moved forward, in two columns, one by each road leading from Elizabethtown to Springfield. Both roads were guarded by American advanced parties, while a bridge over the Rahway, a little west of the town, was held by Colonel Angel, with two hundred picked men and artillery. The remainder of the army was thrown upon high ground in the rear of the town. Lee was obliged to retire his advanced party from the Vauxhall road, after making a sharp defense; the British left was met, and held with great determination, by Colonel Dayton, while Angel at the bridge, opposed the vastly superior force of the enemy for more than an hour, and until above one-fourth of his men had been either killed or wounded. Greene finally withdrew to stronger ground, in the rear of Springfield, where the two roads approached each other more nearly, and permitted of his guarding both, without presenting so extended a front. Knyphausen saw that, should he gain Morristown, it would be after fighting every inch of the way, and at the cost of many men; hence, having sacked and burned Springfield, he retired, on the night of the 23d, to Elizabethtown, having lost many more men than had the Americans; having gained nothing but more bitter enmity for himself and his British employers. By 6 o'clock in the morning, his rear had reached Staten island, and the last British mission to New Jersey was at an end.

The evident design of Howe was to menace Washington in several directions, and the latter soon became convinced that the enemy would not immediately take any active steps against him. Hence, he so placed his force as



B Arnold



MAJOR ANDRE.

to be able readily to move it to any endangered point, removed his stores to more secure depots, and set about the tedious and difficult task of procuring the increase of his army. On the 10th of July a portion of the promised French fleet reached Providence, Rhode Island, under command of Chevalier de Ternay. It consisted of seven ships of the line, two frigates and two bombs. The remainder of the fleet had been detained at Brest by lack of transports for the troops which accompanied it. Convoyed by De Ternay's squadron, were somewhat more than five thousand troops, under command of Count de Rochambeau, with the Marquis de Chastellux second in command. The army was largely officered by young members of the nobility of France, who were attracted by the romantic and adventurous nature of the service in a new country. Through the intervention of Lafayette, it had been arranged that Rochambeau should place himself under the orders of Washington, and that the place of the French, when serving with the American troops, should be on the left of the line, thus preventing the possibility of jealousy or misunderstanding.

Rochambeau only waited to collect fuel and forage, before landing his army, which he placed in a fortified camp without the town. The fleet remained in the harbor, its temporary inferiority to that of the English forbidding offensive measures. Washington was much mortified that the condition of his army prevented immediate and effective co-operation with Rochambeau, and thus wrote the president of Congress: "Pressed on all sides by a choice of difficulties, I have adopted that line of policy which suited the dignity and faith of Congress, the reputation of these States and the honor of our arms. Neither the season nor a regard for decency, would permit delay. The die is cast, and it remains with the States either to fulfil their engagements, preserve their credit and support their independence, or to involve us in disgrace and defeat. . . . I shall proceed on the supposition that they will ultimately support their own interest and honor, and not suffer us to fail for want of means, which it is evidently in their power to afford. What has been done, and is doing by some of the States, confirms the opinion I have entertained of the sufficient resources of the country. As to the disposition of the people to submit to any arrangements for bringing them forth, I see no reasonable grounds to doubt. If we fail for want of exertions in any of the governments, I trust the responsibility will fall where it ought and that I shall stand justified to Congress, to my country, and to the world."

This history now brings us to the consideration of the saddest episode of the War of Independence, the treason of Arnold and the death of Major Andre. It is difficult to reconcile the action of the former with his past career and services—so difficult that one can scarcely resist the belief that disappointment, imaginary injustice, and the black spectre which stands ever at the elbow of the spendthrift, must have combined to unseat hi?

reason. That the man who led that terrible march through the Northern wilderness; who fought, bled, and suffered so bravely before Quebec; who led the perilous relief expedition to Fort Stanwix; who joined the Saratoga fight without command, and led the mad charge into the very camp of the enemy, falling desperately wounded within his lines; that this man should have striven to barter away a stronghold of the patriot army for pounds, shillings, and pence, seems almost irreconcilable with sanity. Yet all these things Benedict Arnold did. He had, in common with many other officers of the colonial army, felt slighted at some of the promotions made by Congress, by which men, his juniors in the service, had outranked him. He had unquestionably been slighted by Gates, at Saratoga, and during the campaign preceding that battle. The wound which he there received, had, for many weeks, incapacitated him for active service, and he was consequently placed in command at Philadelphia, where, as has been related, he earned the enmity of many citizens, was subjected to an investigation, and mildly reprimanded. During his entire military service he had lived beyond his means, debts had accumulated, and he was constantly harassed by duns and threatened with the humiliation of an exposure. It was after his reprimand, and while without a command, that he began an anonymous correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, signing himself *Gustavus*. He represented himself as an officer of high position in the American service, who had become dissatisfied with the conduct of American affairs, particularly with the French alliance, and desired to join the British army, if he could but obtain an equivalent for the loss of property, which such a step would involve It is probable that Clinton would not have kept up this intercourse, but for the fact that Arnold's letters occasionally contained a bit of important information, which events proved to be trustworthy. As it was, the answers were written by Major John Andre, *aide-de-camp* of Clinton, over the name *John Anderson*.

Andre was a young officer who, if he did not possess, in the highest degree, those purely masculine traits which make the best of soldiers, was of unquestioned bravery, and was very popular with his fellow officers, while ladies invariably admired and made much of him. He was young, handsome, gay; he painted well, danced finely, wrote neat verses, had a talent for the stage and, as an actor and manager, had done much to lighten the heavy hours of the garrison life at Philadelphia.

Arnold soon found that he must give himself a distinct and appreciable market value, before he could hope to carry his negotiations with Clinton to the desired end. Hence he decided to use every effort to obtain the command of an important post. Washington, on his part, believed Arnold's difficulties to arise only from heedlessness and lack of prudence, and, when was proposed a movement of the American army to co-operate with the French, designed rehabilitating him, by assigning him an honorable com-

mand. To the surprise of the commander in chief, Arnold did not seem satisfied with this arrangement, and, upon being questioned, said that his wound still unfitted him for the saddle, and asked for the command of West Point. His request was considered and granted, and, about the 3d of August, 1780, he took command of the key of the Hudson with its dependencies. His treacherous negotiation with Andre was now carried on with more spirit than before, and the proposal for the surrender of West Point was definitely made, considered and accepted. It was arranged that while the main body of the American army was at or near King's bridge, for the purpose of co-operating with the French against New York, a flotilla under Rodney, having on board a large land force, should ascend the Hudson to West Point, when Arnold was to surrender the post almost without opposition, on the plea of the insufficiency of his force to its defense. A personal conference now became necessary. Arnold desired that it take place at the Robinson house, his headquarters, but, Andre objecting to pass the American lines, an appointment was made for a meeting on neutral ground near Dobbs' ferry. Andre, in disguise, accompanied by Colonel Beverly Robinson, attended, but Arnold was prevented from keeping his appointment. A second arrangement was made to be carried into effect during Washington's absence at Hartford, in consultation with Rochambeau. In furtherance of this plan, the British sloop of war *Vulture*, bearing Robinson on board, anchored in the river near Teller's point, and Robinson sent a letter to West Point, ostensibly desiring to open negotiations for the recovery of his confiscated property, and affecting to believe that Putnam was still in command of the post. Arnold sent a reply openly, by a flag of truce, to the effect that a man, with a boat, would be alongside the *Vulture*, on the evening of the 20th, and that any communication necessary to be made, would be conveyed to the post, and laid before Washington on the following Saturday, when he was expected to return. Andre accordingly ascended the river, and boarded the *Vulture*. On the night of the 21st came a boat, rowed by one Joshua H. Smith, who was, in fact, only an instrument in the hands of Arnold, and was innocent of any wrong. He bore a letter to Robinson, which Arnold had artfully written so that it might bear a double significance Robinson introduced Andre as Mr. John Anderson, and, entering the boat, the latter was rowed to a point on the west shore of the river, about six miles below Stony Point. He was muffled in a gray cloak which concealed his uniform, and the boatman thought him a civilian representing Mr. Robinson's interest. Arnold was in waiting, and the negotiation was commenced, but daybreak found it still uncompleted. Arnold then persuaded Andre to remain on shore until the following night, and caused the boat to be concealed in a neighboring creek. The two then rode to Smith's house, within the lines, which they had just reached, when a battery that Colonel Livingston had caused to be moved to Teller's point, opened fire upon the *Vulture*, and

shortly compelled her to drop down the river out of range. During the morning, the bargain for the betrayal of West Point was completed; Arnold was promised his price; Andre received plans of the defenses, which he concealed in one of his stockings, and all was ready for a return. Arnold desired Andre to go by land, as the *Vulture* had dropped down the river, but the latter insisted upon returning to the vessel, and Arnold left him at 10 o'clock in the morning, having first provided him with a pass, worded as follows:

"Permit Mr. John Anderson to pass the guards at the White Plains or below, if he chooses, he being upon public business by my direction.

"B. Arnold,

M. General."

Andre passed a weary, anxious day. Once on board the *Vulture*, he would be safe; West Point would fall, and his coveted promotion would be assured. He called Smith, and urged him to have no delay, when darkness was come. To his despair he found that the latter had really misunderstood the arrangement, or affected to have done so; that he had dismissed his boatmen, and the last hope of reaching the *Vulture* was gone. As a sort of reparation Smith offered to cross the river at King's ferry, and accompany the supposed Anderson some distance on horseback. It can scarcely be that Smith had failed to suspect, by this time, that Andre was other than he professed to be, especially as he urged and persuaded the latter to replace the military coat, under the cloak which partially disguised him, with one of his own.

The two set out about sunset, crossed the river, and had proceeded about eight miles beyond, when they were halted by a patrol, the commander of which, being satisfied by Arnold's pass, warned them against proceeding farther by night, as they were on the borders of the famous Debatable ground, harried alike by colonial "Skinners" and tory "Cow Boys," between whom there was little to choose. Smith seems to have been in an ague of fear. Upon his solicitation, Andre consented to halt for the night, and the two found quarters at a neighboring house. In the morning they arose and set out very early, pushing on to a farm house on the Croton river, where they breakfasted and parted,—Smith returning home, and Andre pushing on toward New York. The latter had gone but a short distance, when a man stepped into the narrow road before him, leveled a musket, and called upon him to halt. At the same moment two others appeared in support of the demand. Andre lost his head had he not done so, he might have kept his life. Observing that the leader of the party wore the dress common to the tory partisans, he exclaimed, "Gentlemen, I hope you belong to our party?"

"What party," was the answer.

"The lower party," said Andre.

"We do;" was the reply.

Andre at once avowed himself a British officer; said that he had been up the river on most important business, and must not be detained for a moment. To his intense alarm, the men now declared themselves to be Americans, and pronounced him their prisoner. Andre did all in his power to retrieve his error. He laughed, and said that, in a delicate matter like that in which he was engaged, expedients of all kinds were necessary; that he was an American officer proceeding to Dobbs' ferry in search of information. At the same time he produced Arnold's pass. His captors were not, however, common "Skinners," but intelligent and honest yeomen of the vicinity, members of a body organized to revenge and prevent the recurrence of outrages committed by the "Cow Boys." The coat which their leader wore, had come to him from a tory partisan who had stolen his own. They refused to be satisfied with Andre's explanation, without a search, and that revealed fatal evidence that he was a spy, in the presence of the plans concealed in his stocking. Thus discovered, he attempted to bribe his captors. He would give his horse, saddle, bridle, and one hundred guineas, and send them to any place which might be designated. One of the men asked him if he would not give more, when he promised any reward that might be named, in return for liberty to pursue his journey. At this John Paulding, leader of the little guard, said: "If you would give ten thousand guineas, you should not stir one step."

Every effort failing, Andre was compelled to submit, and was taken across the country with one man at his bridle rein, and one on either side, to the nearest American post—that at North Castle, commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Jameson. This officer very carefully examined the papers captured, and, discovering their dangerous character, forwarded them by an express to General Washington at Hartford. Andre desiring that the commandant at West Point be notified of the arrest and detention of Mr. John Anderson, in spite of his pass, Jameson wrote Arnold an account of the whole affair, told him that the papers found upon Andre had been sent to Washington, and forwarded letter and prisoner toward West Point under the same guard. Soon after the escort set out, Major Tallmadge, second in command, arrived at the post, and having somewhat more common sense than had Jameson, succeeded in inducing the latter to recall Andre, but, with stubborn insistence, the letter was still sent forward. A little consideration would have secured the capture of Arnold, which this warning prevented. Had Tallmadge not come, Arnold and Andre would have laughed over the matter at a British mess table. Upon Andre's return to North Castle, Major Tallmadge was more than ever certain that his prisoner was a military man, and one of consequence, hence he advised his removal to the more secure post at Lower Salem, under command of Colonel Sheldon, and Jameson adopted his advice. Learning that his papers had been sent to

Washington, Andre requested and received the privilege of writing to him, and hastily penned the following lines:

"I beg your Excellency will be persuaded, that no alteration in the temper of my mind, or apprehension for my safety, induces me to take the step of addressing you; but that it is to secure myself from the imputation of having assumed a mean character, for treacherous purposes or self interest. . . . It is to vindicate my fame that I speak, and not to solicit security. The person in your possession is Major John Andre, adjutant-general of the British army. The influence of one commander in the army of his adversary, is an advantage taken in war. A correspondence for this purpose I held; as confidential (in the present instance) with his Excellency, Sir Henry Clinton. To favor it I agreed to meet, upon ground not within the posts of either army, a person who was to give me intelligence. I came up in the *Vulture*, man-of-war, for this effect, and was fetched from the shore to the beach. Being there, I was told that the appoach of day would prevent my return, and that I must be concealed until the next night. I was in my regimentals and had fairly risked my person. Against my stipulation, my intention, and without my knowledge beforehand, I was conducted within one of your posts. Thus was I betrayed into the vile condition of an enemy, within your posts. Having avowed myself a British officer, I have nothing to reveal but what relates to myself, which is true, on the honor of an officer and a gentleman. The request I have made to your Excellency, and I am conscious that I address myself well, is, that in any rigor policy may dictate, a decency of conduct toward me may mark that, though unfortunate, I am branded with nothing dishonorable; as no motive could be mine, but the service of my king, and as I was involuntarily an imposter."

Having made this explanation, Andre seemed completely to regain his equanimity. He chatted and joked with his guards, establishing himself completely in their good graces, and drew a most amusing caricature of himself, as he appeared upon his enforced march to his place of confinement. The gaunt shadow of the gibbet was even then across his path, but he saw it not. Andre was, by order of Washington, removed successively to the Robinson house, to West Point, and to headquarters at Tappan. There, on the 29th, convened the board of general officers, appointed to inquire into the circumstances of his detection and arrest. This consisted of Major-generals Greene, Stirling, St. Clair, Lafayette, R. Howe and Steuben, and Brigadier-generals Parsons, James Clinton, Knox, Glover, Paterson, Hood, Huntingdon and Stark. General Greene was made president of the board, and Colonel John Lawrence, judge advocate general. Andre was brought before this board, and treated with the greatest consideration. No questions which could embarrass him, were pressed; no witnesses, save himself, were examined. He made his own statement without any reservation, save that

he avoided inculpating others. When he was done, the board took the case, and shortly afterward gave a judgment to the effect "that Major John Andre, adjutant-general of the British army, ought to be considered a spy from the enemy, and, agreeably to the law and usage of nations, ought to suffer death." The unfortunate officer received the news of his sentence with the same calm fortitude which distinguished him throughout and to the end. He acknowledged the impartiality and courtesy of the officers, who formed the court, and the fairness of his trial. "I foresee my fate," said he, "and, though I pretend not to play the hero, or to be indifferent about life, yet I am reconciled to whatever may happen; conscious that misfortune, not guilt, has brought it upon me."

From the time of the announcement of judgment of the court, there was no cessation of effort on the part of Sir Henry Clinton to secure a mitigation of the sentence. He entered into correspondence with Washington, and the execution which had been fixed for the 1st day of October, was once postponed to permit of consultation with a commission sent up from New York under a flag of truce. A suggestion was once made to Clinton, that an arrangement might be made for the exchange of Andre for Arnold, but this was rejected as a matter of course. Arnold, who had escaped to the British lines and received a command, had the unblushing impudence to write a letter to Washington asserting his right, as commander of the post, to receive Andre within his lines, and to give him safe conduct for return, threatening, if the judgment of the court were carried into effect, to retaliate upon the first American officer who fell into his hands. As if it were not enough to insult the intelligence of his late commander in chief by such a ridiculous assertion, Arnold supplemented this letter with another, in which he went through the form of resigning his commission, and hypocritically professed that his action had been dictated by a sincere regard for the welfare of his country.

Andre, conscious that, by the application of the letter of military law, he must die on the scaffold, addressed the following letter to Washington:

"Sir:—Buoyed above the terror of death by the consciousness of a life devoted to honorable pursuits, and stained with no action that can give me remorse, I trust that the request I make to your Excellency, at this serious period, and which is to soften my last moments, will not be rejected. Sympathy towards a soldier will surely induce your Excellency, and a military tribunal, to adapt the mode of my death to the feelings of a man of honor. Let me hope, sir, that if aught in my character impresses you with regard towards me; if aught in my misfortunes marks me as the victim of policy and not of resentment, I shall experience the operation of those feelings in your breast, by being informed that I am not to die on a gibbet."

Washington, had he consulted only his own feelings, would doubtless have granted this request, but it could not be. The cruel justice of war

demanded the ignominious death of Andre, as a spy, and, as such, he was executed on the 2d day of October, 1780. He mounted the hangman's wagon unassisted, removed his stock, and, with his own hands, adjusted the noose and bandaged his eyes. His last words were: "It will be but a momentary pang," then the cart moved from under him and he died, almost without a struggle.

So ended, most sadly, the life of a brave man, whom his friends would have ransomed at any cost short of dishonor, and whose enemies would gladly have spared him, could they have done so with safety and consistency There was, at the time, on the part of the British, much passionate condemnation of the judgment and execution, and some feeling survives to this day. Washington did not escape severe criticism. Yet, in the coolness of a later century, there seems no question that Andre was fairly tried, honestly convicted, and that, according to all military law, he justly died. The circumstances which made his sentence seem so hard, were fortuitous and personal, having no relation to his offence. Had he been a common soldier, instead of an officer; a clod-hopper, instead of a gentleman; sullen, instead of winning and companionable; evasive, rather than frank; cowardly, rather than brave and simply dignified, no one would have regarded his death as other than the natural punishment of his act. He was clearly a spy, and his corruption of an American general officer was an aggravation of his offence. Washington had no incentive to uncommon severity, but rather the contrary. There was no clamor, among the people or in the army, for the blood of the unhappy young man. All would have been happy, could his life have been spared, but his offence was too serious to permit it. Andre's body was buried near the place of his execution. Years afterward it was removed and interred in Westminster Abbey. A hundred years after the closing scene of the tragedy, a citizen of New York* raised, at his own cost, a monument to the memory of Andre, which every person, not blinded by prejudice, must admit to have been well merited by a life of unquestioned honor, and the death of a brave man.

Arnold was made a brigadier-general in the British army; received a money payment "to cover his loss;" issued a proclamation to the American people, in which he strove to justify his villainy, and another urging his late comrades to imitate him. He served against his country almost to the close of the war, then retired to England, where he passed the remainder of his days. His wife, by reason of her former tory associations, was suspected of privity with his plots, and banished from America, during the continuance of the war. She went to England and joined her husband, her beauty and wit alone serving to sustain him in a recognized social position, as he "was generally slighted and sometimes insulted." She returned but

* Cyrus W. Field.

once to America, and was then treated with such coldness that she formed and adhered to the determination never again to visit her home. The burthen of evidence is decidedly in favor of her innocence of all pre-knowledge of her husband's crime.

CHAPTER XXVI.

MISSION OF LAURENS—REVOLT IN THE ARMY—THE WAR IN THE SOUTH.

THE campaign of 1780 was a very inactive one in the North, and was extremely mortifying to the commander in chief. The second division of the French fleet, with the promised reinforcement of the army, was delayed for various reasons, and did not eventually take any part in the campaign, This prevented any offensive operations, for the allies were still inferior to the British at sea, while the weakness of the American army, which had been a source of so great mortification to Washington, at the outset of the campaign, was never sufficiently remedied to permit of other than a defensive policy. Writing to Franklin, minister plenipotentiary of the United States, at Versailles, Washington said: "Disappointed of the second division of the French troops, but, more especially, in the expected naval superiority, which was the pivot, upon which everything turned, we have been compelled to spend an inactive campaign, after a flattering prospect at the opening of it, and vigorous struggles to make it a decisive one on our part. Latterly we have been obliged to become spectators of a succession of detachments from the army at New York, in aid of Lord Cornwallis, while our naval weakness, and the political dissolution of a great part of our army, put it out of our power to counteract them at the southward, or to take advantage of them here."

To guard against a like defeat of the aims of the coming campaign, Washington urged Congress to take early and active steps for the organization of an army, and was especially pressing in his request that they at least attempt the negotiation of a foreign loan, and send an agent to France to forward this design, and to obtain greater naval and military assistance. His arrangements were so far effectual as to procure the appointment of Colonel John Laurens, lately his *aide-de-camp*, as a special commissioner of the United States, with instructions to proceed to France and make an effort to negotiate a sufficient loan to relieve the Govern-

ment from embarrassment, and, also, to strive, by the strongest representations, to induce the French ministry to use such vigor in their co-operation, as to insure a speedy and fortunate termination of the war. Laurens' service upon the staff of the commander in chief had made him thoroughly conversant with the needs of the army, and the steps most proper to be taken for the success of the war. He was also familiar with the resources of the country, and it was upon the possession of these, and the insignificance of the public debt, that he was instructed principally to rely, in urging the granting of the loan. The appointment was made on the 26th of September, 1780. Anticipating the order of events, it may be stated that Laurens succeeded in securing from the king of France, a subsidy of six million livres. The first installment he brought to America on the 28th of the ensuing August, at a time when it was very sorely needed.

Scarcely had Laurens been appointed to his mission, when occurred an incident which sufficiently emphasized the necessity of placing the United States in a position to do substantial justice to its army. The Pennsylvania line, consisting of six regiments, was quartered near Morristown. The pay of the men was greatly in arrears, many of them not having received so much as a paper dollar for a year. Their coats were worn and ragged; they wore their linen trousers, and there was but one blanket for three men. So, thinly clad, poorly fed, unpaid, they worked in the cold and snow, building the miserable huts that were to shelter them during the winter. Though they were of course discontented, they would probably have submitted to all with patience, had they been treated with common justice, but their officers failed in this, with consequences that threatened to be most serious. Most of the men were enlisted for "three years or during the war,"—the unquestionable intent of the words being to limit the service to three years, with provision for an earlier discharge, should the war be sooner ended. An effort was, however, made to hold the men as enlisted for the term of the war. About the same time, a deputation from Philadelphia appeared in camp, and distributed gold right and left among men, who, having enlisted for a short and definite period, were entitled to discharge, while these veterans were passed by and left penniless. On the first day of the year 1781, at a given signal, a large portion of the line, including the non-commissioned officers, turned out in order, announcing an intention to march to Philadelphia and demand redress from Congress. Wayne endeavored to pacify them, and, finding words of no avail, cocked his pistols. In a moment, he was menaced by a dozen bayonets. "We love you; we respect you," they said, "but you are a dead man if you fire. Do not mistake us; we are not going to the enemy; were they now to come out, you would see us fight, under your orders, with as much resolution and alacrity as ever." Some effort was still made to suppress the mutiny, blood was shed and a captain killed. Then the men set out upon their march, Wayne accompanying

them, but without any authority, and, although treated with scrupulous respect, in some doubt whether he was a free man or a prisoner. The men maintained military order; the regiments were under command of sergeants, and a sergeant-major led the whole. At Princeton they went into camp and received a visit from Generals St. Clair and Lafayette, and Colonel Laurens, whom they received with respect, but soon ordered to leave the camp. A committee of Congress came as far as Trenton, accompanied by Reed, President of Pennsylvania. There they halted, and sent on word of their readiness to hear the complaints of the men. Two emissaries came from General Clinton, promising pardon, bounties and liberal pay, to all of the mutineers who should join his army. The men indignantly denied the possibility of their "turning Arnolds," made the British agents prisoners, and gave them into the custody of Wayne, by whom they were afterward hanged as spies. Encouraged by this action on the part of the men, Reed came on to their camp and proposed: to grant all entitled to such, a discharge; to give certificates for arrears of pay—allowing for depreciation of the currency; to furnish at once certain clothing most needed, and to give to all men of the line forty days furlough. These terms were accepted, and the mutiny ended with the dissolution of the insurgent regiments.

Washington feared the consequences of making concessions to men in revolt, and his fears proved well grounded for, shortly after, a portion of the New Jersey troops, at Pompton, arose in mutiny. The commander in chief adopted different tactics. He sent Major-general Howe, with a body of New England troops in whom he had entire confidence, and directed him to suppress the mutiny without any concession, and to hang the ringleaders on the spot. These directions were literally complied with, and the integrity of the army was thus preserved.

In the meantime the scene of war was evidently changing more and more to the southward; Arnold, in Virginia, opened a guerrilla warfare against the people of that almost defenseless colony. Moving swiftly by land and water, he was enabled to do great damage—damage all the more mortifying by reason of the insignificance of the force with which it was accomplished. At Richmond he destroyed a great quantity of tobacco, and, sending a detachment to Westham, burned a cannon foundry and public magazine, and knocked the trunnions from a large number of cannon. He then descended the river, galled but not seriously opposed by the militia, and took post at Norfolk, where he fortified his position, and for the time being remained.

This narrative left Greene's army, in December, 1780, resting in two divisions, one under Morgan, in the district of Ninety-six; the other, commanded by Greene in person, upon the Pedee river. Cornwallis was not disposed to give the Americans time for recuperation, and determined either to force Greene to a fight and defeat him, or compel him to retreat

from North Carolina. Knowing that General Leslie was marching down from Virginia, with a body of troops for his relief, the British commander saw only Greene, with a weak and motley army, between himself and complete domination of the South, from Virginia to Florida. One lion lay in his path. Before he could proceed directly against Greene, Morgan must be conquered, for it would not do to have an enemy in his rear. Hence, he dispatched Tarleton, with one thousand one hundred picked men, to proceed to the district of Ninety-six and dispose of this little preliminary, he himself awaiting the result, within such distance as to permit of co-operation. Morgan's force was nearly equal in point of numbers to that of Tarleton, but he had less cavalry, and his men were in general far from being so efficient as those of the enemy, who had under him the flower of the British infantry and artillery, and his own famous light horse. Morgan retreated toward the Broad river, hotly pursued by Tarleton, who was confident of an easy victory. Finally, on the 17th, Morgan deserted his camp before daylight and drew up his men, in three lines, upon an eminence at Hannah's Cow pens. His flanks were unprotected, and, six miles in his rear, ran the Broad river, effectually cutting off retreat. He deliberately chose to fight in this position, believing that his militia would fight better if they could not hope to save themselves by running away. He knew their dread of Tarleton, their familiarity with his cruel mode of warfare, and, he said, "when men are forced to fight, they will sell their lives dearly." The first of his three lines was formed of the Carolina militia, in whom he had little confidence; they were ordered to fire twice, then retire; the second line was composed of regular infantry, and the third of cavalry. Tarleton charged the first line savagely, and was badly damaged by its volleys; when it retired he advanced exultantly, deeming the day his own, but was met by the regulars, who resisted stubbornly for some time, then, under Morgan's orders, retreated over the hill, recklessly pursued by Tarleton, whose men, fatigued with a weary march and hard fighting, were dismayed at coming face to face with the fresh cavalry of Colonel Washington, which attacked with a spirit heightened by the remembrance of their old grudge. The fight was a terrific one, and resulted in the decisive defeat of the British. Tarleton's cavalry broke and fled, relying upon the speed of horses for safety, and their commander was compelled to follow them. The British loss was ten officers and more than one hundred men killed; two hundred wounded, and between five hundred and six hundred made prisoners. The Americans lost but twelve killed and sixty wounded. An English writer says of this affair: "During the whole period of the war no other action reflected so much dishonor upon the British arms."

After this decisive victory, Morgan hastily dispatched his prisoners to a place of safety, sent a report to Greene, and began a retreat, hoping to effect the crossing of the Catawba before Cornwallis should overtake him.

In this he was barely successful. A heavy rain raised the river, Cornwallis was prevented, for the time, from crossing, and the two wings of the American army effected a juncture. Then ensued a series of masterly manœuvres on the part of Greene, which occupied the entire winter, and will bear favorable comparison with any military accomplishment of the war, but which cannot be elaborately described in these pages. Cornwallis was led a chase of over two hundred miles through the most difficult region of North Carolina. Daily promised a battle, he never succeeded in bringing one on. He lost his baggage, wore out his men, and finally, coming to the Dan river, where he had felt certain of entrapping his opponent, found Greene safely posted on the opposite side, with every means of pursuit removed or destroyed. Then, after giving his men a few days for rest, he turned about and retreated, while the Americans, reversing their former movement, re-crossed the river and followed his march, harrying and galling him with their light cavalry, while he, by reason of his losses at the Cow pens, could not retaliate. Finally, in the month of March, Greene received reinforcements, which increased his numerical strength to four thousand two hundred and sixty-three men. With these he resolved to risk a battle, and, sending his baggage to a place of safety, established himself upon a height near Guilford Court House, and prepared to meet the attack which he felt sure would be made at the earliest opportunity. No sooner was this stand made, than Cornwallis began an advance, and, on the 15th of March, 1781, attacked Greene's position. The first line of the Americans was composed of militia, which broke and fled almost without a show of resistance, and so embarrassed and confused the remainder of the army that, though a most stubborn, and, in some quarters, successful defense was made, the result was the loss of the day. The loss of the Americans was more than five hundred killed and wounded, and about nine hundred missing. That of the British was ninety-three killed, four hundred and thirteen wounded, and twenty-six missing. Thus, though Cornwallis won a victory over a superior force, it was at the price of fully one fourth of his army. In fact, cut off, as he was, from supplies and the possibility of reinforcement, his victory was costly as were few defeats during the war. Greene had retreated to a point of rendezvous, where he collected his scattered army, and when, a day or two later, Cornwallis, unable to pursue his advantage, set out upon a march for Cross creek, where, in the midst of a settlement of Highlanders, he hoped to be able to obtain supplies and recruits, his lately conquered adversary was in hot pursuit. Cornwallis crossed Deep river, barely in time to burn the bridge behind him, and thus check Greene. The latter, knowing that the time required to rebuild the bridge would be amply sufficient to put the enemy beyond fear of pursuit, changed his tactics, dismissed his militia to their homes, sent word to Sumter and Marion of his coming, and set out with his regulars, upon the long and toilsome march to South Carolina. He

knew that such an expedient would result either in compelling Cornwallis to follow him, or to surrender the control of that province, so hardly won during the previous year. The British commander was disappointed in securing the succor which he sought at Cross creek, and passed on to his base of supplies at Wilmington, where he learned, almost with despair, of Greene's southward movement. Lord Rawdon's principal force, he knew, was stationed at Camden; many of his men were detached at various posts, and, although he saw the danger of their being defeated in detail, his own army was too much reduced, and the distance too great to permit of his attempting any assistance; hence, he sent an express to General Phillips, in command in Virginia, and, deserting the province of North Carolina, to the conquest of which he had a few months before moved with so much confidence, set out on the 25th of April, upon his march to effect a juncture with that officer.

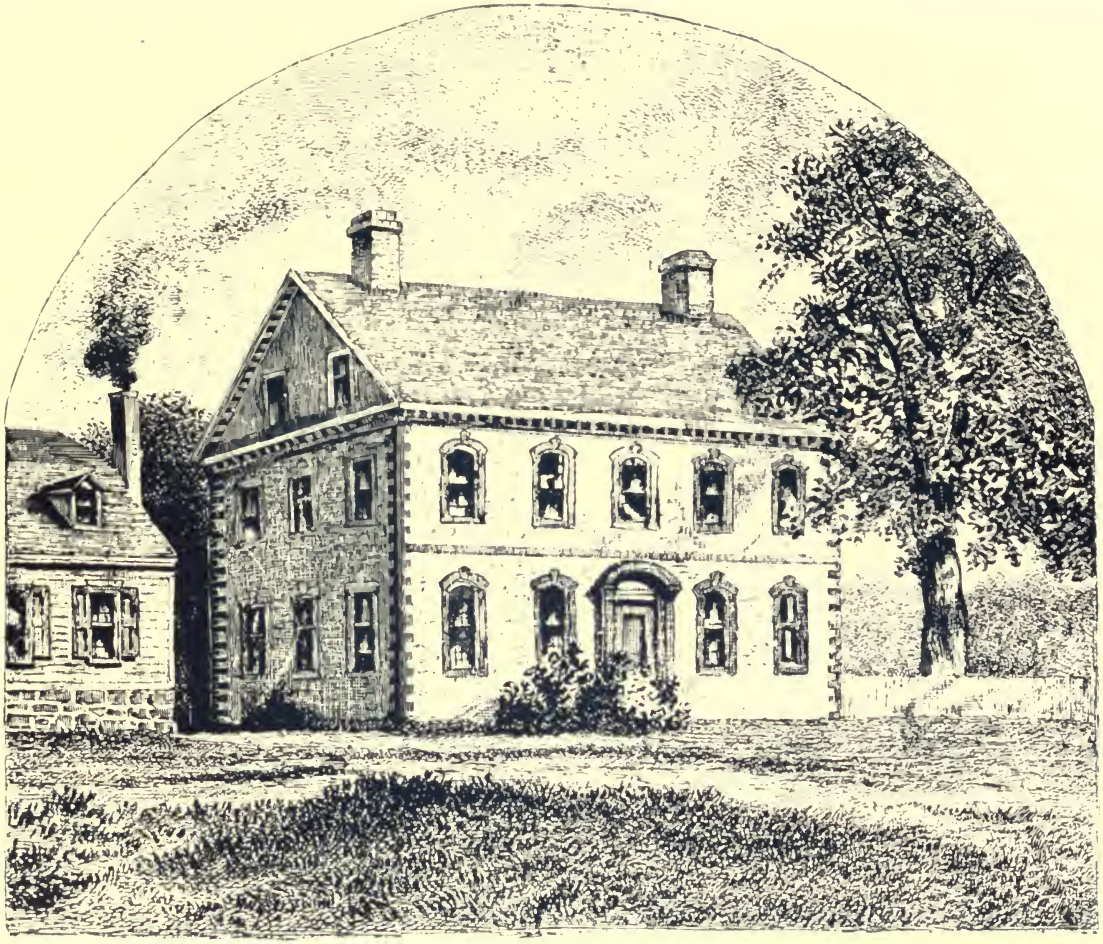
It is difficult, almost impossible, to give, within reasonable limits, an account of the various military operations, which intervened between the battle of Guilford and the close of the siege of Yorktown. The movements were not individually important, yet they were extremely complicated, and, when taken together, were of the utmost moment, as leading to the final catastrophe to the British arms, which insured the independence of the colonies. The condition of affairs north of the Carolinas, at the beginning of the year 1781, may be summed up in these words. The French army lay in Rhode Island, and the fleet at Newport; Washington's headquarters were in the neighborhood of West Point, his army being so disposed as to afford the best protection to the Hudson. In Virginia, Arnold lay at Portsmouth, awaiting developments, and quite secure against any force then possible to be brought against him on short notice. New York city was still held by Sir Henry Clinton, whose tenure was not threatened with any immediate danger.

Washington keenly felt the importance of preventing Arnold from gaining too strong a position. He conveyed his views on the subject to Congress, to Governor Jefferson, and to the French commander. Before receiving his letter, which recommended dispatching both naval and land forces to the Chesapeake, Rochambeau and Ternay had detached a sixty-gun ship of the line and two frigates, to make a dash against Arnold. Washington at once detached Lafayette with twelve hundred men to co-operate with the French, at the same time ordering the Baron Steuben to report to that officer and assist him in every possible manner. The march of the land force was begun on the 22d of February, and all haste was made to reach the Chesapeake, but the expedition was a failure, for the reason that Arnold retreated with his vessels, so far up Elizabeth river, that he could not be followed by the French ships, and, as the latter brought no land force, they were obliged to return to Newport, with no better result than the

capture of one English frigate, and two privateers, with their prizes. It was then determined to repeat the attempt, with a larger naval force, and a sufficient body of French troops to render the defeat of Arnold a certainty. On the 8th of March, the entire fleet, with eleven hundred of the line, sailed from Newport, and Lafayette was again on the alert to assist, but again he was doomed to disappointment, for the British fleet, under Arbuthnot, arrived at Portsmouth, having set out in pursuit of the French. The fleets, nearly equal in strength, had met, and, after a battle lasting about two hours, both had withdrawn, badly crippled, the French to return to Newport; the British to make the best of their way to Portsmouth.

In the meantime Washington became much alarmed for the safety of Greene; two thousand men had sailed from New York, and he could scarcely doubt that the intention was to effect the juncture of this force, increased by that under Arnold, with Cornwallis, and, this being accomplished, sweep the colonial forces from the South. Hence, he ordered Lafayette to march to the relief of Greene. Phillips arrived at Portsmouth on the 26th of March, and spent some time in strengthening the works at that place. Then, on the 18th of April, he embarked his men in boats of light draft, and proceeded up the James river, upon a marauding expedition, by which Petersburg, Chesterfield Court House, and Warwick suffered, by the burning of public and private store-houses, and the general ruthless destruction which distinguished the warfare of the British, after the measures of conciliation had been abandoned. Richmond was, for the time, saved by the presence of Lafayette, and Phillips descended the river, cautiously followed by the American general. Just at this time, Phillips received a dispatch from Cornwallis, announcing the advance of the latter from the South, for the purpose of effecting a juncture with the army of Virginia. This changed the plans of both Phillips and Lafayette, the former hastening to Petersburg, the place of rendezvous indicated by his superior; the latter taking post near Richmond, to await developments. Four days after the arrival of Phillips at Petersburg, that gallant officer died, leaving Arnold again in command, until the arrival of Cornwallis, which occurred on the 25th of May. The latter general was now strong in numbers, and had a very reasonable expectation of soon being stronger; he learned that Lord Rawdon would soon be reinforced by fresh troops from Ireland, and that Greene had been checked at Camden. He had no doubt of his ability to out-general and crush Lafayette, whom he contemptuously referred to as "that boy." Hence he had "brilliant hopes of a glorious campaign."

There was, however, nothing very glorious about the wild and unsuccessful chase which Lafayette led him, during the month that followed. At the end of that time, Wayne, having arrived with the Pennsylvania line, the order was changed, and, for another month, Cornwallis was the hunted, with Lafayette and Wayne in the pursuit. Finally, Lafayette was misled,



THE NELSON HOUSE.

by a pretended deserter, and sent Wayne forward to attack what he supposed to be the rear-guard of the British army, but what was in fact the main body. This affair occurred on the 6th of July, at Jamestown island. The Americans would have been hopelessly defeated, but for "Mad Anthony's" desperate valor, which deceived the British and permitted the army to be drawn off, after a considerable loss. Lafayette retired to Green Springs, there to rest and recruit his men, while Cornwallis pushed on to Portsmouth, from which point he was obliged, by his recent orders, to send a large detachment from his army to rejoin Sir Henry Clinton in New York. This action on the part of Clinton was caused by demonstrations made by the allied armies in the North, which will appropriately be discussed in a new chapter.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE CLOSING CAMPAIGN OF THE WAR.

THE beginning of the year 1781 should, according to the paper musters of Congress, have seen a force of thirty-seven thousand men in service. Yet Washington, after deducting the armies of Virginia and South Carolina, had not, on the first of May, more than seven thousand soldiers, effective for service, under his own command, on the Hudson. The country between his advance posts and New York city, was desolated by repeated marauds of the refugees under Colonel Delancy, and other tory leaders, yet the condition of the army scarcely permitted the detachment of a force sufficient to check the outrages. At last, a particularly bold ravage, resulting in the death of two valuable officers,—Colonel Greene and Major Flagg,—and the butchery of their men, led him to determine to break up this partisan warfare at any cost. While he was considering the course to be adopted, he learned that Count de Barras had arrived at Boston, to assume command of the French squadron; that twenty ships of the line, with a large land force, had sailed from France, under Count de Grasse, and that twelve of these were intended to reinforce the squadron at New York. Consulting with Rochambeau, it was determined to make a joint effort against New York, the French army moving at once from Newport to join the Americans. A message was sent to intercept De Grasse, and Washington hastened to place his men in the best possible condition for effectual co-operation. At the best, the result was not flattering, for not more than five thousand Americans could be contributed for the service. The time selected for the movement, was when a portion of the garrison of New York was detached into New Jersey. It was well conceived, and carefully arranged. Much depended upon accomplishing a surprise, and it was intended to move quietly and simultaneously for the taking of New York, and the striking of a fatal blow at the tory partisans of the debatable ground.

It is not necessary to minutely follow the history of the expedition. The partisans were scattered, so much of the design being effected, but the unexpected return of the New Jersey detachment prevented a surprise and rendered it prudent for the armies to retire and await a more fitting opportunity. This they did, the French and American forces going into neighboring camps, extending from Dobbs' Ferry on the Hudson to the Bronx river. Later, a reconnoissance in force was made to the neighborhood of New York city. Under cover of five thousand troops, Washington and Rochambeau, accompanied by engineers, made an extended and minute study of the British position, with a view to discovering the best point and plan for an attack. These demonstrations proved effective for the relief of Virginia, as they alarmed Clinton to such a degree that, as stated, he directed Cornwallis to detach troops to his relief. After this reconnoissance, both armies returned to their encampment to await an opportunity for an attack. While matters were in this condition, news came from De Grasse, that he would leave San Domingo on the 3d of August, with between twenty-five and thirty ships of the line, and sail directly for the Chesapeake. It was at once determined to give up the design upon New York, and to remove the French army and so many of the Americans as could be spared, to Virginia. Washington sent word to De Grasse of this intention, and a message to Lafayette to so post his men as to cut off the retreat of the British. He did not, however, tell Lafayette, at that time, of his own intention. It was kept a complete secret from all save himself and Rochambeau. Every preparation was made, as if an attack upon New York were contemplated; pioneers were sent to repair the roads and bridges, and a vast parade was made to deceive both Clinton and the American army. At last, on the 19th of August, both armies were formed, facing New York, as if an immediate advance by separate roads were contemplated; then they were wheeled, marched to King's ferry, the tedious crossing made, and each set out upon its march by a different route. The men of the American army believed, until the last post had been passed, that they were to land upon Staten island and attack New York, and it was not until Washington had reached the Delaware, and interception was out of the question, that Clinton discovered that he was a dupe.

On the 2nd and 3d of September, the armies passed through Philadelphia. There Washington learned that his plans must be revised, as an extensive embarkation, which Lafayette had taken to be a detachment of additional troops to New York, was in fact an evacuation of Portsmouth in favor of Yorktown. Cornwallis had removed his army to that place, which occupies a position on the bank of York river, opposite Gloucester point. Here, secure in the belief that only Lafayette was opposed to him, he was leisurely fortifying, on each side of the river, preparatory to the transfer of the war into Virginia, which he expected

Clinton would make on the 1st of October. In the meantime, Lafayette had taken every precaution, by the disposal of his troops, to prevent a possible retreat on the part of Cornwallis. On September 5th, Washington left Philadelphia. When near Chester, he met a messenger bearing news that the Count de Grasse, with thirty-eight ships of the line, was already in Chesapeake bay; and of the junction of three thousand French troops, under Marquis St. Simon, with Lafayette. He returned to Chester and congratulated Rochambeau upon the happy result, news of which reached Philadelphia during a great banquet given by citizens to the French officers, and set the banqueters, and citizens in general, wild with delight. On the 6th the embarkation of troops and supplies began at the Head of Elk, and Washington, having notified De Grasse that the land forces would soon be thus reinforced, pushed on by land, in advance of part of the troops for which there was not transportation, to Baltimore, leaving General Heath to commence the march at daybreak. On the 9th he set out from Baltimore, accompanied by a single officer, and, late at night, for the first time in six long and weary years, entered his own home at Mt. Vernon. There his suite, whom his eagerness had outrun, joined him on the following day, and at evening came, as an honored guest, the Count de Rochambeau.

The remainder of the campaign of Greene in South Carolina must be passed with a mere statement of results. Greene was checked by Rawdon at Camden, and retired for the time being, intending to await reinforcements, but, while he remained in this condition of inactivity, Rawdon received news of the event which had prevented Lafayette's juncture with Greene—the movement into Virginia. This led him to abandon Camden for Charleston. Greene at once took the offensive; the hardy soldiers of Marion and Sumter struck repeated and successful blows; the light cavalry of Lee and Wade Hampton seemed omnipresent, and the army gained a series of successes, each small in its way, but, taken together, contributing little by little to the destruction of British power in the South. The war was boldly pushed, one cavalry dash being made actually to the outskirts of Charleston, where several prisoners were taken and safely brought away, before the astonished British were well aware of the cause of the commotion. About the 1st of August, Lord Rawdon sailed for England, leaving Colonel Stuart in command of the British army. Stuart went into camp within sight of Greene's fires, and thus, separated by two rivers,—the Congeree and Wateree,—the two armies lay during the months of extreme heat, without any active operations on the part of either. The result of the campaign had been the almost complete recovery, by the Americans, of the two Carolinas and Georgia, and only a slender force now opposed their complete redemption.

On the 22d of August, Greene descended from his delightful camp on the hills of the Santee, and set out to make a circuit of some seventy miles,

necessary to find crossing places, and approach the camp of Stuart for the purpose of making an attack. Stuart, however, deserted his position, and moved forty miles, to Eutaw Springs. Greene followed him by easy marches, and, on the 5th of September, came within seventeen miles of the springs, and there lightened himself of tents, baggage, and all unnecessary impedimenta. On the night of the 7th, he encamped ten miles farther, and, at four o'clock on the morning of the next day, advanced to engage the enemy. Then ensued one of the most desperate battles of the war, continuing, with varying fortune, during the day, and which, though not entirely decisive, ended with the advantage on the side of the Americans. At nightfall Greene drew off his men to the camp they had left in the morning, and, during the hours of darkness, Stuart withdrew from the field, leaving many of his wounded behind. The American loss was four hundred and thirty-five, killed, wounded and prisoners; that of the British six hundred and thirty-three, five hundred of these being prisoners. Greene, learning of the retreat, in the morning pursued the enemy for some distance, but found him reinforced and well placed. Not caring to risk a defeat, and certain of ultimately capturing his game, he returned to the heights of Santee, and neither army saw further service, before the cessation of hostilities put a period to the desultory, but bloody war in the Carolinas.

On the 6th day of October, the first American parallel was begun, at a distance of six hundred yards from the British line at Yorktown. The work was vigorously pushed during the night, and its advanced condition, when daylight revealed it, was a surprise to the army of defense. A tremendous fire was at once opened upon the new works, but they were sufficiently advanced to protect the workers, and were steadily strengthened from within. On the 9th the first artillery was mounted, and, Washington himself applying the match, the cannonading of the town was begun. As gun after gun was placed in position, the fire became almost continuous, and was savagely answered by the defenders. The town was very seriously battered, Lord Cornwallis' headquarters became untenable, and the general was obliged, very early in the siege, to seek a new and safer residence. For three or four days this tremendous cannonade and bombardment were kept up from works manned by the Americans, as well as those held by the French soldiers,—the fire of the latter being especially directed at the British defenses upon Gloucester point. The works of the enemy, yet uncompleted, suffered very severely, and many of his guns were dismounted and silenced. The French fired hot shot, which ignited several building in the town, and burned a man-of-war and three transports in the harbor. On the night of the 11th the second parallel of the besiegers was opened within three hundred yards of the enemy's works. To oppose the construction of this the British made new embrasures, and, for three days, kept up an annoying and effective fire upon the working soldiers, and from two redoubts, some distance in advance

of the main works, an enfilading cannonade was kept up upon the parallel, which made it well nigh untenable. It was determined to carry these redoubts by *coup de main* on the night of the 14th. The assault of that nearest the river was to be made by Americans, led by Lafayette, with Hamilton second in command; the other by French, under General the Baron de Viomenil. At about 8 o'clock rockets were sent up as a signal for the advance. The Americans made a characteristic assault; not waiting for their pioneers to remove the abatis, which obstructed their path, each man forced a passage for himself. Hamilton, mounting upon the shoulder of a private soldier, was the first to gain the parapet; followed by his men, the work was carried at the point of the bayonet, without firing a shot, and with a loss of eight killed and thirty-two wounded; the enemy lost eight killed, and seventeen prisoners. The French proceeded against the other redoubt more regularly. After Lafayette had gained the object of his assault, he sent a messenger to Viomenil, to say that he was in his work. "Tell the Marquis," answered Viomenil, "that I am not in mine, but will be in it in five minutes." He told the truth, the redoubt was taken, but with much heavier loss than attended the execution of Lafayette's enterprise.

The loss of these advance works discouraged Cornwallis, who could but recognize that his position was well nigh hopeless. He had long expected the coming of succor from New York, but, on the day after this *coup de main*, he wrote Sir Henry Clinton: "My situation now becomes very critical. We dare not show a gun to their old batteries, and I expect their new ones will open to-morrow morning. . . . The safety of the place is, therefore, so precarious that I cannot recommend that the fleet and army should run great risk in endeavoring to save us."

On the night of their capture, the redoubts were included in the second parallel; after the fall of darkness on the 16th, Cornwallis sent a detachment to effect the spiking of the guns which were mounting thereon, and succeeded in a measure, but the work was so hastily done that the spikes were easily withdrawn. With the failure of this attempt, he gave up all hope of holding his position until succor should arrive. He consequently determined upon a desperate expedient. Collecting a number of boats, he prepared to transfer his army by night to the shore near Gloucester point, break through the American cordon, and force his march to New York. In pursuance of this plan he actually transferred one division of his army to the main land, undiscovered, and embarked the remainder, save a guard left to surrender the town, when a heavy wind drove his boats down the river, and he was obliged to abandon his project, with barely time to re-convey to Yorktown the division already transferred.

At the hour of ten on the morning of the 17th, his works being untenable, and his last hope of escape gone, Cornwallis beat a parley and sent a

messenger to Washington requesting a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours, and the appointment of a commission of officers to discuss terms of capitulation. Knowing the prospect of reinforcement, Washington hesitated to grant so long a delay, and requested Cornwallis to send a draft of his proposal to headquarters, before the meeting of the commission. The proposal came, and was rejected. The armistice was prolonged; commissioners were appointed, met, and concerted terms; these were submitted to Cornwallis early in the morning of the 19th of October, with an intimation that an answer was expected by 11 o'clock of that day. The terms were accepted, and, at 2 o'clock in the afternoon, Yorktown and the citadel at Gloucester point, were surrendered, the British army—seven thousand and seventy-three men, of whom five thousand nine hundred and fifty were rank and file, marched out of Yorktown and grounded their arms, the men becoming prisoners of war to the United States, the officers giving their parole, with permission to return to New York or to Europe. The fleet was surrendered to Count de Grasse, its men becoming prisoners of the king of France. The following description of the formal surrender of Lord Cornwallis and his army, is worthy quotation:

"At about 12 o'clock the combined army was drawn up in two lines more than a mile in length, the Americans on the right side of the road; the French on the left. Washington, mounted on a noble steed and attended by his staff, was in front of the former; the Count de Rochambeau and his suite were in front of the latter. The French troops, in complete uniform and well equipped, made a brilliant appearance, and had marched to the ground with a band of music, which was a novelty in American service. The American troops, but part in uniform, and all in garments much the worse for wear, yet had a spirited, soldier-like air, and were not the worse in the eyes of their countrymen for bearing the marks of hard service and great privation. The concourse of spectators from the country seemed equal to the military, yet order and quiet prevailed.

"About 2 o'clock, the garrison sallied forth, and passed through with shouldered arms, slow and solemn steps, and drums beating a British march. They were all well clad, having been furnished with new suits prior to the capitulation. They were led by General O'Hara, on horseback, who, riding up to General Washington, took off his hat and apologized for the non-appearance of Cornwallis on account of indisposition. Washington received him with dignified courtesy, but pointed to Major-general Lincoln as the officer who was to receive the submission of the garrison. By him they were conducted into a field, where they were to ground their arms. In passing through the lines formed by the allied armies their march was careless and irregular, and their aspect sullen. The order to 'ground arms' was given by their platoon officers with deep chagrin, and many of the soldiers threw down their muskets with force sufficient to break them. This

irregularity was checked by General Lincoln, yet it was excusable in brave men in their unfortunate predicament. This ceremony over, they were conducted back to Yorktown, there to remain, under guard, until removed to their places of destination."

So ended the siege, and with it the active operations of the war. New York, Charleston, and Savannah were still in the hands of the British, and Washington earnestly endeavored to persuade De Grasse to remain and take part in a concerted movement against Charleston, but that officer pleaded his orders, and, on the 4th of November, made sail for the West Indies, there to co-operate with the Spanish flotilla. In default of the assistance of De Grasse, Washington sent to the aid of Greene, two thousand troops, under St. Clair, but these, in common with the remainder of the army, had done their work. The war was not to be renewed in the South or elsewhere. Rochambeau remained in Viginia, making his headquarters for the winter at Williamsburg, about which place he established his army in winter quarters. The American army moved to Newburg on the Hudson, and also went into cantonment, and the campaign was at an end.



WASHINGTON TAKING LEAVE OF HIS ARMY.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

FROM THE FALL OF YORKTOWN TO THE PEACE.

THE news of the fall of Yorktown and the surrender of the army of Virginia, was received everywhere in America with the greatest delight; in England the depression which it created, was correspondingly profound. Congress voted its thanks to Washington, to Rochambeau, to De Grasse, and generally to the officers of the allied armies. As mementoes of the victory, two stands of captured colors were voted to Washington, and two pieces of ordnance, each, to the French military and naval commanders. The country for a time went wild with joy, and assumed that the war was in fact already over. Washington retained his equipoise, recognized the necessity of providing for possible future operations, and, after a hasty visit to Mount Vernon, betook himself to Philadelphia, there to use his influence with Congress to secure the strengthening of the army, and guard against the danger of over security. While on his way to Philadelphia, he was present at the death-bed of John Parke Custis, son of Mrs. Washington by her former marriage. Mr. Custis left a widow and four young children, and Washington adopted two of these,—a boy and a girl,—as his own, and removed them to his childless home. The son, John Parke Custis, Jr., subsequently became the biographer of his step-father.

Washington remained in Philadelphia four months. During the intervening time the military committee of Congress adopted his views, and made unusual provision for the organization of an army, and arrangements to secure additional financial aid from France. The execution of the project for army reorganization fell, as usual, far short of the expectation of Congress. The colonies had fallen into an apathy which might have resulted most seriously, had hostilities been renewed. During the month of March the commander in chief set out for the camp of his army at Newburg, where he remained some time, busy with multitudinous administrative duties.

It was while there, that arose a painful question which much resembled in principle that as to the punishment of Major Andre, though it resulted more fortunately. A company of New Jersey people captured a New York "Cow Boy," named Philip White, and, while conducting him to jail, he attempted to escape, and was killed. Shortly after, Captain Joseph Huddy, a whig partisan, held prisoner of war in New York, was taken into New Jersey by a party of refugees, headed by Captain Lippencott, and hanged, his breast bearing a placard, on which were inscribed the words: "Up goes Huddy for Philip White." Washington at once demanded of Sir Henry Clinton, the surrender of Lippencott for punishment. This was refused, Clinton, however, promising to investigate the matter and punish the officer should he be found guilty. Washington determined upon retaliation, and ordered that there be selected by lot from among the British captains, held as prisoners of war, one who should die, to atone for the death of Huddy. The lot fell upon Captain Asgill, a youth of but nineteen years, whose amiability had made him a favorite alike with his comrades and captors.

In the meantime Sir Guy Carleton succeeded Clinton in the command of New York, and one of Captain Asgill's fellow-officers solicited permission to go to him, and urge the surrender of Lippencott. This was allowed, Washington, at the same time, saying that, deeply as he was pained by the necessity, nothing but the surrender of Lippencott could save the unfortunate and innocent Asgill. The matter remained undetermined for a long time; eventually Lippencott was tried by a British court-martial, and acquitted, it appearing that he acted under the verbal orders of Governor Franklin, president of the board of associated loyalists. This changed the aspect of the case, and Washington laid the whole matter before Congress, recommending at the same time that Asgill's life be spared. Pending a decision, he placed the young officer upon parole. Before any determination of the case was reached, there came to Washington a request for Asgill's life, sent by the Count de Vergennes, French minister of war, by the direction of the king and queen, who had been greatly moved by the grief of Lady Asgill, mother of the prisoner. This was sufficient to turn the tide in his favor, and save him from the gibbet, much to the relief of Washington and every other person conversant with the circumstances.

The advent of Sir Guy Carleton, to which reference has been made, occurred early in May, Sir Henry Clinton having been permitted, at his own request, to return to England, that he might set himself right before parliament, by explaining the disaster of the final campaign in America. Carleton, immediately upon his arrival, sent Washington notice of the fact that he, as commander of the British forces in America, and Admiral Digby, constituted a peace commission, and, at the same time, sent copies of the proceedings of parliament, looking to the establishment of peace, or

of a truce with the colonies. Nothing had as yet taken definite legal form, and the distrust of the sincerity of the peace professions, which had been constantly present in the mind of Washington, while it was weakened, was not removed, and he bent every effort toward maintaining the integrity of the army. This was no light task, for the unpardonable neglect of the various States to respond to the call of Congress, and provide for the payment of their troops, had produced a general and justifiable discontent among officers and men, who feared that they would be disbanded and turned penniless upon the world. Then, too, so low was the military chest, the army was necessarily fed from hand to mouth, and there was often lack of food to satisfy the immediate needs of the men.

It was at this time that Washington crushed an incipient movement looking to the establishment of a monarchy, and the placing of the crown upon his head; had he been a Cæsar or Napoleon he could and would have fanned this spark into a flame, and, with a devoted and victorious army at his back, have climbed to a throne upon the ruins of his country's liberty. The first intimation of the movement, that reached him, came in a letter from Captain Louis Nicola, whom he had long and intimately known, and who Irving affirms to have been the mouthpiece of a military faction. Beginning with the assertion that all the ills of America arose from its republicanism, he advised a government modeled on that of England, which he made no doubt could be readily established. Continuing, he said: "In that case it will, I believe, be uncontroverted that the same abilities which have led us through difficulties, apparently insurmountable by human power, to victory and glory; those qualities that have merited and obtained the universal esteem and veneration of an army, would be most likely to conduct and direct us in the smoother paths of peace. Some people have so connected the idea of tyranny and monarchy, as to find it very difficult to separate them. It may, therefore, be requisite to give the head of such a constitution as I propose, some title, apparently more moderate; but, if all other things are once adjusted, I believe strong arguments might be produced for admitting the title KING, which, I conceive, would be attended with some material advantages."

Cæsar thrice put the crown away, each time with a weaker repulsion and a more obvious willingness to relent; Napoleon, by the same gradation suggested here, drifted from the consulship to the empire; the Richard III. that Shakespeare drew, refused, with pious mien, the prayer of the lord mayor that he should assume the crown, only to accept the bauble in the end. Washington bade the devil of ambition get behind him, in such tone that even Satan could scarcely have the audacity to repeat his proposal. He answered the letter in these words: "With a mixture of great surprise and astonishment, I have read with attention the sentiments you have submitted to my perusal. Be assured, sir, no occurrence in the course of the

war has given me more painful sensations, than your information of there being such ideas existing in the army, as you have expressed, and I must view with abhorrence and reprehend with severity. For the present, the communication of them will rest in my own bosom, unless some further agitation of the matter should make a disclosure necessary. I am much at a loss to conceive what part of my conduct could have given encouragement to an address, which, to me, seems big with the greatest mischiefs that can befall my country. If I am not deceived in the knowledge of myself, you could not have found a person to whom your schemes are more disagreeable. At the same time, in justice to my own feelings, I must add, that no man possesses a more sincere wish to see ample justice done to the army, than I do; and, as far as my powers and influence, in a constitutional way, extend, they shall be employed, to the utmost of my abilities, to effect it, should there be any occasion. Let me conjure you, then, if you have any regard for your country, concern for yourself, or posterity, or respect for me, to banish these thoughts from your mind, and never communicate, as from yourself, or any one else, a sentiment of a like nature."

On the 2d of August, 1782, General Sir Guy Carleton and Admiral Digby notified Washington that they had learned of the opening of peace negotiations at Versailles. The fact that, with all these general prospects of a peace, Great Britain had made no movement to secure a suspension of hostilities, seemed to Washington to cast suspicion upon their sincerity, hence he communicated with Rochambeau, and recommended a junction of the armies upon the Hudson. Rochambeau consequently put his army in motion, and, about the middle of September, crossed King's ferry, and the American army was paraded under arms, at Verplanck's point, in honor of the coming of its old allies. The feeling of the two commanders toward each other was very warm, and it extended throughout the armies.

Some time after this, arose a very serious difficulty in the American army, which bade fair to result most disastrously. In the flush of gratitude and enthusiasm, caused by the defeat of Cornwallis, the Congress voted half pay to officers of the army, for a given number of years after the close of the war. The likelihood of ever obtaining this, or the arrears of pay, became a subject of frequent and angry discussion in camp. At last the officers united in a memorial to Congress, praying for the pay due them, and for the giving to each of a certain fixed sum in commutation of the half pay referred to. This memorial was sent to Philadelphia in the hands of a committee of officers, and provoked a long and angry debate, but it was impossible to secure the votes of nine colonies requisite to its granting. Upon news of this, an anonymous circular (which afterwards proved to have been written by General John Armstrong, a valuable and patriotic young officer, who lived to sincerely repent his indiscretion) was distributed in camp, couched in the most eloquent and inflammatory language, and contain-

ing appeals to the officers, of a very dangerous tendency. It, in effect, accused Congress of deliberately neglecting the demands of the army, charged the people of the United States with ingratitude, and, saying that, if the organized army of the United States were neglected, its individual members, when it should be dissolved, could not hope for justice, called upon them not to surrender their swords until their wrongs were righted; to give over sending memorials to Congress, and to forward their "final protest;" and to work upon the fears of that body, since its gratitude had failed them.

When a copy of this incendiary document came into Washington's hands, he was greatly concerned for its effect. Among other proposals it had called for a meeting of the officers to be held on the following Tuesday, the 11th of March. The first step of the commander was to publish a counter address, expressing sympathy with the misfortunes of the army, and anxiety for their relief, but strongly disapproving the attitude assumed by the unknown writer of the circular. At the same time he invited the officers of the army to meet him on Saturday, the 15th, to hear the report of the committee, which had waited on Congress. "After mature deliberation," he added, "they will devise what further measures ought to be adopted, as most rational and best calculated to obtain the just and important object in view."

This wise and moderate appeal had the effect of bringing together the officers of the army, almost to a man. The commander in chief then read them an address, which can scarcely be equalled for wisdom, moderation, sympathy, and effective appeal to the better sense of those whom it sought to influence. How great this influence was, is indicated by the fact that no sooner had he left the hall, than the meeting, upon motion of General Knox, passed resolutions declaring warm reciprocation of the affection which their commander in chief had avowed for them, implicit confidence in his wisdom and sincerity, and a belief that Congress would see justice done. The resolution also requested Washington to write to the president of that body, urging that the needs of the army be relieved. He accordingly at once wrote a warm letter to the desired effect, and many personal communications to members, which ultimately resulted in gaining long deferred justice.

During the month of March came welcome news from Paris of the conclusion of the peace of Versailles, on the 20th of the previous January. The treaty then signed was purely general,* yet it was difficult to impress the rank of the army with that fact, and such as had enlisted for the term of the war, were clamorous for their discharge. Again Washington wrote to Congress, representing the condition of affairs, and the decision was made that the men were not entitled to a discharge until a definitive treaty of peace was

* For particulars regarding the peace negotiation, see Life of John Adams, post.

signed, but giving Washington authority to grant furloughs and leave of absence at his discretion. It was also determined, at his request, that every man be allowed to retain his arms and equipments, as mementoes of the service. Furloughs were granted right and left;—in fact, the majority of the men were dismissed to their homes, never again to be called into service, only enough being retained for the needs of a peace establishment. These were retained until the formal dissolution of the army; some of them until the militia of the country was organized to permanently replace them.

The first step taken by Carleton looking to the evacuation of New York, was the sending of a fleet, laden with banished tories, to Nova Scotia, where, as one of them gloomily expressed it, "they have winter for nine months of the year, and cold weather for three." On the 18th of October, Congress formally discharged the troops, save only the few above referred to as awaiting the organization of the militia. This proclamation was followed by the famous farewell address of Washington to his men. The army remained encamped upon the Hudson, under command of Knox, until summoned, early in November, to King's Bridge, to be prepared to move into New York upon its evacuation by Carleton. So soon as this evacuation was completed, the troops entered New York, preceded by Washington and his staff, and Governor Henry Clinton and his suite, and accompanied by the army of Rochambeau. Thus was completed the last formal military duty of the commander in chief.

On the 4th of December, Washington left New York for Annapolis, Maryland, where Congress was then sitting, for the purpose of presenting his resignation to that body. "At noon," says Marshall, "the principal officers of the army assembled at France's tavern in New York, soon after which their beloved commander entered the room. His emotions were too strong to be concealed. Filling a glass, he turned to them and said: 'With a heart full of love and gratitude I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable.' Having drank, he added: 'I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged if each of you will come and take me by the hand.' General Knox, being nearest, turned to him. Washington, incapable of utterance, grasped his hand and embraced him. In the same affectionate manner he took leave of each succeeding officer. The tear of manly sensibility was in every eye, and not a word was articulated to interrupt the dignified silence, and the tenderness of the scene. Leaving the room he passed through the corps of light infantry, and walked to White Hall, where a barge waited to carry him to Paulus hook. The whole company followed in mute and solemn procession, with dejected countenances, testifying feelings of delicious melancholy, which no language can describe. Having entered the barge, he turned to the company, and, waving his hat, bade them a silent adieu. They paid him the

same affectionate compliment; and, after the barge had left them, returned in the same solemn manner to the place where they had assembled."

Washington went directly to Annapolis, and requested to be instructed by Congress as to the most proper manner of presenting his resignation,—whether it should be sent in, in writing, or whether he should appear before that body in person and present it more directly. Congress indicated its preference for the latter course, and, on the 23d day of December, at noon, he entered the hall to lay down the trust he had so long and nobly borne. The hall was full to overflowing; members, by virtue of their office, occupied their places, and sat covered; unofficial spectators filled the remainder of the room, standing, with bared heads, and very many ladies were present. He was conducted to a seat by the secretary of Congress, and it was announced that that body was prepared to hear his communication. He then arose in his place, and presented his resignation, making a short and feeling address, of which the following is a part: "The great events, on which my resignation depended, having at last taken place, I now have the opportunity of offering my sincere congratulations to Congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country. I consider it an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commending the interests of our dearest country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them to His holy keeping. Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theater of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life." Few eyes in all the house but were filled with tears when this nobly simple farewell address was concluded. Had Washington been the most theatrical and insincere of men, he could have devised nothing which would so completely have captivated and melted his hearers as this affecting farewell. Already, on his way to Annapolis, He had paused at Philadelphia and adjusted his army accounts, which he had kept with scrupulous nicety, throughout the war. All were for expenditures, for he had avowed from the first his determination to accept no pay, for the service of his country against Great Britain. No one should ever accuse him of having turned rebel for hire. The total account rendered against the United States, covering a service of eight years, was for but fourteen thousand five hundred pounds sterling, and the payment of this sum left him still an actual looser, as he had paid out many sums which he had never had time to charge in his account.

Thus, having settled his financial affairs and resigned his commission, Washington was again, and after a continuous service of more than eight years, a private citizen. During that time he had visited his home

but twice, and neither time for more than a few hours; he had undergone hardship, deprivation, disappointment, misconception, obloquy. He had been assailed by malignant enemies, and deserted by false friends; he had suffered defeat without depression, and withstood victory without exaltation. He had been the ridiculed commander of flying tatterdemalions, and the petted and eulogized conqueror of the flower of the British chivalry. He had shown the courage not only to assail an enemy, but to oppose a friend; he had shown that he could be just when the popular voice called for lenity; sparing when the outcry was for vengeance. He had always borne the same calm, even front against the open dangers of a doubtful war, and the insidious perils that wait upon success. He had turned his back indignantly upon the suggestion of a crown. He had earned from a whole people, undivided love; from a whole world unqualified respect. His passage thus quietly and unostentatiously, and, as a matter of course, from such a lofty position, with such unlimited opportunities for gratifying a corrupt ambition, to the remote seclusion of a Potomac plantation, has been justly considered one of the most remarkable, and one of the grandest acts of history. So was his whole life, before and after, devoted to right, to the doing of single hearted and honest service to America, that he well earned the title that millions have since learned to associate with his name—that of the Father of his Country.

But one visible tie now bound Washington to his beloved companions in arms; that was their common membership in the Society of the Cincinnati, to which a few words may well be devoted, in closing this chapter. The order was formed in accordance with the suggestion of the warm-hearted Knox, as a means of keeping alive the friendships and the associations of the Revolution. Baron Steuben drew its constitution, which provided for the perpetuation of the society, by the descent of membership to the eldest male son of each of the original members, or the passing of that privilege to collateral heirs, in the event of a failure in the direct line. The order was to be subdivided into state and district associations, and regular meetings were stipulated and arranged for. To Washington was offered the first presidency of this order, which has only to-day lapsed, by reason of the jealous republicanism of the time following the war. The country took alarm at it, imagining that the intention of its originators was to establish an order of hereditary nobility; public meetings denounced it; state legislatures took cognizance of it and deprecated its existence; Thomas Jefferson, and extreme republicans of his class, disapproved of it, and, finally, the hereditary provision was stricken out, and the Society of the Cincinnati perished from the earth, with the death of the brave men who were its projectors.



CHAPTER XXIX.

HOME LIFE AND PRIVATE INTERESTS.

HOME at last! Probably the words and the thought which they embody, were never more sweet to any man, than were they to Washington when he returned to Mount Vernon, and again took up the thread of the pleasant rural life, which had been so rudely interrupted by the call to arms. Surely no one ever settled more naturally and quietly, from the guardianship of a nation to agriculture. In fact, all through the war Washington had carried the map of his plantation with him, and had directed, if he could not personally administer, his affairs. He had known every season what crops each farm was devoted to, what the yield, price and profit or loss, so exact and methodical was he, even in the field. It is not possible to follow minutely in this work, the life of the late commander and coming president, in the interval between the past which he had relinquished and the future which he did not suspect. His house was open with its old-time generous yet simple hospitality. He entertained all who came with any shadow of title to recognition, and these were more and more, as the months and years passed. Washington, by fighting with France and against England, had become a man of note in the two leading nations of Europe, thence his repute had spread over the continent, and his house was besieged by tourists of every name and nationality; then, too, there came the leading men of America, and, last and most welcome, those whom he loved as his own brothers,—his old associates in arms. He possessed a liberal estate, but it had not prospered as in the old days when he had superintended its conduct, and there was free exportation of its tobacco; he was cramped for money, and did not cease to be so for some years. What was at first but an inconvenience, became, with the continual demands upon his hospitality, a positive embarrassment. The Pennsylvania legislature, knowing of the constant throng of visitors coming to his door, thoughtfully called the attention of

Congress to the facts, and recommended that some action be taken for his relief. News of this movement came to him while he was in real anxiety, and, to many men, would have come as a piece of good fortune, but he respectfully and gratefully declined it, his pride of independence, and his especial determination that his service of his country should be gratuitous, standing as repellant sentinels at the opening of his empty purse. How serious this embarrassment later became, is best illustrated by certain letters published for the first time in Bancroft's History of the United States. The first of these, addressed to his mother under date of February 17, 1787, is as follows:

"HONORED MADAM:—I have now demands upon me for more than five hundred pounds, three hundred and forty odd of which are *due for the tax of 1786*, and I know not where or when I shall receive one shilling with which to pay it."

The second letter is addressed to his family physician, to whom he was indebted in the sum of sixty pounds. It enclosed thirty pounds, and apologized for not remitting the whole amount of the debt:

"I wish it was in my power to send the like sum for the other year, which is now about or near due; and that I could discharge your account for attendance and ministries to the sick of my family, but really it is not, for with much truth, I can say I never felt the want of money so sensibly since I was a boy fifteen years old, as I have for the last twelve months, and probably shall for twelve months more to come."

The last, and, evidently, to Washington, the most humiliating of these letters, is addressed to Richard Conway, of New York city. It was written on the 4th day of March, 1789, after his election to the presidency, for the purpose of securing a loan from Conway, to enable him to pay the expense of his inauguration, and is as follows:

"DEAR SIR:—Never, till within these two years, have I experienced the want of money. Short crops, and other causes, not entirely within my control, make me feel it now very sensibly. Under this statement I am inclined to do what I never expected to be driven to—that is, to borrow money on interest. Five hundred pounds would enable me to discharge what I owe in Alexandria, etc. Having thus fully and candidly explained myself, permit me to ask if it is in your power to supply me with the above or a smaller sum. Any security you may like I can give, and you may be assured that it is no more my inclination than it can be yours, to let it remain long unpaid."

At the moment when this letter was written, the United States owed Washington not far from fifty thousand dollars, which it was ready to pay, and he refused to accept. In the year of grace, 1887, there is, in the city which bears his name, a monument to his memory which for many years

was uncompleted for lack of funds; and yet the Government has had the use of the sum named for one hundred years.

In the month of September, 1784, Washington, in company with his old friend, Dr. Clark, made a tour of inspection, which was at first intended to cover all his lands west of the mountains, including extensive tracts upon the Ohio and Kanawha. These he designed to survey and map, so that they might be available for settlement or sale. The unquiet and dangerous condition of the Indian tribes rendered the penetration of the wilderness beyond Fort Pitt too hazardous to be attempted, and the two, with their servants and pack-horses, contented themselves with proceeding as far as that point, then made a rough march over the mountains, and, descending into the Shenandoah, reached Mount Vernon, having, in little more than a month, traveled more than six hundred miles, sleeping, for the most part, in a tent, and renewing the experiences of the campaigning of more than thirty years before, in the same region.

The expedition had another object beyond its private purpose, and one of vastly more importance. Washington was thoroughly imbued with the belief of the Roman emperors, that a road is the best civilizer. He saw the magnificent resources of the West, lying, like diamonds in a Brazilian river bed, only waiting to be uncovered and brought to the doors of the settlement, to bring to America a vast population and wealth that should make the shining shores of the Indies seem pitiful. He saw, too, the dangers arising from the existence of alien populations on either hand, the British to the northward, with the command of the great lakes; the Spanish to the southward, with the Mississippi offering so easy a highway to the sea. In all these he saw that the time might one day come when America should lose by the finesse and natural advantages of her neighbors, what she had won at so great cost of blood and treasure,—the whole of her vast interior trade. Beyond this, he feared for the political allegiance of the communities which were yet to come into being in the wilderness, should their commercial connections be with foreign and possibly hostile nations. He was no prophet, and could not foretell the intervention of steam in the settlement of the great problem. His view comprehended the rising of a mighty people, which should grow from year to year, indefinitely, and that the improvement of water communication, and the extension of the great highway system, were the only possibilities of providing for this great growth.

Before the Revolution Washington had carefully considered the subject of inland communication, and had become convinced of the feasibility of easy and cheap communication between the waters of the Potomac and James rivers and those of the Monongahela and Ohio, and thence, by the construction of canals, to the great lakes. He had great confidence that this alone was necessary to attract to Virginia a great volume of trade, at

once to develop the new West and add to the commerce of his beloved state. His plan was discussed in private circles, and received with so much favor, that he was led to visit Richmond and lay the matter before the state legislature. He arrived at the capital on the 15th of November, 1784, and was met by a committee of five members of the House, headed by Patrick Henry, which received him with every demonstration of profound respect and affection. His suggestions were received, and the action which resulted was the first systematic step in the great series of internal improvements undertaken by Virginia, and afterward imitated by every state in the country. He later attended a meeting, held at Annapolis, by committees from the states of Maryland and Virginia, to devise means for the improvement of the navigation of the James and Potomac rivers. Two companies were formed for the purpose, and he was made president of each. In addition, it was voted that forty shares of stock of the James company, and one hundred shares of that of the Potomac company, be set aside for him, as an indication of indebtedness to him for his services in the matter. He had thus far refrained from accepting money, or its equivalent, for any public service, yet he felt that to decline outright the generous offer thus made would be to slight the men who were so evidently sincere. Hence he compromised by accepting the stock, which was worth about forty thousand dollars, in trust for some educational purpose. Thus it was eventually bestowed.

Washington's home life was like that of any other private gentleman of Virginia, save for the added duties of hospitality and business which the veneration and love of his countrymen and of the world forced upon him. His correspondence was immense, and he was obliged to employ a private secretary. Constant demands that he should sit for his portrait were complied with, and, as a result, the world has a magnificent collection of representations of his face. He tells, in answer to a letter begging for a sitting, how he was at first restive as a colt under the saddle, when submitting to the process; how he acceded to the second request with regret, but had at last come to go to the artist's chair as docilely as any dray horse to the thills. To his farms, of more than three thousand six hundred acres of cultivated land, he gave his personal attention, arising before dawn, and immediately after breakfast making a tour of his various fields in the saddle. Socially he was wont to be grave, yet would often unbend and sometimes laugh most heartily; he was a most courteous host; by his family and servants he was loved and respected, never feared. His will was so absolutely the law of the household, that those about him were unconscious of the happy despotism under which they lived. He stocked his farm with deer; he occasionally followed the hounds as, when but a stripling, he rode beside the sturdy old Fairfax. As he had proved equal to the emergencies of war, so now, with rarer greatness, he settled himself to a quiet and unostenta-

tious life of peace. His letters during that period are full of the odor of the fields; he seems entirely happy in his life and, in at least one letter, avows his determination to pass the remainder of his days in the comfort of domestic life. How little he foresaw the future! Already events without the charmed environment of the Mt. Vernon life, had aroused his deep solici tude. The Confederation was little more than a shadow. Congress, the creature of the states, was powerless to enforce its own measures. The states which had been parties by representation, to the peace compact, refused to recognize their treaty obligations. Wild schemes of agrarianism and for an irredeemable paper currency gained consideration. Washington kept up a large correspondence with Knox, Lee, and others; writing purely as a private citizen, and arrogating to himself no especial influence, he urged a more substantial union, and the endowment of Congress with sufficient powers to give that body dignity and authority.

The result of the public agitation arising from the abuses of government, was to lead to the forming of a project for a convention, to devise a form of government, and to frame a constitution for the United States. This ripened, and Washington was named to head the Virginia delegation. His first desire was to evade the duty, but many considerations—not the least of which was that the popular feeling imputed monarchial sympathies to such as did not take an active part in advancing the aims of the convention—united in causing him to alter his mind, and accept the appointment. He set out from his home on the 9th of May to attend the convention. It was his desire to travel without any ostentation, but the spontaneous demonstrations of the people could not be avoided. He was not suffered to pass through any town without some indication of enthusiasm, and when he reached the environs of Philadelphia, was met by an escort of cavalry, under General St. Clair, and was constrained to mount a beautiful white horse, led for his use, and make a kind of triumphal entry.

The history of the convention, which was tardy in beginning its deliberations, and continued them during seven hours of each day for four months, is given at length in a later portion of this work. Washington was unanimously chosen its president, and was by that fact cut off from any great active part in the deliberations and debates of the body. Yet his influence was doubtless efficiently given to the promotion of the objects which he deemed most important to be accomplished.

After the adjournment of the convention, Washington returned to Mount Vernon, and awaited anxiously the necessary ratification of the Constitution by nine of the thirteen colonies. This, in due time, came, much to his relief. Even before the ratification, there had been unmistakable indications of a popular desire to make Washington president of the new United States. This was a new source of anxiety, and there is no question that he sincerely considered the necessity of facing the question,—

much more of answering it in the affirmative,—as a personal misfortune. His friends and the best friends of the country, anticipating his selection and objections, wrote him strong and urgent letters begging him to accept the honor, should it be offered. Some of his letters on the subject demand quotation. The following was written in answer to a letter received from Colonel Henry Lee:

"The event to which you allude, may never happen. This consideration, alone, would supersede the expediency of announcing any definitive and irrevocable resolution. You are among the small number of those who know my invincible attachment to domestic life, and that my sincerest wish is to continue in the enjoyment of it solely, until my final hour. But the world would be neither so well instructed, nor so candidly disposed as to believe me uninfluenced by sinister motives, in case any circumstance should render a deviation from the line of conduct I had prescribed to myself indispensable; should my unfeigned reluctance to accept the office, be overcome by a deference for the reasons and opinions of my friends, might I not, after the declarations I have made (and heaven knows they were made in the sincerity of my heart) in the judgment of the impartial world and of posterity, be chargable with levity and inconsistency, if not with rashness and ambition. Nay, further, would there not be some apparent foundation for the two former charges? Now, justice to myself and tranquility of conscience require that I should act a part, if not above imputation, at least capable of vindication. Nor will you conceive me to be too solicitous for reputation. Though I prize, as I ought, the good opinion of my fellow-citizens, yet, if I know myself, I would not seek popularity at the expense of one social duty or moral virtue. While doing what my conscience informed me was right, as it respected my God, my country and myself, I should despise all the party clamor and unjust censure which must be expected from some whose personal enmity might be expected from their hostility to the government. I am conscious that I fear alone to give any real cause for obloquy, and that I do not dread to meet with unmerited reproach. And, certain I am, whensoever I shall be convinced the good of my country requires my reputation to be put in risk, regard for my own fame will not come in competition with an object of such magnitude. If I declined the task, it would lie upon quite another principle. Notwithstanding my advanced season of life, my increasing fondness for agricultural amusements, and my growing love of retirement augment and confirm my decided predilection for the character of a private citizen, yet it would be no one of these motives, nor the hazard to which my former reputation might be exposed, nor the terror of encountering new fatigues and troubles, that would deter me from an acceptance: but a belief that some other person, who had less pretension and less inclination to be excused, could execute all the duties full as satisfactorily as myself."

In writing to Colonel Alexander Hamilton, on the same subject, he says:

"In making a survey of the subject, in whatever point of light I have been able to place it, I have always felt a kind of gloom upon my mind, as often as I have been taught to expect I might, and perhaps must, ere long, be called upon to make a decision. You will, I am sure, believe the assertion, though I have little expectation it would gain credit from those who are less acquainted with me, that, if I should receive the appointment, and if I should be prevailed upon to accept it, the acceptance would be attended with more diffidence and reluctance than I ever experienced before in my life. It would be, however, with a fixed and sole determination of lending whatever assistance might be in my power, to promote the public weal, in hopes that, at a convenient and early period, my services might be dispensed with, and that I might be permitted once more to retire, to pass an unclouded evening, after the stormy day of life, in the bosom of domestic tranquility."

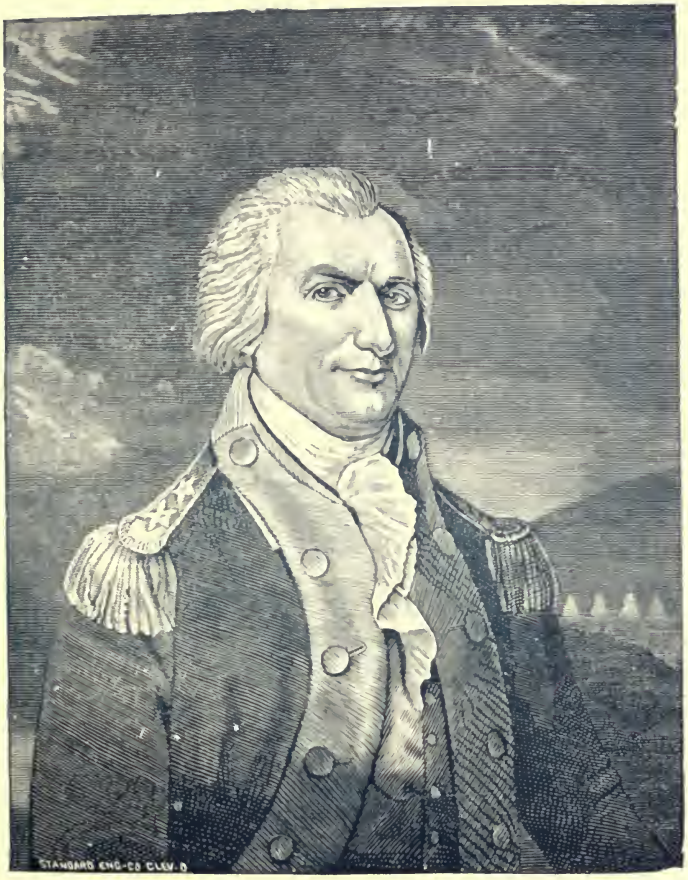
After the ratification of the constitution, Congress appointed the first Wednesday of January, 1789, as a day for holding an election, and the first Wednesday of February following, for the meeting of the electoral college.

On the latter day, Washington was duly elected President for the four years following March 4, 1789. This vote was, by reason of a delay in obtaining a quorum of Congress, uncounted until early in April, and, on the 14th of the same month, Washington received notice that he was unanimously chosen by the college. Ere this, the arguments of his friends, and his own careful consideration, had combined to convince him that it was his duty to accept the trust, and, on the 16th, he set out for New York to take the oath of office. His journey was a triumph; his reception at New York an ovation. As he crossed the bay from Elizabethtown point, every vessel in the harbor saluted him, and a gay procession of decked and garlanded barges followed. Arrived in the city, he expressed a wish to walk to his lodgings, and, on the way, was compelled again and again to pause and uncover before the enthusiastic people, bowing his acknowledgments to the ladies who showered flowers upon him from the upper windows. On the 30th day of April, at noon, the city soldiery formed before his house, and escorted him to the hall of Congress, where, upon the open balcony, before the Senate chamber, the oath of office was administered by the chancellor of the state of New York. Then cannon roared, flags waved, and the voices of thousands united in acclaims to the first President of the United States. Entering the Senate chamber, he delivered his inaugural address, and thence, on foot, proceeded, solemnly and reverently to St. Paul's church, where prayers were raised for blessings upon the work of the day.

CHAPTER XXIX.

THE FIRST PRESIDENCY.

NATURALLY, the first, while it was the least important, question, which met Washington at the outset of his Presidential career, was that of the etiquette of his office. There were no social canons to be applied to the matter. The office was a new one, and without parallel in the history of nations, and he was menaced, on the one hand, by the danger of offending the people by too much pomp and display, and, on the other, of sacrificing its dignity by making too small account of the usages of the world. In this dilemma he appealed to those about him who, in his view, were best fitted to advise in so delicate a matter. The first of these was John Adams, who had been for several years the holder of various commissions to "the politest court in Europe." The second was Hamilton; the others, Jay and Madison. But two of the written reports, made in deference to this request, survive; the first is that of John Adams, the second that of Hamilton. These two do not agree in all points, nor do they, according to modern ideas, disagree in any essential particular. They simply vary as to the number of receptions to be given weekly, and the number of hours to be daily devoted by the President to miscellaneous business interviews. Washington finally determined for himself, that he would give one reception a week; two or four state dinners a year, and informal dinners upon each reception day. That he would go abroad among his personal friends, but never as President; that his hours for general business reception should be from 8 until 10 o'clock in the morning, and that he should only be constantly accessible to members of his cabinet and to foreign ministers. The more minute regulation of etiquette was committed to Colonel Humphrey, and was, in some respects, modified by the President, as he conceived that Humphrey's life at the court of France, where he had been secretary of Jefferson, had, in a measure, turned his head. Thus much is said to show how little Washington did, concerning this important matter, with



ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

out the advice of those about him. While conscious of the necessity of maintaining the dignity of his position, he was equally solicitous of avoiding idle and childish parade, and the appearance of having been carried away with his advancement to the Presidency. How important were these precautions, thrown about the comparatively trivial matter of etiquette, is clearly shown by the unsparing criticisms afterward made by certain ultra democratic republicans, upon the simple and decent state maintained by the President of the United States and his lady. Some accused the latter of holding "queenly drawing rooms," and "regal assemblies;" others said there was greater ceremony at New York than at the court of St. James, and especially among the sympathizers with the French revolution there were many who took every occasion to sneer at the conduct of the house hold. These latter had the confidence and sympathy of no less a man than Thomas Jefferson, who, though scrupulously respectful to the name and person of the President, could not resist criticising the methods of his household, its ceremonies and restrictions. Jefferson warmly sympathized with those who directed the revolution of '93, and, great as he was, could hardly distinguish between form and substance; could scarcely recognize how a laced doublet might clothe a reformer, and a black coat an usurper.

Mrs. Washington came from Mount Vernon and assumed her place at the head of the Nation's household; this she maintained to the end with that dignity, apart from pretension, and that courtesy, quite unlike familiarity, which combined so wonderfully in her, and marked her as the foremost hostess in America. From the hour of her coming, the weekly levees were crowded, and the informal dinner parties, given upon reception nights, were the delight of the fortunate guests.

Passing, with this hint, to the 10th of September, 1789, the reader is brought to the time when Congress provided for the institution of the department of foreign affairs,—since known as the Department of State,—and a Department of War. On the ensuing day, the President nominated General Knox to be Secretary of War. Soon after, he paid the highest compliment ever given to youth in the United States, by naming Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury. The financial condition of America was truly alarming. With all her splendid resources, her obligations for a few,—less than fifty,—paltry millions of dollars, were unpaid, uncollectable, and sold at a discount upon the market of the world. To the untrodden paths of the Nation's finance, the President appointed Hamilton, who, in common with the man who signed his commission, had a chaos to reduce, a system to create, a floating debt to fund, without any existing system of money-raising; and a National credit to drag from the slough of depreciation and repudiation in which it was bemired, and place upon a footing which should render the Government at once effective and respectable.

The Department of Justice was next organized, and its port-folio was

offered to, and accepted by, Edmund Randolph, of Virginia, who had refused to sign the constitution, because it provided for a single head, instead of the three associated executive officers, which he deemed more safe and fitting. He had afterward supported the constitution in the Virginia legislature and voted for its ratification. The Department of State remained. In casting about for some one who might well and wisely fill its requirements, Washington settled upon Thomas Jefferson. The latter was not yet returned from France, where he was serving as minister plenipotentiary, but was on his way to America, having received leave, for a time, to visit his home, for domestic reasons. Upon his return he accepted the office, and entered upon the discharge of its duties. Jefferson's reasons for acceptance; a minute account of his subsequent attitude; the history of his contest with Hamilton, and his leadership of the new Democratic party, are discussed in his biography, at a later page of this volume.

Already, at the very outset of the new experiment in government, there had come into being embryo parties, divided upon vital issues. The first were warm and confident friends of the constitution; the second distrusted it, deeming that it represented dangerous tendencies toward centralization, and the most earnest, and not the least honest of them, holding that its framers and advocates were monarchists at heart, and would, in time, add to the constitution the investment of a king. The first named was known as the Federalist party, and Alexander Hamilton was soon its recognized head. In opposition was the Democratic party, with states' rights, limitation of the power of the executive, and restriction of the functions of the general government strictly within the limits of necessity, as its principles. Jefferson led this party, and, upon any party test, Edmund Randolph voted with him. That Washington, who, while a friend of the constitution, was not a partisan, recognized this tendency to party crystalization, is unquestionable; that he formed his cabinet not for the purpose of securing so-called harmony, and invariable coincidence with his own views, but that he might have the opinions of the ablest men of either inclining, is equally certain. Then, too, he preferred that, should there be a contest, its leaders should settle it by discussion within the cabinet, rather than by agitation without. So much for the cabinet.

Washington's first term was one of organization, and a marvelously successful one. Its salient features were the financial schemes of Hamilton. Beyond these there was little of interest, and even they cannot be discussed at length. Reducing them to episodes, they were: the funding of the public debt, involving the assumption of debts contracted by the various states, in the prosecution of the late war; the imposition of imposts and excise duties, to provide means for the payment of the principal and interest of national indebtedness; and the establishment of a national bank. These plans required much time for their execution, and were only carried into

effect in the face of the bitterest opposition. The first named met with the decided disfavor of some sections, especially of the South, it being openly asserted that the assumption of the state debts was but part of a plan advocated by the Northern and Eastern states, which were thus made large creditors of the government, and had determined to collect their debts through the agency of their representatives in Congress. The measure was only passed by a vote of fourteen to twelve in the Senate, and the decisive voices came from Virginia, which was friendly to the administration at that time, by reason of the provision made that the capital should be temporarily —for ten years—located at Philadelphia, and, during that time, a site should be selected and buildings erected upon the Potomac river, for the permanent accommodation of the government. Thus was taken the first step toward the financial establishment of America.

The proposal for imposts and excise met with no less opposition. Affecting the importation and domestic manufacture of liquor, it was warmly contested in Congress, and when, having been adopted by a small majority, it was placed upon the statute books, there began that constant and determined evasion of its provisions which has never since ceased. Yet the funding of the debt and the collection of a revenue were thus provided for. For the securing of a stable currency and the relief of the immediate financial needs of the country, there was introduced, upon the reassembling of Congress at Philadelphia in 1790, a project for the organization of a national bank. These pages are not suited to the discussion of the economical question involved in the establishment of such a bank. Jefferson opposed the project with all his heart and soul. He held that paper currency, while it might be convenient, tended to encourage speculation, unsettle values, and to make the people a prey to speculators and financial tricksters. From these opinions he never receded, yet there was, at the time, a second and powerful reason for his opposition. He distrusted Hamilton's political principles, and he saw, in the banking scheme, a stupendous possibility of increasing the power and influence of the treasury, and making it the basis for the increase of the central power, to the possible overturning of the republic and the establishment of a monarchy. He did not doubt Washington, nor did he question the sincerity of Hamilton's convictions, but regarding the latter as the American incarnation of the monarchial principle, and fearing that the President's confidence in the man might blind him to political methods, the consequences of which he could not but regard as necessarily pernicious, Jefferson opposed Hamilton and his plans, day by day, with greater vigor. He himself says that they were daily pitted against each other, in cabinet meetings, like two cocks,—Jefferson supported by Randolph; Hamilton, by Knox. This state of affairs aroused grave anxiety in the mind of Washington. He kept an even course in the cabinet; used his influence to quiet the discords which distracted it; retained Jefferson as a

member, when he was almost determined to give up his port-folio, and, while he personally approved Hamilton's policy, and signed the bills passed by Congress to carry it into effect, kept the confidence and esteem of every member of his political family. The disagreements between his two principal cabinet officers continued. It was a subject of remark in public, of comment in the press, and, finally, of personal contest between the two, in the gazettes. Then the president interfered, made personal appeals to each, and succeeded in modifying their acts and words, if he could not remove the personal feeling between them.

Twice, during his first term, Washington made extensive journeys,—once to New England; once as far south as Savannah, Georgia. These were undertaken partially for pleasure, and more in pursuance of a settled and characteristic determination to make himself familiar with the geographical, social, political, and industrial interests of his country. He traveled quietly in his carriage, always striving to escape the formality of public receptions,—almost invariably compelled to submit to them.

During all the momentous progress of the revolution in France, he maintained an active correspondence with Lafayette, whose prominent part in the great political drama entitled him to speak with authority. Feeling deep interest in France, Washington could not but sympathize with the wishes of the best of the popular leaders—men like Lafayette,—that she should have a constitution, yet he felt, and frequently expressed, a fear that the lawless element of the people, which eventually precipitated the terrible outrage and bloodshed of the days of August, might wreck the plans of those better advised but less numerous than they. The event was more a shock than a surprise to him, for, while feeling how important to the American political experiment was a moderate exercise of the popular power in France, he had felt little confidence that such would be secured.

Early in his term, wearied with strife and bickering, weak in body from illness which closely menaced his life, Washington had developed a sincere desire to give up his charge when the four years of his service should have expired. The more he thought, and the farther proceeded the struggle of the time, the more strong became this longing for the regretted tranquility of his home life. He felt that years of hard work had told upon his bodily strength, and he had a sensitive fear lest there should be a corresponding mental decadence, affecting his efficiency, and visible to the world, which he could not detect. Feeling thus, he appealed to Madison, in whose honesty and good judgment he had the greatest confidence, to know whether he was called upon to make an avowal of his intentions; whether, if such were necessary, that avowal should be in writing, or verbally communicated, and requesting, should a written announcement be deemed suitable, that Madison should formulate it. He, at the same time, suggested certain heads to be embodied in the communication. Madison answered by protesting

against his withdrawal from public life at so critical a time, but expressed his judgment that, should the decision be irrevocable, an announcement and farewell address, in writing, should be simultaneously promulgated, and submitted a draft of the latter. The knowledge of an intention, on his part, to retire from public life, led Washington's confidential friends and advisers, of the most diverse opinions, to unite in urging him to defer such action, and to allow his appreciation of public exigencies to overrule his inclination. Jefferson, Hamilton, Knox, and Randolph, and many without the cabinet, so expressed themselves. In the meantime, external events had their influence; the opposition to the excise laws, in western Pennsylvania, had made necessary an act of Congress, authorizing the President to call out the militia, for the enforcement of the law. Loth to resort to extreme measures, Washington issued a proclamation, calling upon the people to desist from unlawful combinations and proceedings, and directed all magistrates of the state to bring offenders to justice. He anticipated the necessity for further action, which afterwards arose; the war in the cabinet, and the uncompleted application of new measures, united with the arguments of his friends to convince him that it was still his duty to serve the nation, hence, after painful consideration he determined, if such should be the will of the people, to again accept the charge which had been so heavy a burthen, and was, for a second time, elected President of the United States.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE SECOND PRESIDENTIAL TERM.

ON the 4th of March, 1793, Washington, for a second time, took the oath of office. Before its administration, he said: "I am again called upon by the voice of my country, to execute the functions of its chief magistrate. When the occasion, proper for it, shall arrive, I shall endeavor to express the high sense I entertain of this distinguished honor, and of the confidence which has been reposed in me by the people of the United States. Previous to the execution of any official act of the President, the constitution requires an oath of office. This oath I am now about to take, and in your presence, that, if it shall be proved, during my administration of the government, I have in any instance violated, willingly or knowingly, any of the injunctions thereof, I may, besides incurring constitutional punishment, be subjected to the upbraidings of all who are now witnesses of the present solemn ceremony."

John Adams was again Vice-President, and the administration opened with the same cabinet which had advised the President during his former term. The first difficulty which faced the administration was that arising from the terrible condition of French affairs. Louis XVI. had fled, and been recaptured; the monarchy was overthrown; Paris, and all France, was red with the blood of victims of the "summary justice" of the mob. Lafayette was too conservative; he first lost influence, and, later, as Governeur Morris, minister of the United States to the destroyed monarchy, said, would have been torn to pieces, had he fallen into the hands of the red-handed *sans-culottes*. Then the king, later the innocent queen, was beheaded; then came the republic of Robespierre and Marat, the fall of one city after another before the army of the people—then war with England. The unthinking people of the United States still were clamorous for an alliance with France, and eager to wreck their new nationality by interference in a European war; they regarded the republic of France as heir to

the debt of gratitude which America had owed to the murdered king. Washington called a cabinet council to consider the attitude of America toward the belligerent powers. Even Jefferson, more than half a Jacobin, could see how disastrous intervention must prove, and the cabinet was unanimous against it. It was, however, determined to recognize the republic, and to receive any minister which it might accredit to the United States.

Notice soon came, that Citizen Genet had been named as minister of France, and his coming was looked for with a curiosity not unmixed with apprehension, as Morris had given notice that he bore with him a large number of commissions for privateers, signed in blank, and intended endeavoring to enlist adventurous American sailors against the shipping of Great Britain. To guard against such action—the cabinet concurring—Washington issued his famous proclamation, commanding all American citizens to maintain a strict neutrality between the contending powers. The policy then adopted has ever since been adhered to, by America, and has proved her salvation, but, so blind was the enthusiasm of the people, it was then received with a discontent, at first restrained by respect for Washington, but gradually growing into murmurs, protests, and final indignant demonstration. Even his great service and well established position in the affection of his countrymen, did not save him from private abuse and public caricature, ridicule, and insult, which never ceased until the question ceased to be one of living interest. Yet no act of his long and useful life better deserves the gratitude of his people, than the making of this proclamation and the firmness with which the principles therein enunciated were maintained.

Before news of the proclamation had reached all parts of the Union, Genet arrived in America, not coming, as is the custom of diplomacy, to the most convenient port, making haste to the capital, presenting his credentials and asking recognition, but sailing in a French man-of-war to Charleston. There he was received with the wildest enthusiasm—enthusiasm which turned his head, and led him to forget the obligations of his position, and issue commissions to several privateers. From Charleston to Philadelphia his journey was a triumph,—more like a royal progress, than the passage of a simple "citizen" of the French republic. He arrived at the capital, and on the 19th of May, 1793, presented his letters, and, in spite of his indiscreet actions, which had already been made a subject of complaint by the British minister, was received with courtesy.

The frigate *Ambuscade*, which brought Genet to America, captured a British merchantman off the capes of the Delaware, in American waters, and brought the prize to Philadelphia. Other vessels were captured on the high seas, by the privateers fitted out at Charleston, and were brought into American ports. The British minister demanded the restitution of these

vessels. The cabinet unanimously determined that the first mentioned be returned, but was divided as to those taken at sea, Hamilton and Knox favoring a like action in those cases, while Jefferson and Randolph desired to submit the matter to the courts. This was finally determined upon, and, at the same time, the governments of France and Great Britain were formally notified of the determination of America, not only to maintain a position of neutrality as a nation, but to compel its citizens to regard the same.

Genet was very indignant at this determination; he accused the President of exceeding his authority, and threatened an appeal to the people, whom he knew to be with him. The arrest of two American citizens for enlisting upon a privateer, and their imprisonment to await trial, added to his anger, and drew from him a very lofty, if not impudent, letter to the Secretary of State, which did not secure any modification of the position of the government. Subsequent words and acts of Genet placed him beyond the pale of even official indulgence. A vessel captured by a French cruiser, was brought to Philadelphia, during the absence of Washington, armed, fitted as a privateer, and manned with American seamen. The state authorities of Pennsylvania, in compliance with a request addressed by Washington to them, in common with the governments of the other states, prepared to forcibly prevent the sailing of the ship. This resulted in an interview between Genet and Jefferson, in which the Secretary of State requested that the vessel be detained until the President should have returned. Genet evaded making a promise, but led Jefferson to understand that he acquiesced, yet the privateer dropped to Chester, and thence, after the return of Washington, but before any action could be taken, put to sea. This deliberate defiance of the American government, on the part of Genet, taken in connection with the increasingly insolent tone of his official communications, led to a demand for his recall by the French government, though, to prevent inconvenience, it was arranged that his communications should be received in writing, pending the arrival of a successor. The executive council of the French republic did not undertake to excuse its minister, but recalled him, and accredited M. Fauchet. Genet was in New York at the time he learned of the demand for his recall, and became so abusive that the cabinet was obliged, at last, to cease even written communication with him. He then again began to talk of appealing to the people, and thus so alarmed the national pride of many who had been his friends, that he lost his influence, and found himself in a minority. He afterward married a daughter of George Clinton, and passed the remainder of his life in New York.*

Jefferson had yielded to Washington's request that he should withhold his resignation of the secretaryship of state, only on condition that it should be accepted at the close of the year 1793. On the 31st day of

* See Life of Jefferson, for further particulars of this affair.



John Jay

December he forwarded it to the President, who was fain to accept it. Edmund Randolph was named and confirmed his successor, and William Bradford, of Pennsylvania, assumed the vacant attorney generalship.

Great Britain showed little appreciation of the efforts of the Government of the United States to maintain its neutrality. A blockade was made against France, and all vessels laden with grain and provisions were seized, their cargoes sold in England, and the money paid to the owners, or their disposal in some neutral port compelled. Americans suffered seriously by this policy, and there was so great feeling that war seemed inevitable. This bitterness was heightened by the frequent impressment of American seamen, for service in the British navy. Fortunately there came from Pinckney, American minister to England, news that the blockade had been lifted, and that the British minstry had explained that, while American shipping had suffered, it had been only in common with that of other nations, and there had been no intention to injure America more than was unavoidable. This prevented the precipitation of a war.

Still the cry of the friends of France was that the insult to America should be avenged, and, to counteract this influence, Washington determined to send a special envoy to England, to represent to that government the damage done America, and demand indemnification. This plan was loudly condemned by the incendiary party, as cowardly and beneath the dignity of the United States, and this clamor became doubly loud, when the name of Hamilton, the leading Federalist, was unofficially mentioned in connection with the mission. Washington was not wont to be influenced by the popular outcry. The project was carried out, and John Jay named and confirmed as envoy. Nevertheless, the House of Representatives passed a resolution to cut off all communication with England, and only the casting vote of the Vice President defeated the measure in the Senate. At very nearly the same time, the French government requested, as an act of reciprocity, that Governeur Morris, whose ideas were too aristocratic for their ideas, be recalled from France. Though Morris had given entire satisfaction to America, and still possessed the confidence of the President and cabinet, it was deemed best to recall him, and James Monroe was named in his stead.

During the continuance of the French revolution, there had grown up in America a number of democratic societies, modeled on the Jacobin clubs of Paris. The effect of these had been to stimulate the growth of a false independence, which tended to the defiance of authority. A practical effect of this was seen in August, 1794, when the dissatisfaction with the excise laws, which had evoked a proclamation from Washington during his first term, resulted in open revolt of certain citizens of western Pennsylvania. Indictments having been obtained against some of the violators of the law, an officer was despatched to arrest them. Upon the road he was fired upon

and barely escaped with his life. The house of the inspector of revenue was then attacked, but the mob was repulsed. Withdrawing, it obtained new force and returned. As the local militia had shown little disposition to attack the rioters, a small guard from Fort Pitt had been stationed in the house. This was compelled to march out and ground arms, but the inspector and marshal fortunately evaded their assailants, and escaped down the Ohio to a place of safety.

Upon learning of this outrage, Washington issued a proclamation, calling upon the insurgents to disperse to their homes before the first day of the ensuing September, or force would be brought against them to compel submission. It was then openly boasted that they could and would bring seven thousand men into the field, and oppose any effort to coerce them. Washington was not slow in responding to this challenge. He made a requisition upon the states of Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Maryland, for militia, and placed the whole under "Light Horse Harry" Lee, then governor of Virginia. The veteran major-general, Morgan, volunteered to accompany the expedition, which moved during the month of September, numbering fifteen thousand men. The approach of such a force was too much for the insurgents, who threw down their arms and begged for mercy. Some were tried for treason, but none convicted, and, so far as the participants were concerned, the affair ended with the leaving of a small body of men, under General Morgan, in the district. It did not, however, end there with Washington. In his next message to Congress, he boldly threw down the gauntlet to the Jacobin societies, charging them with the responsibility for the insurrection, and condemning them as pernicious in the highest degree. The result was exactly what he had doubtless anticipated. It aroused the democratic members of both houses, and in the House of Representatives, that clause of the message was passed with pointed silence. The societies had, however, received a death blow in the downfall and execution of Robespierre, and shortly sank into disrepute, both in France and America. Especially in the United States, the native sense of the people made this downfall most speedy and complete.

On the 20th day of January, 1795, Hamilton performed the last act of his life as Secretary of the Treasury, in proposing an admirably digested plan for the redemption of the public debt, and, in furtherance of a long cherished desire, retired to private life. Washington had been constantly accustomed to his advice and assistance for more than ten years, and the regret which he felt at losing him was only tempered by the happy prospect of so soon following his example. Knox, too, retired from the Cabinet at the close of December, and only Randolph, of its original members, remained. This, though a lesser loss, was nevertheless keenly felt. Washington named Oliver Wolcott, of Connecticut, for the treasury, and Timothy Pickering for the war office, and both were confirmed. The most anxious solicitude

pervaded the President's mind regarding the negotiation of Mr. Jay, for a settlement of commercial differences with England. He knew he had gravely imperiled his popularity by entering into the negotiation, and that its failure would be certain to result unpleasantly to him. Beyond this, and far more important, he felt that the peace and prosperity of the country depended upon a happy issue of the affair. The treaty was finally arranged between Mr. Jay and the British commissioners, on the 19th of November, 1794, but the copy sent on for ratification was only received on the 5th of March, 1795, four days after Congress adjourned. The President at once gave it a most critical examination, and found it to be, as he had anticipated, an affair of give and take. Nevertheless, he felt that the United States was promised advantages which would more than outweigh her concessions, hence he determined to ratify the treaty should it be approved by the Senate. The Senate being convened on the 8th day of June, took up the treaty, article by article, and with closed doors discussed it most laboriously It was desired to keep its matter from public knowledge until it had been acted upon, yet much was reported concerning it, and principally regarding the features most open to objection. The result was to raise a most unreasonable storm, and to bring down upon the head of Washington abuse more bitter and hard to bear than any of that which had ever before been directed at him. Finally, a Democratic Senator gave an abstract of the document to an opposition paper of Philadelphia, and it was published, adding fuel to the already furious flame of public feeling. Yet the Senate confirmed the treaty, save one article, the effect of which was to limit the trade of the Southern states, and with the West Indies. Violent public demonstrations against the treaty were made in all the larger cities and towns, and, at New York and Philadelphia it was burned—in the latter city, before the house of the British minister.

To one of Washington's sensitive honor and consciousness of perfect rectitude, this was sufficiently trying to excuse him for ardently desiring escape from his unsought office. Yet there was another heavy trial awaiting him. While he was considering the question as to ratifying the treaty, he learned that England had renewed the order as to the interception of vessels bound for French ports. Directing that a strong memorial be drawn up and dispatched to England, protesting against its action, he retired to Mount Vernon, there to snatch a few days of much needed rest. He had been at home but a short time when he received a mysterious letter from Pinckney Secretary of the Navy, urging him to come at once to Philadelphia, and to do no important executive act until he should reach that city. Such a message did not permit of delay, and he answered the summons at once. Pinckney then laid before him a dispatch of Fauchet, late French minister, recently supplanted by M. Adet. This was an official communication written to his government, and had been found upon a captured French privateer,

sent to Lord Granville, and the latter, finding that it referred to the relations between Fauchet and Randolph, Secretary of State, had forwarded it to America. This intercepted dispatch contained the following words, written in the confidence of official intercourse, and referring to the Pennsylvania insurrection and proclamation: "Two or three days before the proclamation was published," he wrote, "and, of course, before the cabinet had resolved on its measures, the Secretary of State came to my house. All his countenance was grief. He requested of me a private conversation. It was all over, he said to me; a civil war was about to ravage our unhappy country. Four men, by their talents, their influence and their energy, may save it. But, debtors of English merchants, they will be deprived of their liberty, if they take the smallest step. Could you lend them, instantaneously, funds to shelter them from English prosecution. The inquiry astounded me much. It was impossible for me to make a proper answer. You know my want of power and deficiency in pecuniary means. Thus, with some thousands of dollars, the republic could have decided on civil war or peace. *Thus the consciences of the pretended patriots of America have already their price.* What will be the old age of this government, if it is thus already decrepit!"

This extraordinary communication could not but excite the gravest solicitude in the mind of Washington. Yet he determined to dispatch business in its order, and called a cabinet meeting to consider as to the ratification of the British treaty. The matter had been before discussed, and the opinion of the cabinet had been unanimously in favor of ratification. Now Randolph opposed it, claiming that, since the re-establishment of the unjust and damaging blockade against French bound vessels, consideration of the Jay treaty should be postponed until the war between England and France was concluded. Randolph was probably quite sincere in this recommendation, but, taken in consideration with the Fauchet letter, it had a bad look. Nothing, however, was done until the following day, when, as Randolph entered the cabinet, Washington, who was in company with his other ministers, handed him the letter, and requested an explanation. Randolph read the letter and, requesting time to prepare an answer, withdrew. On the same day he wrote Washington, regretting the withdrawal of confidence, asserting his own worthiness of it, and denying that he had ever, personally or through another, made an overture to M. Fauchet, for the procuring of money, nor had the French minister directly or indirectly paid him one shilling. He concluded by requesting secrecy until he should be prepared with his defense. This Washington promised to do all in his power to preserve, and, at the same time, expressed the earnest hope that his quondam minister might be able to satisfactorily clear himself from the suspicion raised by the letter.

In the meantime, the calumny and abuse directed at Washington

increased; the ratification of the British commercial treaty could not be condoned. All memory of years of gratuitous and arduous service in the cause of America, seemed to be departed from the people, and they were no longer content with assailing his public acts, but impugned his private motives and character, as well. "It was averred that he was totally destitute of merit, either as a soldier or a statesman. He was charged with violating the Constitution, in having negotiated a treaty without the previous advice of the Senate, and that he had embraced within that treaty subjects belonging exclusively to the Legislature, for which an impeachment was publicly suggested. Nay, more, it was asserted that he had drawn from the treasury for his private use more than the salary annexed to his office." Marshall's statement, of which the above is a portion, conveys but a very faint idea of the many and various troubles, which combined to gall the proud and high spirited Washington. The last named charge was of course false, as it was then proved to be. He never drew a cent of his salary in person. It was invariably paid to his steward, and by him applied, to the last dollar, to the expenses of the executive household. In no single year did the amount thus drawn equal, much less exceed, the amount of the salary.

In the midst of all his trouble and mortification, there came to Washington a ray of brightness, in the form of a resolution of confidence, passed by the legislature of Maryland, all the more valuable, by reason of its entire spontaneity. In acknowledgment of this kindness, he wrote: "At any time the expression of such a sentiment would have been considered as highly honorable and flattering. At the present, when the voice of malignancy is so high-toned, and no attempts are left unessayed, to destroy all confidence in the constituted authorities of this country, it is peculiarly grateful to my sensibility. I have long since resolved, for the present time at least, to let my calumniators proceed without any notice being taken of their invectives, by myself, or by any others with my participation and knowledge. Their views, I dare say, are readily perceived by all the enlightened and well disposed part of the community; and by the records of my administration, and not by the voice of faction, I expect to be acquitted or condemned hereafter."

Mr. Randolph, during the month of December, 1795, made his defense or explanation, regarding the intercepted letter. It was strong in being corroborated by a denial of M. Fauchet, that he had intended to charge the secretary with attempting to collect funds for his own benefit; weak in its attempt to establish a negative, and in its intemperate references to Washington. Colonel Pickering was transferred to the Department of State, James McHenry was made Secretary of War, and the Attorney-generalship, vacated by the death of Mr. Bradford, was filled by Charles Lee, of Virginia. During the autumn and early winter, a treaty had been closed with Algiers, which promised protection for American vessels from the desperate piracy

of those seas, and the difficulties with Spain, regarding southern boundaries and the navigation of the Mississippi, were settled satisfactorily to the United States It was also during the latter part of this year, that Washington Lafayette, son of the marquis, arrived in America incognito, and was placed, first at Harvard college, later with his tutor in safe retirement, at the cost of Washington.

Congress opened in December, 1795. Washington made an address, rehearsing the principal occurrences of the past year, and congratulating that body upon the prosperity of the country. The Senate voted a cordial answer, but the House, controlled by the opposition, was evasive. On the first day of January, Washington formally received the colors of France, sent as a gift to the nation, and responded to the speech of M. Adet, with great feeling.

In February, Great Britain returned, approved, the treaty of commerce, as amended by the Senate. The contract was now irrevocably completed, and the President formally proclaimed the treaty the law of the land. The House of Representatives, piqued at the making of this proclamation before the matter had been submitted to them, refused, for the time, to make provision for carrying it into effect, and demanded that the President lay before them the documents and correspondence relating to its negotiation. Washington recognized that this demand was not warranted by the constitution, and was *ultra vires*. Hence he determined to establish the principle for all time, and refused to comply with the request, placing himself fairly on constitutional grounds. In the meantime public opinion had changed, meetings were held in various cities and made declarations favorable to the treaty, and, in March, 1796, the House made the appropriation necessary for its effect. During the winter Thomas Pinckney, the excellent minister to England, was recalled at his own request, and Rufus King was named in his stead. Congress adjourned in June, and the official year was over. Soon after the adjournment arose dissatisfaction with the course of Mr. James Monroe, minister to France. France had been offended at the Jay treaty, and demanded an explanation; Monroe had been furnished with ample documentary evidence, and directed to make such explanation, but for some reason he had neglected to use his papers, and America still stood in a false light, and was even menaced with war. Hence, Monroe was recalled, and Charles C. Pinckney, brother of the late minister to St. James, was named in his stead. Later, M. Adet made a formal protest against the attitude of the United States in relation to the struggle of France with England, and it became necessary to the preservation of the good understanding of the nations, that the Secretary of State of the United States should make a full and elaborate answer on the part of his government.

No sooner had Congress adjourned, than the third Presidental election became the subject of discussion. Washington was solicited to again accept

the office, but both inclination and a sense of duty to his country urged him to a contrary conclusion. In fact, so early as May, he had been in consultation with Hamilton as to the preparation of a farewell address, announcing his retirement. This famous paper was published in September, 1796, and created a profound sensation. Its authorship is a vexed question, but it was probably founded upon the former address, prepared by Madison, and was elaborated and recast by Hamilton, in accordance with suggestions of Washington. Whatever hand guided the pen, it was the President who inspired the wonderful paper which, once and for all, put an end to the clamor of those who made the possibility of a monarchy their pet theme. There is no grander document in history than this simple reimpressment of political lessons, which he had so often taught, followed by the voluntary relinquishment of an office which, in spite of the noisy outcry of a minority, he might, for the asking, have again held by a unanimous electoral vote. The address was received throughout the country with the greatest veneration. It was spread upon the minutes of many state legislatures, and forever checked the howling of the opposition beagles.

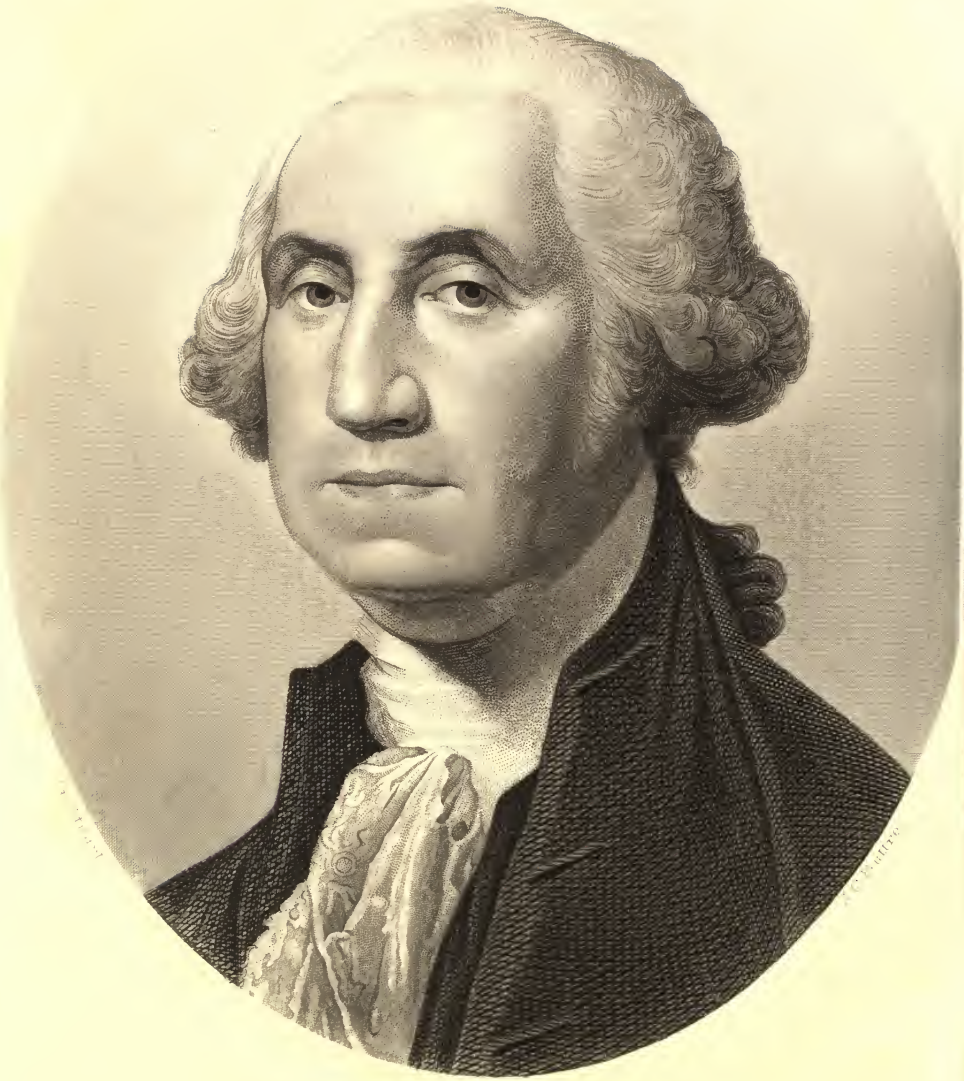
On the 5th day of December, Congress convened, and Washington made his farewell address. In concluding, he said: "The situation in which I now stand for the last time, in the midst of the representatives of the people of the United States, naturally recalls the period when the administration of the present form of government commenced. I cannot omit the occasion to congratulate you and my country on the success of the experiment, nor to repeat my fervent supplications to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, and Sovereign Arbiter of nations, that his Providential care may be still extended to the United States; that the virtue and happiness of the people may be preserved, and that the government which they have instituted for the protection of their liberties may be perpetual."

The Senate and House responded to this speech with expressions of the warmest good will and respect. In the former, there was not a dissenting vote; in the latter Mr. Giles, of Virginia, opposed the resolutions of regret at the retirement of the President, by reason of his disapproval of the foreign policy of the administration; he said he hoped the President would be happy in retirement, but he hoped he would retire. Twelve members agreed with Mr. Giles.

In February, the votes of the Presidential electors were opened, and John Adams, receiving the highest number, was elected President, while Thomas Jefferson, next in order, became Vice President. Truly an unequal yoking together of Federal and Democratic sentiment! On the 3d of March, Washington addressed a letter to the Secretary of State, making his first denial of the authenticity of the letters published in England and New York in 1777, and attributed to him. These he denounced as forgeries, and requested that his statement be placed and preserved in the archives of the

department. On the same day he gave a dinner to members of his cabinet, the President and Vice President elect, and their wives, foreign ministers, etc., and on the following day gladly turned his face from the capital as a private citizen.

So ended the second term of the first President. He found the country a chaos; he left it a cosmos. He found it bankrupt and financially dishonored; he left it solvent, owing no man an unliquidated debt, and recognized in the money markets of the world. He found it in weakness, with a system having no coherency, and hence no power; he left it united, powerful, respected. He was, indeed, the creator of America. A man more entirely great never wore the robes of office; a man more entirely contented never gave up these robes for the plain vestments of private life.



G. Washington



Mrs. Washington

CHAPTER XXXI.

WASHINGTON APPOINTED COMMANDER IN CHIEF—HIS DEATH AND BURIAL.

IMMEDIATELY after the inauguration of John Adams, Mr. and Mrs. Washington set out for Mount Vernon, accompanied by Miss Nellie Custis, and George W. Lafayette, with his tutor. Upon the way they were everywhere received with the greatest enthusiasm, though every effort was made to avoid the infliction of formal receptions, escorts, etc. Twenty-two years of public life, during which he had never made a journey without meeting with the acclaims of the people, had made such ovations familiar to Washington, and, while they had not ceased to be gratifying to him for the good will indicated, they had become somewhat burdensome. Finally arriving at Mount Vernon, he found his buildings sadly out of repair, and was met by the necessity of erecting a structure for the safe-keeping of his private and public papers. His house was at once given into the possession of a small army of painters and carpenters, and, so impatient was he for the completion of the work, that he scarcely retained a habitable room for himself. The life at Mount Vernon has been before described; little need here be added. A letter, written with the playful exuberance of a school-boy upon a vacation, tells how happy he is in his freedom. It is addressed to James McHenry, Secretary of War, and is as follows: "I am indebted to you for several unacknowledged letters; but never mind that; go on as if you had answers. You are at the source of information, and can find many things to relate, while I have nothing to say that could either instruct or amuse a Secretary of War, in Philadelphia. I might tell him that I begin my diurnal course with the sun; that, if my hirelings are not in their places at that time, I send them messages of sorrow, for their indisposition; that, having put these wheels in motion, I examine the state of things further; that, the more they are probed, the deeper I find the wounds which my buildings have sustained by an absence and neglect of eight years; that, by the time I have accomplished these matters, break-

fast (a little after seven o'clock, about the time, I presume, you are taking leave of Mrs. McHenry) is ready; that, this being over, I mount my horse and ride 'round my farms, which employs me until it is time to dress for dinner, at which I rarely miss seeing strange faces, come, as they say, out of respect for me. Pray, would not the word curiosity answer as well? And how different this from having a few social friends at a cheerful board! The usual time of sitting at the table, a walk and tea, brings me within the dawn of candle-light; previous to which, if not prevented by company, I resolve that, as soon as the glimmering taper supplies the place of the great luminary, I will retire to my writing table, and acknowledge the letters I have received, but, when the lights are brought, I feel tired and disinclined to engage in this work, conceiving that the next night will do as well. The next night comes, and with it the same causes for postponement, and so on. Having given you the history of a day, it will serve for a year, and I am persuaded you will not require a second edition of it, But it may strike you in this detail no mention is made of any portion of time allotted to reading. The remark would be just, for I have not looked into a book since I came home; nor shall I be able to do it until I have discharged my workmen; probably not before the nights grow longer, when possibly, I may be looking in the Doomsday Book."

The coming of so many guests to Mount Vernon compelled Washington to request his nephew, Lawrence Lewis, to take up his residence there, and assume some of the arduous duties of hospitality. Lewis was young, well-bred, highly educated and attractive. A member of the household, he was, of course, ever in the field, and he discovered better occupation than entertaining curious visitors. Pretty Nelly Custis was budding into beautiful womanhood, and Lewis soon found a divided service, laying warm siege to her heart. His suit seemed promising, yet there came a rival in the person of the aristocratic young Carroll, of Carrollton. This young scion of the Virginia *noblesse*, was fresh from the grand tour, polished, accomplished, confident,—yet the fair Nelly was not for him, and Lewis became her husband, the marriage occurring at Mount Vernon in 1798. But one break occurred in the monotony of this happy life, before the last dread interruption. In 1797 the French administration assumed a very hostile tone toward America. Pinckney, the American minister, was ordered to leave France, and notice was given that no one accredited by the United States would be recognized, until the wrongs which France had suffered should be compensated. Pinckney took refuge at The Hague, and gave notice of the indignity. The action of France seems to have been merely a scheme on the part of Talleyrand to extort money from the United States. Adams named three envoys to proceed to France, and consider the grievance upon which the Directory laid so much stress. These gentlemen found that they were regarded by Talleyrand merely as sheep to be shorn; that no question

of national right or dignity entered into the matter; it was a purely mercenary expedient, and, having received the insult of a proposal that they should bribe the Directory, returned to America, having accomplished nothing. War now seemed inevitable, and Adams was extremely anxious upon the subject. He at once consulted Washington, and, no sooner, had the discussion of the prospect of war begun, than the latter began to receive letters from many sources, to the effect that, in the event of hostilities, America would look to him, not only for advice, but for leadership. So imminent seemed the prospect of war, that Congress provided for the raising of a provisional army of ten thousand men, and Washington was made its commander in chief. He had before avowed that he would accept the duty of leading the army, should there actually be a foreign invasion, and that he would give his counsel and accept rank during the organization of an army, but would not take command, save in the event of actual hostilities. When it was arranged to raise the army, he went to Philadelphia, and spent five laborious weeks in consulting and arranging as to its organization, equipment and disposition. The most important step taken was the appointment of three major-generals, Hamilton, Knox, and the late minister to France, Pinckney, to command the various divisions of the army. This provided for, Washington returned to Mount Vernon.

The effect of the active war preparations in America was to convince the French Directory that it had made a wrong estimate of the people with whom it had to deal, and to decidedly vary its tone in relation to America. Eventually, Talleyrand wrote the French secretary of legation at the Hague, that France would doubtless receive any person accredited by the United States, with the respect due the representative of a formidable power. This letter was of course shown the American minister at that point, and was communicated by him to the department of state. Mr. Adams was weak enough to act upon this intimation, coming in such indirect fashion, and appointed a minister to France, who was duly confirmed. So was the war cloud broken, at the expense of the dignity of the United States.*

The month of December, 1799, found Washington in good health, and systematically occupied with the care of his estate. He was particularly engaged in preparing a written plan for the conduct of his farms, including a tabular statement of the crops to be raised in various fields, for several years in advance. This he finished on the 10th, and noting the fact in his diary, adds that the weather was clear and pleasant in the morning, but lowering in the afternoon. It rained on the 11th, and "there was a large circle around the moon." The 12th was snowy, the weather, however, being so warm that the snow was very wet. Washington wrapped himself in a cloak and went out in the saddle, as was his custom. Before setting out, he wrote

* For a fuller account of this transaction see the life of John Adams.

Hamilton, heartily endorsing the plan of the latter for the establishment of a military academy. During the morning his secretary sought him in the field, and obtained his frank upon a number of letters. Noticing snow clinging to the general's hair, he expressed fear lest he might take cold; Washington added that his cloak amply protected him, but, with characteristic thoughtfulness, added that the weather was too bad to send a servant out with the letters. On the morning of the 13th, there was too much snow upon the ground to permit of his going out, and he complained of a sore throat. In the evening he was very cheerful, attempting to read aloud from newspapers received that day, but this his hoarseness rendered very difficult. Upon retiring, Mr. Lear, his secretary, advised his taking medicine, but he said, "No, I never take anything for a cold; let it go as it came."

During the night he suffered severely, yet would not consent to Mrs. Washington's arising to call a servant. In the morning, Mr. Lear came to the bed side and found the General almost unable to speak, and nearly suffocated by the swelling of his throat. Dr. Craik, his old friend, was at once sent for, and one of the farm overseers was called in and bled him. Between 8 and 9 in the morning, Dr. Craik arrived, and soon after, two other physicians, but none of their remedies gave relief. Washington was perfectly conscious and aware of the hopelessness of his case. About 4 in the afternoon, he called his secretary and gave directions about arranging his papers, and various other matters of importance. During the evening he seemed a little easier, and spoke a few times. At 10 o'clock he said to Mr. Lear, with much difficulty: "I am just going; have me decently buried, and do not let my body be put into the vault in less than three days after I am dead." Lear bowed, in answer, for emotion prevented his speaking. The general looked up and asked:

"Do you understand me?"

"Yes," was the reply.

"'Tis well," said he.

These were his last words, for, between 10 and 11 o'clock, he passed peacefully away.

The funeral occurred on the 18th. The remains of the beloved friend; the brave soldier; the wise counselor; the great and good man, were placed in the family vault, in the presence of a great concourse of neighbors and friends; the honors of war were paid by the militia of Alexandria, while a schooner in the river fired minute guns.

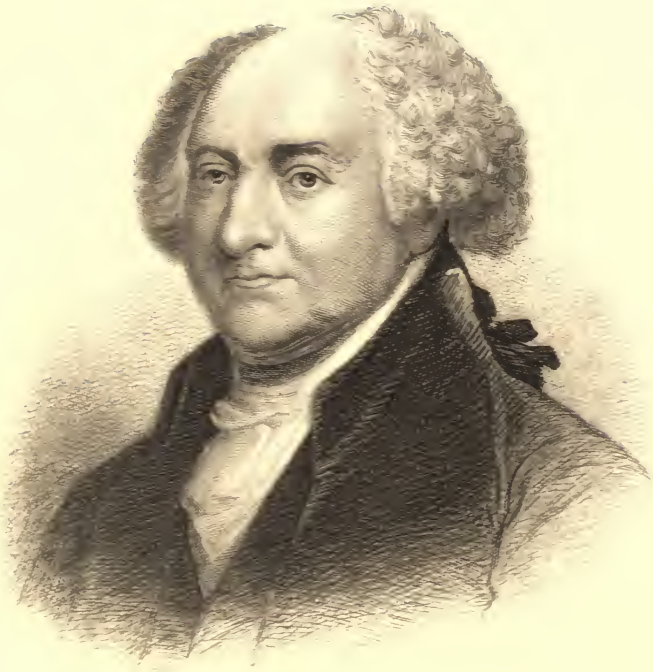
So ended this wonderful life, as he would have had it close, with his friends about him, and for all time his tired body finds rest in the midst of the scenes which he so loved in life, and from which he was so constantly and so reluctantly divided.

Leave can hardly be taken of the memory of this great and good man without reference to one act that found its fulfillment only after his death.

"On opening the will which he had handed to Mrs. Washington shortly before death," writes Irving, "it was found to have been carefully drawn up by himself in the preceding July; and by an act in conformity with his whole career, one of its first provisions directed the emancipation of his slaves on the decease of his wife. It had long been his earnest wish that the slaves held by him in his own right should receive their freedom during his life, but he had found that it would be attended with insuperable difficulties on account of their intermixture by marriage with the 'dower negroes,' whom it was not in his power to manumit under the tenure by which they were held. With provident benignity he also made provision in his will for such as were to receive their freedom under this device, but who, from age, bodily infirmities, or infancy, might be unable to support themselves, and he expressly forbade, under any pretense whatsoever, the sale or transportation out of Virginia of any slave of whom he might die possessed. Though born and educated a slaveholder, this was in consonance with feelings, sentiments and principles which he had long entertained. In a letter . . . in September, 1786, he writes: 'I never mean, unless some particular circumstances should compel me to it, to possess another slave by purchase, it being among my first wishes to see some plan adopted by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law.' And eleven years afterward he writes: . . . 'I wish from my soul that the legislature of this state could see the policy of a gradual abolition of slavery. It might prevent much future mischief.'"

"The character of Washington," writes Irving further, in summing up the life-work of the great leader, "may want some of those poetical elements which dazzle and delight the multitude, but it possessed fewer inequalities and a rarer union of virtues than perhaps ever fell to the lot of one man—prudence, firmness, sagacity, moderation, an overruling judgment, an immovable justice, courage that never faltered, patience that never wearied, truth that disdained all artifice, magnanimity without alloy. It seems as if Providence had endowed him in a preëminent degree with all the qualities requisite to fit him for the high destiny he was called upon to fulfill—to conduct a momentous revolution which was to form an era in the history of the world, and to inaugurate a new and untried government, which, to use his own words, was to lay the foundation 'for the enjoyment of much purer civil liberty and greater public happiness than have hitherto been the portion of mankind.' The fame of Washington stands apart from every other in history, shining with a truer lustre and a more benignant glory. With us his memory remains a National property, where all sympathies throughout our widely-extended and diversified empire meet in unison. Under all dissensions and amid all the storms of party, his precepts and example speak to us from the grave with a paternal appeal; and his name—by all revered—forms a universal tie of brotherhood—a

watchword of our union. 'It will be the duty of the historian and the sage of all nations,' writes an eminent British statesman (Lord Brougham), 'to let no occasion pass of commemorating this illustrious man, and until time shall be no more will a test of the progress which our race has made in wisdom and virtue be derived from the veneration paid to the immortal name of Washington.'"



John Adams

JOHN ADAMS.

CHAPTER I.

ACADEMIC, COLLEGIATE, AND PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION.

THE devotion of New England to liberal education; the universal persuasion of rich and poor, that its bestowal upon the youth of the colonies was a duty only to be omitted under the pressure of the sternest poverty or other unavoidable obstacle, served well the interest of America in raising up, for the great emergency of the Revolution, a class of men whose zeal was tempered by liberal knowledge and culture; whose practical weight was increased by the breadth of view which arises from the comparison of existing political conditions, with those of preceding centuries. John Adams was one, and the greatest of these men. His grandfather had given the eldest of his twelve children the best obtainable education at Harvard, that grand old college, which dated from the time of Governor Wentworth. Desiring to confer as great a blessing upon one of his own sons, the second Adams, with some difficulty persuaded John, his oldest son, born October 19 (old style), 1735, to matriculate at Harvard, which he did in 1752. Harvard at that time made no affectation of recognizing a dead level of social equality. Students, upon entering, were placed upon the lists, not in alphabetical order, nor according to the succession in which they came, but with strict regard to the rank and position of the families to which they belonged. This fact gives us a definite means of placing the Adamses in the social scale, for John Adams stood fourteenth in a class of twenty-four. John Quincy Adams says, however, in the unfinished biography of his father, completed by Mr. Charles Frances Adams, that the fact of his father's securing even this rank, was due rather to the position of the maternal branch of the family, than to that of the Adamses. In ironical reflection upon this artificial

distinction, was the fact that John Adams, from the beginning to the close of his course at Harvard, found but two competitors for intellectual leadership, in a class exceptional for the ability and high scholarship of its members, among whom were numbered William Browne, subsequently governor of the island of Bermuda; John Wentworth, who became governor of New Hampshire; David Sewall, long judge of the United States district court in Maine; Tristram Dalton, an early United States Senator for Massachusetts; Samuel Locke, afterwards president of Harvard college, and Moses Hemmenway, who became a distinguished divine. Only the two last named approached the scholarship of Adams, who was but seventeen years of age at the time of his admission. Remaining in college three years, Adams was granted his bachelor's degree in 1755, and stood face to face with the problem of making a living. His father had already done for him quite as much as his means would permit, in supporting him during his preparatory and collegiate studies. He had gained a liberal education, the friendship of men greatly his social superiors, and the intellectual equipment necessary to any professional undertaking. It is not easy, at this day, to realize how narrow a field was open to him. Public sentiment, and the usage of the day, practically restricted the choice to the three professions of law, medicine, and divinity. Mercantile pursuits did not invite a man of liberal education; commerce was small, and called for little more knowledge than did shopkeeping; engineering had not become a profession in America, and manual labor of any kind could be as well done by any one who could not write his name.

The life of New England had been, from the outset, such as to give to divinity a prestige accorded to no other profession. The Puritans had left the mother country in search of freedom of thought and speech upon religious subjects. Settled in their new home, religious discussion had constituted the predominating intellectual exercise of all the early years of the colony, and, even so late as the time of Adams, the clergyman was a person uniting the personal and social prestige, which had survived the old establishments, with the respectability belonging to presumed learning, and the influence of the spiritual mentor. Law was held in small esteem. The system of courts and practice was simple; litigations were small and unremunerative, and, as small business always breeds pettifoggers, the bar was none too well represented. To these the Puritans, with the sturdy literalness which was so characteristic, applied strictly the condemnation: "Woe unto you, also, lawyers, for ye lade men with burdens grievous to be borne," and the profession was, if not actually in disrepute, far from holding its proper place, in relation to others. Medicine was better regarded, but, as the fathers of New England had proved, upon the rack and at the stake, their greater esteem of the soul than of the body, it could not but be that he who administered to the carnal man, should give

way to the doctor of souls. Thus Adams was led almost irresistibly to the study of theology. This influence did not, as might have been expected, come most strongly from his home. His father and mother were religious people, but were freer from the narrowness of the time than were the majority, and accompanied their recommendations with nothing which savored of insistence. It was his friends and associates of the college who most strongly urged the young man to the profession of divinity. Fortunately for him and for the world, he was poor, and the necessity of earning enough for his own support pressed him immediately. To this end he sentenced himself for a time, as has many an able man, to the purgatory of the country school, becoming a teacher in the then little village of Worcester. Even at the age of twenty he was a man of such breadth of idea as to make the dreary monotony, and the mechanical methods, of a country school, almost insupportable. The petty absolutism of his authority, which makes small men prigs and tyrants, was to him only mortifying and ridiculous. A letter, written from Worcester, soon after he assumed charge of the school, gives, at once, so just an idea of the writer, and so lively a description of his position, as to bear extended quotation. It is as follows:

"WORCESTER, 2 September, 1755.

"DEAR SIR: I promised to write you an account of the situation of my mind. The natural strength of my faculties is quite insufficient for the task. Attend, therefore, to the invocation. O thou goddess, muse, or whatever is thy name, who inspired immortal Milton's pen with a confusion ten thousand times confounded, when describing Satan's voyage through chaos, help me, in the same cragged strains, to sing things unattempted yet in prose or rhyme. When the nimble hours have tackled Apollo's coursers, and the gay deity mounts the eastern sky, the gloomy pedagogue arises, frowning and lowering like a black cloud, begrimed with uncommon wrath, to blast a devoted land. When the destined time arrives, he enters upon action, and, as a haughty monarch ascends his throne, the pedagogue mounts his awful *great chair*, and dispenses right and justice throughout his whole empire. His obsequious subjects execute the imperial mandates with cheerfulness, and think it their high happiness to be employed in the service of the emperor. Sometimes paper, sometimes his pen-knife; now birch, now arithmetic, now a ferule, then A B C, then scolding, then flattering, then thwacking, calls for the pedagogue's attention. At length, his spirits all exhausted, down comes pedagogue from his throne, walks out in awful solemnity through a cringing multitude. In the afternoon he passes through the same dreadful scenes, smokes his pipe, and goes to bed. Exit muse.

"The situation of the town is quite pleasant, and the inhabitants, so far as I have had opportunity to know their character, are a sociable, generous and hospitable people; but the school is, indeed, a school of affliction.

A large number of little runtlings, just capable of lisping A B C, an troubling the master. But Dr. Savil tells me for my comfort, 'By cultiva ing and pruning these tender plants in the garden of Worcester, I sha make some of them plants of renown and cedars of Lebanon.' Howeve this be, I am certain that keeping this school any length of time would mak a base weed and ignoble shrub of me.

"Pray write me the first time you are at leisure. A letter from you, si would balance the inquietude of school keeping. Dr. Savil will packet with his, and convey it to me. When you see friend Quincy, conjure hin by all the muses, to write me a letter. Tell him that all the conversation have had since I left Braintree, is dry disputes upon politics, and rur obscene wit. That, therefore, a letter written with that elegance of sty and delicacy of humor which characterize all his performances, would com recommended with the additional charm of rarity, and contribute more tha anything (except one from you) towards making a happy man of me onc more. To tell you a secret, I do not know how to conclude neatly withou asking assistance; but, as truth has a higher place in your esteem tha any ingenious conceit, I shall please you, as well as myself, most, by sul scribing myself your affectionate friend,

"JOHN ADAMS."

In the meantime, while, perforce, submissive to the necessity of endu ing the monotony of the school-room, Adams' mind was actively engage with the question of his future. At one time he was very near overridin his own inclination, and embracing the clerical profession. During th winter of 1755–56 he consulted much with his family and friends upon th subject. Among those who favored his entering the pulpit, was his frien and classmate, Charles Cushing, who, during February, 1756, wrote him letter, urging his decision in that direction. The reply of Adams di closes the course of reasoning by which he so nearly overruled himself, an is so much clearer statement of the case as to well excuse transferring to these pages. Adams was, in fact, his own best biographer, and so far a space will permit, his own words will be quoted in this work. The lett referred to follows:

"MY FRIEND:—I had the pleasure, a few days since, of receiving you letter of February 4th. I am obliged to you for your advice, and for th manly and rational reflections with which you enforced it. I think I hav deliberately weighed the subject and have almost determined as you advis Upon the stage of life we have each of us a part,—a laborious and difficu part—to act; but we are all capable of acting our parts, however difficult, t the best advantage. Upon a common theater, indeed, the applause of th audience is of more importance to the actors than their own approbation But, upon the stage of life, while conscience claps, let the world hiss. O the contrary, if conscience disapproves, the loudest applauses of the worl

are of little value. While our own minds commend, we may calmly despise all the frowns, all censure, all malignity of man.

"'Should the whole frame of nature round us break,
In ruin and confusion hurled,
We, unconcerned, might hear the mighty crack,
We stand, unhurt, amidst a falling world.'"

"We have, indeed, the liberty of choosing what character we shall sustain in the great and important drama. But, to choose rightly, we should consider in what character we can do the most service to our fellow men, as well as to ourselves. The man who lives only to himself is less worth than the cattle in his barn. Upon the whole I think the divine (if he reveres his own understanding more than the decrees of councils or the sentiments of fathers; if he resolutely discharges the duties of his station; if he spends his time in the improvement of his head in knowledge and his heart in virtue, instead of sauntering about the streets) will be able to do more good to his fellow men, and make better provision for his own future happiness, in this profession than in another. However, I am, as yet, very contented in the place of a schoolmaster. I shall not, therefore, very suddenly become a preacher."

Had Adams, in fact, embraced the ministry, holding the beliefs expressed in this letter, he must either have been run through the usual theological mold, coming out deprived of all force, independence, and originality of thought, or have proved hopelessly unorthodox. His opinions are very boyish; his expression crude; the whole tone of his letter is somewhat sophomoric, in the readiness evinced to cut loose from accepted systems and authorities. A man may be a Plato, or a Socrates, or an Aristotle, and retain—yes, profit by—independence of thought, which rises above systems while it creates them, but the strict Calvanism of New England had no traffic with originality. The minister was an officer charged with giving spiritual instruction according to rules which he could no more vary than could the schoolmaster attempt to revise the spelling of the language. Both theology and spelling have since changed, but the time was not yet ripe. The letter quoted, closes with the following significant postscript: "There is a story around town that I am an Arminian."*

In truth, if Adams was not at that time an Arminian, he was fast becoming weakened in the strict Calvinistic beliefs in which he had been educated, and which constituted the orthodoxy of the day. The months following saw a continued change toward liberality, which, while it never led

* This is the name given to the followers of Arminius, who was a pastor at Amsterdam, and afterwards professor of divinity at Leyden. Arminius had been educated in the beliefs of Calvin; but, thinking the doctrines of that great man, with regard to free will, predestination, and grace, too severe, he began to express his doubts concerning them in the year 1591, and, upon further inquiry, adopted the sentiments of those whose religious system extends the love of the Supreme Being, and the merits of Jesus Christ, to all mankind.

him away from the Christian religion, precluded him from its ministry in New England. In August, 1756, this relaxation had gone so far that he definitely and forever gave up the idea of becoming a clergyman, and arranged to pursue the study of the law with Mr. Putnam, a leading member of the bar at Worcester. At the same time he again wrote to his friend Cushing, to whom he deemed an explanation due:

"WORCESTER, 19 October, 1756.

"MY FRIEND:—I look upon myself obliged to give you the reasons that induced me to resolve upon the study and profession of the law, because you were so kind as to advise me to a different profession. When yours came to hand I had thought of preaching, but, the longer I lived and the more experience I had with that order of men, and of the real design of that institution, the more objections I found, in my own mind, to that course of life. I have the pleasure to be acquainted with a young man of fine genius, cultivated with indefatigable study; of a generous and noble disposition, and of the strictest virtue; a gentleman who deserves the countenance of the greatest men, and the charge of the best parish in the province. But, with all these accomplishments, he is despised by some, ridiculed by others, and detested by more, only because he is suspected of Arminianism. And I have the pain to know more than one, who has a sleepy, stupid soul, who has spent more of his waking hours in darning his stockings, smoking his pipe, or playing with his fingers, than in reading, conversation, or reflection, cried up as promising young men, pious and orthodox youths, and admirable preachers. As far as I can observe, people are not disposed to inquire for piety, integrity, good sense, or learning, in a young preacher, but for stupidity (for so I must call the pretended sanctity of some absolute dunces) irresistible grace and original sin. I have not, in one expression, exceeded the limits of truth, though you think I am warm. Could you advise me, then, who, you know, have not the highest opinion of what is called orthodoxy, to engage in a profession like this? The students in the law are very numerous, and some of them youths of which no country, no age would need to be ashamed, and, if I can gain the honor of treading in the rear and silently admiring the noble air and gallant achievements of the foremost rank, I shall think myself worthy of a louder trumpet than if I had headed the whole army of orthodox preachers. I have cast myself wholly upon fortune. What her ladyship will be pleased to do with me, I can't say. But, wherever she shall lead me, or whatever she shall do with me, she cannot abate the sincerity with which, I trust, I shall always be your friend.

JOHN ADAMS."

This letter lay buried among the private papers of Mr. Cushing, until, in the year 1817, some unknown person obtained a copy of it and caused its publication in a paper of Nantucket. A son of Mr. Cushing then wrote

Mr. Adams, expressing his regret and innocence in the matter, and the former, in his reply, gives undoubted symptoms of mortification. He speaks of it as "a juvenile production,", and adds, "I was like a boy at a country fair—in a wilderness, in a strange country, with half a dozen roads before him, groping in a dark night to find which he ought to take. Had I been obliged to tell your father the whole truth, I should have mentioned several other pursuits—farming, merchandise, law, and, above all, war. Nothing but want of interest and patronage prevented me from enlisting in the army. It is a problem to my mind, to this day, whether I should have been a coward or a hero." The letter to Cushing has just enough of truth in it to excuse a somewhat opinionated young man of twenty-one years writing it. He had been subjected to a great amount of gratuitous advice, most of which conflicted with his own convictions; he had chosen the least honored profession, in preference to that which stood highest; he knew that his wisdom would be questioned, and his pride assumed aggression before he was attacked. It was in this spirit that he wrote to Cushing, and he naturally paraded his grievances against the church in such light as would best tend to justify himself. He wrote, however, about the same time, a letter to his friend Cranch, which is more just, judicial, and in every particular more satisfactory. The following quotation will illustrate its spirit: "I expect to be joked upon for writing in this serious manner, when it shall be known what a resolution I have lately taken. I have engaged with Mr. Putnam to study law with him two years, and to keep the school at the same time. It will be hard work, but the more difficult and dangerous the enterprise, a brighter crown of laurel is bestowed on the conqueror. However, I am not without apprehensions concerning the success of this resolution, but I am under much fewer apprehensions than I was when I thought of preaching. The frightful inquiries of ecclesiastical councils, of diabolical malice, and Calvinistical good nature, never failed to terrify me exceedingly, whenever I thought of preaching. But the point is now determined, and I shall have liberty to think for myself, without molesting others, or being molested myself. Write me the first good opportunity, and tell me freely, whether you approve my conduct."

Two more quotations from the writings of Mr. Adams—now from his private diary and autobiography—and we may permit him to continue his law studies:

"Yesterday I completed a contract with Mr. Putnam, to study law under his inspection for two years. I ought to begin with a resolution to oblige him and his lady in a particular manner. I ought to endeavor to oblige and please everybody, but them in a particular manner. Necessity drove me to this determination, but my inclination, I think, was to preach. However, that would not do, but I set out with firm resolutions, I think,

never to commit any meanness or injustice in the practice of law. The study and practice of law, I am sure, does not dissolve the obligations of morality or of religion. And, although the reason of my quitting divinity was my opinion concerning some disputed points, I hope I shall not give reason for offense to any in that profession by imprudent warmth."

The second quotation is from his autobiography, and gives, in his own words, a summary of Mr. Adam's life, from the time of his leaving college until the beginning of his articled clerkship with Mr. Putnam. It repeats some of the particulars already given, but admirably supplements the brief account of his intellectual interregnum, to which the author has been limited.

"Between the years 1752, when I entered, and 1755, when I left, college, a controversy was carried on between Mr. Bryant, the minister of our parish, and some of his people, partly on account of his principles, which were called Arminian, and partly on account of his conduct, which was too gay and light, if not immoral. Ecclesiastical councils were called, and sat at my father's house. Parties and acrimonies arose in the church and congregation, and controversies from the press, between Mr. Bryant, Mr. Niles, Mr. Porter, and Mr. Bass, concerning the fine points. I read all these pamphlets, and many other writings on the same subjects, and found myself involved in difficulties beyond my powers of decision. At the same time, I saw such a spirit of dogmatism and bigotry in clergymen and laity, that, if I should be a priest, I must take my side and pronounce as positively as any of them, or never get a parish, or getting it, must soon leave it. Very strong doubts arose in my mind, whether I was made for a pulpit in such times, and I began to think of other professions. I perceived very clearly, as I thought, that the study of theology, and the pursuit of it as a profession, would involve me in endless altercations, and make my life miserable, without any prospect of doing any good to my fellow men. The last two years of my residence at college, produced a club of students (I never knew the history of the first rise of it) who invited me to become one of them. Their plan was to spend their evenings together, in reading any new publications, or any poetry or dramatic compositions that might fall in their way. I was as often requested to read as any other, especially tragedies, and it was often whispered to me, and circulated among others, that I had some faculty for public speaking, and that I should make a better lawyer than divine. This last idea was easily understood and embraced by me. My inclination was soon fixed upon the law. But my judgment was not so easily determined. There were many difficulties in the way. Although my father's general expectation was that I should be a divine, I knew him to be a man of so thoughtful and considerate a turn of mind, to be possessed of so much candor and moderation, that it would not be difficult to remove any objections he might make to my pursuit of physic or law, or any other reasonable course. My mother, although a pious woman, I knew had no

partiality for the life of a clergyman. But I had uncles and other relations, full of the most illiberal prejudices against the law. I had, indeed, a proper affection and veneration for them, but, as I was under no obligation of gratitude to them, which could give them any claim of authority to prescribe a course of life to me, I thought little of their opinions. Other obstacles, more serious than these, presented themselves. A lawyer must have a fee for taking me into his office. I must be boarded and clothed for several years. I had no money; and my father, having three sons, had done as much for me, in the expenses of my education, as his estate and circumstances could justify, and as my reason or my honor would allow me to ask. I therefore gave out that I would take a school, and took my degree at college undetermined whether I should study divinity, law, or physic.

"In the public exercises at commencement, I was somewhat remarked as a respondent, and Mr. Maccarty, of Worcester, who was empowered by the selectmen of that town to procure them a Latin master, for their grammar-school, engaged me to undertake it. About three weeks after commencement, in 1755, when I was not yet twenty years of age, a horse was sent from Worcester and a man to attend me. We made the journey—about sixty miles—in one day, and I entered on my office. For about three weeks, I boarded with one Green, at the expense of the town, and by the arrangements of the selectmen. Here I found Morgan's Moral Philosopher, which, I was informed, had circulated with some freedom in that town, and that the principles of deism had made a considerable progress among several people in that and other towns of the county. Three months after this, the selectmen procured lodgings for me at Dr. Nahum Willard's. This physician had a large practice, a good reputation for skill, and a pretty library. Here were Dr. Cheyne's works, Sydenham and others, and Van Swieten's Commentaries on Boerhaave. I read a good deal in these books, and entertained many thoughts of becoming a physician and surgeon. But the law attracted my attention more and more; and, attending the court of justice, where I heard Worthington, Hawley, Trowbridge, Putnam, and others, I felt myself irresistibly impelled to make some effort to accomplish my wishes. I made a visit to Mr. Putnam, and offered myself to him. He received me with politeness, and even kindness, took a few days to consider of it, and then informed me that Mrs. Putnam had consented that I should board in his house, that I should pay no more than the town allowed for my lodgings, and that I should pay him a hundred dollars, when I should find it convenient. I agreed to his proposals without hesitation, and immediately took possession of his office. His library, at that time, was not large; but he had all the most essential law books. Immediately after I entered with him, however, he sent to England for a handsome addition of law books, and for Lord Bacon's works. I carried with me to Worcester, Lord

Bolingbroke's Study and Use of History, and his Patriot King. These I lent him, and he was so well pleased, that he added Bolingbroke's works to his list, and gave me an opportunity of reading the posthumous works of that writer in five volumes. Mr. Burke once asked who ever read them through. I can answer that I read them through before the year 1758, and that I have read them through at least twice since that time. But, I confess, without much good or harm. His ideas of the English constitution are correct, and his political writings are worth something; but, in a great part of them, there is more fiction than truth. His religion is a pompous folly; and his abuse of the Christian religion is as superficial as it is impious. His style is original and inimitable; it resembles more the oratory of the ancients, than any writings or speeches I ever read in English.

CHAPTER II.

EARLY LAW PRACTICE SEEDS OF REBELLION.

MR. ADAMS continued his office as teacher of the Worcester school, and his studies under Mr. Putnam, until the month of October, 1758. Then, being entitled to admission to practice, he desired to present his application for a license, and set out for Boston with that intent. Arrived in that city he discovered that he had neglected to obtain his certificate from Mr. Putnam. The horseback journey of sixty miles, to Worcester, with the return, was no light matter to undertake for the reparation of this mistake, and desiring, if possible, to avoid it, Mr. Adams betook himself to Mr. Gridley, then attorney general of the province, and, as a lawyer and scholar, second to none of his time. After a few moments' conversation, Mr. Gridley seems to have been fully satisfied as to the attainments of the young aspirant, for he took the unusual responsibility of giving him a personal recommendation to the court, which procured him instant admission to practice. This kind and flattering act on the part of Mr. Gridley was only the first of a long succession of demonstrations of affection and confidence. He gave Mr. Adams, at that time and later, much invaluable advice as to his professional and personal future, and later supplemented it by giving more substantial aid, throwing business into the hands of his younger brother at the bar, when such help was sadly needed. So was Adams launched upon the uncertain waters of his chosen profession.

Mr. Adams selected his native village, Braintree, as the place for practicing his profession, settling there immediately after his admission to the bar. He resided with his father in the homestead until May 25, 1761, when the latter died. After this event, and until his own marriage, in 1764, he continued with his mother. There is little of incident in those early days of his legal life. Braintree was far from a promising place of settlement; small as it was, its population does not convey to us at this day any just idea of the difficulty of there making even a bare living by the law, during the last

century. It has been said that the people of Massachusetts were but ill disposed toward lawyers. The most controversial people in America, they were perhaps the least litigious; they would quarrel sooner over a dogma than a question of property, and more readily forgive an injury to themselves than the heresy of a neighbor. They went little to law, and, when arbitration would not suffice, and they were driven or dragged into court, were apt to think themselves fully equal to the trial of their own causes. So Braintree was to a lawyer, much what a church is to a mouse,—a middle ground between living and starvation. Yet the time spent by Mr. Adams in the little village was far from lost. If there was little to do and less to make, it was also true that little was needed; that the village was primitive; that neither display nor more than the simplest hospitality was called for. Then, too, such practice as there was, offered, as elsewhere in a country town, the best of discipline for a young lawyer. The attention to minute points of law and practice, the careful devotion to detail in preparation, the guarding against the arts of pettifogging opponents, all these laid the foundation of valuable habits, little likely to be acquired in a larger field, where small cases are rather despised. Then, too, when a trial was held, it was an event of universal interest in the contracted field. It was protracted unconscionably; the evidence was sifted with industry, if not with the greatest skill; arguments were as long and labored in a case involving the value of a sheep, as they would be in the heaviest action in a community where litigation was more common and important. Then, too, there was the inspiration of an audience, the praise, the condemnation, the applause of neighbors and friends. The bar was usually present as a unit, and gave the force of its criticism to place counsel upon their mettle, and, after the cause was tried and determined, it was the talk of the village, until another sheep was killed. So, surrounded by these influences, which, continuing for many years, tend to make the lifelong country lawyer narrow and mechanical, Adams, during his few years at Braintree, learned only to be painstaking and exact, doing everything that he undertook, great or small, to the best of his ability. He was wise enough, too, to regard his admission to the bar as a form, neither the necessary end of preparation, of study and development, nor certainly the gate to wealth and reputation. While he awaited clients, he made himself, day by day, more worthy of their confidence and trust. Again it is best to turn to the words of his journal to obtain a view of his plans and resolves. It reads almost like a treatise on professional ethics, though written by a man then but twenty-five years of age.

"Labor to get distinct ideas of law, right, wrong, justice, equity; search for them in your own mind, in Roman, Grecian, French, English treatises, of natural, civil, common, statute law. Aim at an exact knowledge of the nature, end, and means of government. Compare the different forms of it with each other, and each of them with their effects on public and private

happiness. Study Seneca, Cicero, and all other good moral writers; study Montesquieu, Bolingbroke, Vinnius, etc., and all other good civil writers.

"1760. I have read a multitude of law books; mastered but few. Wood, Coke, two volumes Lillie's abridgement, two volumes Salkeld's reports, Swinburne, Hawkins' Pleas of the Crown, Fortescue; Fitzgibbon, ten volumes in folio, I read at Worcester quite through, besides octavos and lesser volumes, and many others, of all sizes, that I consulted occasionally, without reading in course, as dictionaries, reports, entries, and abridgements. I cannot give so good an account of the improvement of my last two years spent in Braintree. However, I have read no small number of volumes upon law the last two years. Justinian's Institutes I have read through in Latin, with Vinnius perpetual notes; Van Muyden's *Tractatio Institutionum Justianiani*, I read through and translated mostly into English from the same language."

Then follows a long list of other works read, many of them very abstruse and far out of the ordinary course of legal study. The journal is thus continued:

"I must form a serious resolution of beginning and continuing quite through the plans of my Lords Hale and Reeve. Wood's Institutes of the Common Law I never read but once, and my Lord Coke's Commentaries on Littleton I have never read but once. These two authors I must get and read over and over again. And I will get them, too, and break through, as Mr. Gridley expresses it, all obstructions. Besides, I am but a novice in natural and civil law. There are multitudes of excellent authors on natural law, that I have never read; indeed, I never read any part of the best authors, Puffendorf and Grotius. In civil law there are Hoppius and Vinnius, commentators on Justinian, Domat, etc., besides institutes of canon and feudal law that I have never read." This attributing to himself, as a fault, ignorance of the text of authors whom the majority of lawyers of to-day know only by name or not at all, is sufficient index of the standard of scholarship which Adams had set for himself. His habit of self-scrutiny and criticism was not confined to matters of attainment. He was no less censorious in regard to morals and manners, as the following self-arraignment shows: "Pretensions to wisdom and virtue superior to all the world, will not be supported by words only. If I tell a man that I am wiser and better than he, or any other man, he will either despise or hate or pity me, perhaps all three. I have not conversed enough with the world to converse rightly. I talk to Paine about Greek; that makes him laugh. I talk to Sam Quincy about resolution, and being a great man, and study, and improving time; which makes him laugh. I talk to Ned about the folly of affecting to be a heretic; which makes him mad. I talk to Hannah and Esther about the folly of love; about despising it; about being above it; pretend to be insensible of tender passions; which makes them laugh. I talk to Mr.

Wibird, about the decline of learning; tell him I know no young fellow who promises to make a figure; cast sneers on Doctor Morse for not knowing the value of old Greek and Roman authors; ask when will a genius rise that will not shave his beard, or let it grow rather, and sink himself in a cell in order to make a figure. I talk to Parson Smith about despising gay dress, grand buildings and estates, fame, etc., and being contented with what will satisfy the real wants of nature. All this is affectation and ostentation. It is affectation of learning and virtue and wisdom, which I have not; and it is a weak fondness to show all that I have, and to be thought to have more than I have. Besides this, I have insensibly fallen into a habit of affecting wit and humor, of shrugging my shoulders and moving, distorting the muscles of my face. My motions are stiff, uneasy, and ungraceful, and my attention is unsteady and irregular. These are reflections on myself that I make. They are faults, defects, fopperies, and follies, and disadvantages. Can I mend these faults and supply these defects?"

What an invaluable knowledge of the methods of self-education, character-building, and discipline, do these quotations give. After reading them, considering that they were written in a private journal, where, if anywhere, we may look for sincerity, it is no longer a matter of surprise that, from so grave and conscientious a youth, Adams attained a maturity so grand and noble.

While a student at Worcester, Mr. Adams made the acquaintance of David Sewall, a man several years his senior, but who was admitted to the practice of the law but a short time before himself. Sewall possessed brilliant ability, and was, in mind and character, fitted to be a congenial friend of the younger man. Such he became, and nothing broke the perfect harmony and confidence of the two, until arose the issues between Great Britain and her colonies, which led to the War of Independence; then Adams entered, body and soul, into the patriot cause, while Sewall, with no less vigor and honesty, embraced that of the king. After the peace, Sewall went to England, where, after remaining for some time, he secured an appointment as colonial judge in Nova Scotia, and, buried in that then wild and remote province, ended a disappointed and embittered life. During the residence of Adams at Braintree, the two maintained a correspondence which was of great value to both. Their letters contained no commonplaces or gossip, and were largely devoted to abstract discussions of philosophy, morals, and law. Sprinkled through their pages were actual or supposititious problems in law, propounded by one for the solution or advice of the other, and usually answered with care, if not elaborately or profoundly. Such a correspondence was useful to both, and, did it exist in its entirety, would to-day be a most important assistance to the biographer. Those letters which are still extant cast much light upon the genesis of Adams' ideas, principles, and methods, and, did space permit, the author would gladly transfer them

bodily to his work. One quotation must, however, be sufficient; this from a letter of Adams to Sewall, dated February, 1760:

"There is but little pleasure, which reason can approve, to be received from the noisy applause and servile homage that is paid to any officer, from the lictor to the dictator, or from the sexton of a parish to the sovereign of a kingdom. And reason will despise, equally, a blind, undistinguishing adoration of what the world calls fame. She is neither a goddess to be loved, nor a demon to be feared, but an unsubstantial phantom, existing only in the imagination. But, with all this contempt, give me leave to reserve (for I am sure that reason will warrant) a strong affection for the honest approbation of the wise and good, both in the present and all future generations. Mistake not this for an expectation of the life to come, in the poet's creed. Far otherwise. I expect to be totally forgotten within seventy years of the present hour, unless the insertion of my name in the college catalogue should luckily preserve it longer. When heaven designs an extraordinary character, one that shall distinguish his path through the world by any great effects, it never fails to furnish the proper means and opportunities; but the common herd of mankind, who are to be born, and eat, and sleep, and die, and be forgotten, is thrown into the world, as it were at random, without any visible preparation of accommodations. Yet, though I have very few hopes, I am not ashamed to own that a prospect of immortality, in the memories of all the worthy, to the end of time, would be a high gratification of my wishes."

In the spring of 1765, Mr. Adams obtained his first important retainer, being engaged by the Plymouth company, to try a case in its interest, at Pownalborough, on the Kennebec river, then almost at the limit of civilization. He had the good fortune to win his cause, and, from that time, became general counsel of the company, a lucrative post, which not only gave him a comfortable income, but brought him into relation with the legal public, earned him notice, and, indirectly, a largely increased practice.

The interval between Mr. Adams' settlement in Braintree, and his entry into public life, must be very briefly discussed. His practice increased, but very slowly, and he had time, and to spare, for the reading and study which he had planned. On the 25th of May, 1761, his father died, leaving him the head of the house, with the care of his mother and two younger brothers. His townsmen honored him with an election to the office of surveyor of highways, to the not difficult duties of which position he devoted himself with the greatest assiduity. On the 25th of October, 1764, he married Abigail Smith, daughter of the Rev. William Smith, pastor of the Congregational church, at Weymouth. Mrs. Adams was descended, on the mother's side, from the Quincys, a family which had stood out in relief from the earliest days of the colony, holding high places in the church, in politics, literature, and society. She was, in common with all the women

of her family, an exception to the rule which, at that day, denied to so many of her sex the privileges of liberal education. By nature, kind and amiable; by breeding, refined; by association and persuasion, religious; possessed of a mind far above the average, which had been carefully cultivated and stored, she seemed then, and time more than approved her claim, the very woman to be to Adams at once all that a wife, and all that a sympathizing and encouraging companion could be. The two were always thoroughly *en rapport*, and in no writings of Adams', not even in his journal, do we see so much of the man, or learn so much of his real opinions of the measures which grew under his eye, as in his familiar letters to his wife.

In 1761, came the first hint of trouble between king and colonies, and that, too, in the province of Massachusetts and directly within the field of Adams' vision, and, from that time, for twenty-one years, he ranged himself on the side of his country, sounding every note in the scale, from protestation to rebellion. The history of this germination of freedom is elsewhere related in these pages. The exclusive trade of the colonies was claimed by the king, but the temptation offered by a clandestine traffic with Spain, Holland, and the alien colonies of the West Indies, proving too strong, an extensive smuggling trade had grown up, most of which came to Boston. In the year named, the King's officers, who were instructed to break up this inhibited traffic, applied to the courts of Massachusetts for writs of assistance, to protect them in searching houses and shops for contraband goods. Massachusetts was at once up in arms. It has always been little better than impossible to convince even very respectable people, that smuggling,—a mere *malum prohibitum*, is a moral wrong. The people of Massachusetts were no exceptions to this rule; their furtive trade was a source of great profit to them, and they had only assented to England's claim of a commercial eminent domain, with a mental reservation. Hence, when these radical measures were proposed, they took immediate steps to test at law the right of the king. The matter was argued before the superior court of the province, on behalf of the colony, by James Otis, a leader of the bar. Adams had lately been admitted to practice in that court, and listened to Otis' speech, which was the first formulation of the American protest against royal prerogative, with the closest attention. With the foresight which was one of his distinguishing characteristics, he looked far beyond the immediate issue, following very correctly to its more weighty results, the contest thus opened. Grasping the principle, not its accidental manifestation, he said that the decision of the contested point involved far more than the right of entering a domicile, or breaking up a smuggling trade,—nothing less, in fact, than the whole system of restriction and control, by which Great Britain insured to herself the profit arising from her colonies. He did not foresee independence; had he done so, it would have been to lament it as a disastrous issue.

CHAPTER III.

THE STAMP ACT AND ITS EFFECT—THE BRAINTREE RESOLUTIONS.

If we except the holding of the office of surveyor of highways, to which reference has been made, we may date Mr. Adams' entry into politics from the passage of the stamp act, news of which reached the colonies late in 1764. Massachusetts was first in the field in opposition to the outrage, and the little community at Braintree was among the first to take action in that colony. Adams initiated the movement, by drawing and circulating for signature, a petition to the selectmen of the town, praying them to call a meeting of the people, to take action in the premises, and to instruct their representative in the court in relation to the stamps. Before meeting, he prepared a draft of instructions, according to his own idea of propriety, and, carrying them with him, presented them for action. They were adopted without a dissenting voice. Upon being published, they met the very general approval of the people, and were adopted in part by the citizens of Boston, and wholly by no less than forty towns. This, of course, served to add to his public reputation, and, from that day, his intervals of life, uninterrupted by public service were neither many nor of long duration. Still, there remained for some years a divided allegiance between the law, which he could not afford entirely to give over, and the cause which had so warmly enlisted his sympathy and devotion.

There was, in Boston, as elsewhere, a great diversity of opinion as to the proper way of meeting the stamp act, sounding the whole popular gamut, from the howling of an irresponsible and riotous mob, to the submissive whining of the few who deprecated even protest. Boston was, for a time, reduced to a condition of terrorism. The stamp act passed in March, and was to go into effect November 1st. On the 29th of May, the General Court of Massachusetts met in annual session, at Boston. Sir Francis Bernard was king's governor at the time, and, in his usual set speech to the assembly, though he knew how thoroughly absorbed were

the people in discussing and considering the act, he wisely evaded a direct mention of it. John Quincy Adams has thus summarized the concluding portion of the address, which clearly shows a desire to avoid any issue with legislators or people: "He concluded his speech by an apologetic and monitorial paragraph, informing them that the general settlement of the American provinces, long before proposed, would now probably be prosecuted to its utmost completion. That it must necessarily produce some regulations, which, *for their novelty* ONLY, would appear disagreeable. But he was convinced, and doubted not but experience would confirm it, that they would operate, as they were designed, for the benefit and advantage of the colonies. In the meantime, a respectable submission to the decrees of parliament was their interest, as well as their duty. That, in an empire extended and diversified as that of Great Britain, there must be a supreme legislature, to which all other power must be subordinate. But," he adds, "it is our happiness that our supreme legislature, the parliament of Great Britain, is the sanctuary of liberty and justice; and that the prince who presides over it, realizes the idea of a patriot king. Surely, then, we should submit our opinions to the determination of so august a body, and acquiesce in a perfect confidence that the rights of the members of the British empire, will ever be safe in the hands of the conservators of the liberties of the whole."

If the honorable governor expected by this flimsy expedient to smooth the way for the enforcement of the stamp act, he was doomed to disappointment. Not the slightest response was made to the speech, and such silence was the more ominous from the fact that an answering address had customarily been voted. In the afternoon of the same day, however, the assembly appointed committees to consider and report upon certain specified clauses of the speech, which were considered to demand attention, as directly affecting the commercial interests of the province. On the 5th of June, the speaker appointed a committee to report upon the last paragraph of the governor's message. For various reasons, nothing was heard from any of these committees. On the following day, however, the house, "taking into consideration the many difficulties to which the colonies were and must be reduced, by the operation of some late acts of parliament for levying duties and taxes on the colonies," appointed a committee consisting of the speaker and eight other members, including James Otis, to consider and report as to the proper course of action in the premises. This committee had its report already prepared. It was from the pen of Mr. Otis, and recommended that the assembly should communicate with the representative body of each colony, urging a meeting of persons delegated by the various assemblies and houses of burgesses, to consult concerning the condition of the colonies, and the best means of meeting the serious difficulties arising from the attempt of Great Britain to levy

internal taxes; also to prepare a general and humble address to the king and parliament, imploring relief. It was further recommended that the meeting be held in New York, on the first Tuesday of the ensuing October, and that a committee of three members of the house be appointed to represent Massachusetts. The report was accepted without debate or dissent, and the committee appointed, Otis being made one of its members. The resolutions were drawn by Mr. Otis, and, though there has been some disposition to dispute the priority of Massachusetts in the movement, the best authorities are united in conceding that to that colony at large, and to Mr. Otis, in particular, is due the credit of originating the scheme of confederation which culminated in the Continental Congress, and bore fruit under the constitution of 1787. To Otis was due the silence of the earlier appointed committee, which, had it carried out the purposes of its appointment, would but have involved the colony in an idle discussion with a subordinate and irresponsible officer of the crown. He held that the time for discussion was past, and that only action, and that united, well directed and wise, could save, at once, the rights and the dignity of the American colonies.

With the passage of the Otis resolutions, ended for the time, in Massachusetts, all legislative concern with the stamp act. The popular sentiment was strongly aroused, but a populace is in one respect like a child,—it is slow to recognize a principle, but seizes at once the material fact which results. So the people of Boston, who had been content with public and respectful protests against an abstract invasion of their rights, so soon as came the first symptoms of the enforcement of the stamp act, were lashed into an ungoverned and ungovernable fury. Andrew Oliver had solicited the appointment of distributor of the stamps, and, feeling assured that he should receive it, had caused to be erected a small building for use as a stamp office. Early on the morning of August 14th, an effigy of Oliver was discovered hanging by the neck to a branch of a tree on Main street. No one admitted any knowledge of the authors of the grim suggestion, and Hutchinson, chief justice of the province, and a relative of Oliver, gave orders to the sheriff to remove the object, and, should any opposition be made, report the names of the offenders. The sheriff, with rare discretion, committed the execution of this order to his deputies, and they, not caring to similarly ornament the remaining boughs of the tree, returned and reported the opposition too formidable to be trifled with. So said the sheriff to the chief-justice, and the latter at once convened the council. This body was either not entirely devoid of sympathy with the rabble, or possessed a degree of caution equal to that of the original messengers, for, neither at this session nor at one called later in the day, were any steps taken to secure the removal of the oscillating duplicate of the unhappy Oliver. All day a crowd of defiant citizens remained assembled about the tree. At nightfall they cut the effigy down, bore it solemnly

through the town, and, passing through the lower corridor of the town-house, while the lieutenant-governor sat overhead, in solemn consultation with his counselors, moved on to Oliver's stamp office, which they leveled to the ground. They then proceeded to Fort hill, kindled a fire, and burned the effigy. Yet they were not satisfied. Going to Oliver's house, which was not far off, they frightened its owner and family into a precipitate flight, then broke down the fence which inclosed it, shattered the windows, and even damaged furniture and pictures within. Hutchinson had sufficient courage to attempt to prevent this outrage, but was glad to retire with a sound body. Mr. Oliver, on the following day, transmitted to England his resignation of the office of stamp distributor, and under the tree where his effigy had been suspended gave a most humble and solemn assurance that he would not resume it. Having thus disposed of Oliver, the mob turned their attention to Hutchinson, who was not only chief-justice but lieutenant-governor. On the evening of the day of Oliver's recantation, they went to Hutchinson's house, and demanded that he show himself and avow that he had not been in favor of the stamp act. The lieutenant of the crown had, however, put several good miles between himself and his over-zealous townsmen, having retired to his country place at Milton. There he remained for twelve days, at the end of which time, deeming return safe, he again occupied his home in Boston. That very night the house was destroyed by the rioters, giving Hutchinson and his family barely time to escape with their lives. Other houses, among which were those of the register of the admiralty and the collector of the customs, were seriously damaged.

On the following day, a town meeting was held, and declared, by a unanimous vote, its unqualified condemnation of the high-handed proceedings of the mob. There was something bordering on the humorous in this vote, as the meeting which passed it probably embraced a very large proportion of the men who had done the mischief.

Adams was not in Boston during this excitement, having been called to Martha's Vineyard on legal business, but he was shocked and mortified at the course taken by the people. None of them surpassed him in condemning the stamp act, and in determination to secure its repeal, yet he possessed the first requisite of popular leadership, in his ability to remain cool in the face of provocation; to weigh the justice and advisability of actions, to withstand the clamor of the popular voice, to look beyond immediate to remote results, and to calmly determine his course with a view to its furthest and least obvious effects. He was not free from anxiety lest there might be some connection between his Braintree resolutions and the unlawful acts of the people; he was solicitous for the cause; anxious to avoid its injury, either by weak inaction or ill-judged zeal; yet, while he condemned the manifestation of the latter, he could not but recognize it as

springing from a new born determination of the people, in itself of the greatest value.

There was, in fact, never more than a shadow of royal authority in Boston, from the day of the appointment of an agent to distribute the obnoxious stamps. Several of the participants in the riots were arrested and placed in jail, but the people compelled the surrender of the keys, opened the doors, and set them at liberty. On the 20th of September, 1765, arrived a vessel, bearing the stamps for the New England colonies. Oliver having resigned, there was no one in Boston possessing either authority or temerity to land and unpack them. On the 25th the general court was convened, with a speech from his excellency, which might stand as a monument to bad judgment. Professing to be conciliatory, it was, in fact, menacing, and menacing, too, in a querulous, rather than a dignified, tone. He relied for the removal of the popular opposition, and that of the court, principally upon his statement that a refusal to use the stamps must react severely upon the province, by compelling the closing of the custom-house, courts of law, and the general interruption of every form of business involving the passage of contracts and indentures. He closed by asking: "In short, can this province bear a cessation of law and justice, and of trade and navigation, at a time when the business of the year is to be wound up, and the severe season is hastily approaching? These," he added, "are serious and alarming questions, which demand a cool and dispassionate consideration."

The governor had sadly mistaken the spirit of the men with whom he had to deal. They were not to be conciliated by the chaff of his promises, or to be moved by the sophistry of his flimsy arguments. Even the suggestion that, in the event of their being convinced of the propriety of submitting to the enforcement of the stamp act, a recess should be granted, to permit them to go to their homes, and bring their constituents to the same happy state of humility, met with more ridicule than respect. The formal speech was supplemented by a message announcing the arrival of the stamps, and asking advice what should be done with them. To this, a prompt answer was returned by both houses, that, as the stamps had been brought into the colony without their consent, they did not feel called upon to give any aid or assistance in the matter.

In the early stages of the discussion, James Otis had published a pamphlet, in which he explicitly admitted the right of parliament to pass laws binding upon the colonies, and made an argument specifically against the stamp act, upon special grounds. The colonial assembly had as explicitly recognized the same right. Very many of the best thinkers of the colonies disagreed with this view of the case, and held that the opposition should be so directed as to strike, not the stamp act alone, but the fundamental error upon which it was based, so that success might not mean merely a tempo-

rary relief, with the possibility of meeting in the future enactments quite as obnoxious and more carefully considered. Among those who so thought were Samuel Adams, newly elected a member of the assembly, and John Adams, whose authorship of the Braintree resolutions had given his opinions a certain weight. During the session of the assembly, to which reference has been made, Otis was absent, attending the convention at New York. Samuel Adams took the occasion to draw, and introduce in the assembly, a preamble and fourteen resolutions, which completely changed the aspect of the struggle. He went to the root of the matter; denied the right of parliament to tax the colonies; asserted that taxation and representation are correlative, and that representation of the colonies in parliament was necessarily impossible. The last resolution contained a declaration of respect and loyalty to the king, which, like the wings of a griffin, was conventional if not useful.

These resolutions were adopted on the 30th of October, and on November 1st the stamp act ostensibly went into force. An attempt was made to secure the adoption of a resolution in the house, that it was necessary to proceed with the business of the courts and the custom house without stamps; this, Hutchinson succeeded in defeating, and, finding that the assembly became daily more bold and defiant, he prorogued it on the 8th of November until the 15th of January. The opinions of Mr. Adams regarding the all-absorbing question of the time cannot be better conveyed than by quotation from his diary. On the 18th of December, he wrote:

"That enormous engine, fabricated by the British parliament, for battering down all the rights and liberties of America, I mean the stamp act, has raised and spread through the whole continent a spirit that will be recorded to our honor with all future generations. In every colony, from Georgia to New Hampshire inclusively, the stamp distributors and inspectors have been compelled, by the unconquerable rage of the people, to renounce their offices. Such and so universal has been the resentment of the people, that every man who has dared to speak in favor of the stamps, or to soften the detestation in which they are held, how great soever his abilities and virtues had been esteemed before, or whatever his fortune, connections, or influence had been, has been seen to sink into universal contempt and ignominy. The people, even to the lowest ranks, have become more attentive to their liberties, more inquisitive about them, and more determined to defend them, than they were ever before known, or had occasion to be; innumerable have been the monuments of wit, humor, sense, learning, spirit, patriotism, and heroism, erected in the several colonies and provinces, in the course of this year. Our presses have groaned, our pulpits have labored, our legislatures have resolved, our towns have voted; the crown officers have everywhere trembled, and all their little tools and creatures been afraid to speak and ashamed to be seen.

"This spirit, however, has not yet been sufficient to banish from persons in authority that timidity which they have discovered from the beginning. The executive courts have not yet dared to adjudge the stamp act void, nor to proceed with business as usual, though it would seem that necessity alone should be sufficient to justify business at present, though the act should be allowed to be obligatory. The stamps are in the castle. Mr. Oliver has no commission. The governor has no authority to distribute, or even unpack the bales; the act has never been proclaimed, nor read in the province; yet the probate office is shut, the custom house is shut, the courts of justice are shut, and all business seems at a stand. Yesterday and the day before, the two last days of service for January term, only one man asked me for a writ, and he was soon determined to waive his request. I have not drawn a writ since the first of November. How long we are to remain in this condition, this passive obedience to the stamp act, is not certain, but such a pause cannot be lasting. Debtors grow insolent, creditors grow angry, and it is to be expected that the public offices will very soon be forced open, unless such favorable accounts should be received from England as to draw away the fears of the great, or unless a greater dread of the multitude should drive away fear of censure from Great Britain.

"It is my opinion that by this inactivity we discover cowardice, and too much respect to the act. This rest appears to be, by implication at least, an acknowledgment of the authority of parliament to tax us. If this authority is once acknowledged and established, the ruin of America will become inevitable. This long interval of indolence and idleness will make a large chasm in my affairs, if it should not reduce me to distress, and incapacitate me to answer the demands upon me. But I must endeavor in some degree to compensate the disadvantage, by posting my books, reducing my accounts into better order, and diminishing my expenses,—but, above all, by improving the leisure of this winter in a diligent application to my studies. The bar seems to me to behave like a flock of shot pigeons; they seem to be stopped; the net seems to be thrown over them, and they have scarcely courage left to flounce, and to flutter. So sudden an interruption in my career is very unfortunate for me. I was just getting into my gears; just getting under sail and an embargo is laid upon my ship. Thirty years of my life are passed in preparation for business; I have had poverty to struggle with; envy, jealousy and malice of enemies to encounter; no friends, or but few, to assist me; so that I have passed in dark obscurity, till of late, and had but just become known, and gained a small degree of reputation, when this execrable project was set on foot, to my ruin, as well as that of America in general, and of Great Britain."

CHAPTER IV.

ANTI-STAMP ARGUMENTS AND MEASURES—THE "BOSTON MASSACRE."

ON the very day when was made the long journal entry, quoted at the close of the last chapter, a town meeting was held in Boston, at which it was determined that a memorial be presented to the governor and council, protesting against the closing of the courts as a denial of justice, and demanding that they be at once re-opened. Mr. Samuel Adams drew the memorial; to it was added a request that the town of Boston might be heard by counsel upon the matter. The memorial was forthwith forwarded, and the request for a hearing at once granted. On the day following John Adams received, at his home at Braintree, the following letter:

"SIR: I am directed, by the town, to notify you that they have this day voted unanimously that Jeremiah Gridley, James Otis, and John Adams, esquires, be applied to as counsel to appear before his excellency the governor, in council, in support of their memorial, praying that the courts of law in this province may be opened. A copy of said memorial will be handed you, upon your coming to town.

"I am, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

WILLIAM COOPER,
Town Clerk.

"John Adams, Esq.

"Boston, December 18, 1765."

The selection of so young a man, and one not a resident of the town, was an honor of which Mr. Adams might well feel proud; proud he was, and very much surprised, but he did not give himself very much time for self-gratulation or conjecture, going, at once, as always, to the root of the matter, and questioning of himself how he might best perform this unexpected duty. His journal of the 19th says, after quoting the letter referred to: "The reason which induced Boston to choose me, at a distance and unknown as I am, the particular persons concerned, and measures concerted to bring this about, I am wholly at a loss to conjecture, as I am what the

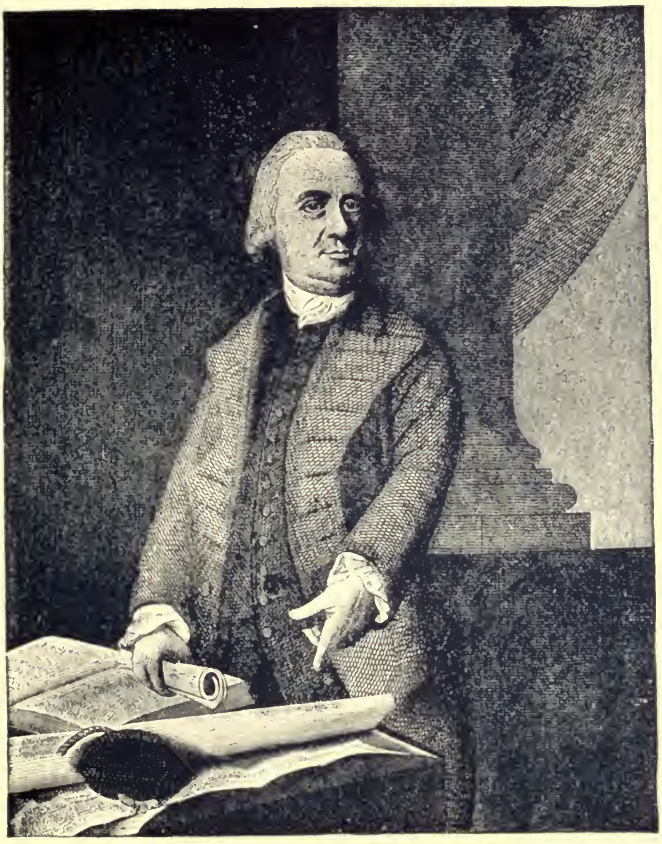
future effects and consequences will be, both with regard to myself and the public. But, when I recollect my own reflections and speculations yesterday, a part of which were committed to writing last night, and may be seen under December 18th, and compare them with the proceedings of Boston yesterday, of which the foregoing letter informed me, I cannot but wonder and call to mind my Lord Bacon's observation about secret inexorable laws of nature, and communications and influence, between places, that are not discoverable by sense. But I am now under all obligations of interest and ambition, as well as honor, gratitude, and duty, to exert the utmost of my abilities in this important cause. How shall it be conducted; shall we contend that the stamp act is void—that the parliament has no authority to impose internal taxes upon us, because we are not represented in it, and, therefore, that the stamp act ought to be waived, by the judges, as against natural equity and the constitution? Shall we use these as arguments for opening the courts of law? or shall we ground ourselves on necessity only?"

On Friday, the 20th of December, Mr. Adams went to Boston and, in company with his associates in the matter, spent the whole day in attendance before the committee of the town and a large number of citizens. During this meeting Adams stated quite freely his views of the matter. After the candles had been lighted, came a message from the governor, that he was in session with his council, and would hear the argument of the issues arising under the memorial, but that no persons save the counsel for the town should be permitted to attend. Having reached the chamber the governor recommended that the counsel should divide their argument among them by topics, thus avoiding repetition. Gridley was attorney-general of the crown; Otis had committed himself, in the pamphlet referred to, to a narrow line of defense—neither desired to assail the stamp act as unconstitutional and void. Hence to Adams fell the lot of making the only points against the act which could have justified the governor in ignoring it. As junior counsel, he made the opening argument and that, too, upon a question which had never before been raised in any court, and entirely without special preparation. His argument went to the root of the matter; beginning with the assumption that the stamp act was not in any sense the act of the memorialists, they having never consented to it, he proceeded to demonstrate the necessary correlation of taxation with representation. Then, descending from the general to the specific, he urged the absence of any officer commissioned to distribute the stamps and the consequent impossibility of enforcing the law, as sufficient excuse for opening the courts to prevent a denial of justice. Mr. Otis discussed the enforced infraction of the judges' oaths, and Mr. Gridley confined his argument to the immediate damage and inconveniences caused by the closing of the courts. The governor refused to entertain the memorial or to go into its merits, holding that, while the arguments were many of them very good ones, the application

could only properly lie to the court of law; that the determination of such a question by the governor and council of a province, would be unprecedented and would lay the former open to the charge of arrogating to himself powers which he did not possess. This answer was but an evasion, and Bernard's course throughout was evidently disingenuous. If he did not possess authority in the mattter of the memorial, he must have known it before consenting to hear counsel, and his action bears the appearance of having been dictated by a desire to know the attitude which the town would take toward the question. His decision, that an application to open the courts must be made to those courts, though closed, calls for no comment. Upon the question of damage and inconvenience, arising from the stoppage of the legal machinery of the colony, he may justly have held that, as Oliver's enforced resignation of his office was the act of the people, the people must suffer the consequences.

On the day following the argument before the governor, Adams was requested to attend a meeting of the committee of the town, called for that day. He was, consequently, present. The counsel reported the result of the argument, including the recommendation of the governor that the judges should take upon themselves the decision of the question. The meeting received the report, then voted unanimously that the reply of the governor was not satisfactory. The counsel were called on in turn to express their opinion in the premises. There was the inevitable difference among them as to the course most advisable to be adopted, but all were united in the opinion that the proposed application to the judges would be alike ineffectual and injudicious, while the balance of opinion seemed to favor postponing the matter for the time, at least, and, with this, the meeting adjourned.

It is impossible to further follow the history of the anti-stamp agitation. Every effort to obtain redress failing, the law was openly defied, by the courts of the colony, by individual citizens, and even in the custom houses; the stamps grew moldy in the store-houses, the authority of the crown and parliament was scouted, and, at last, an ignominious repeal of the act put a period to the agitation. The repeal of the stamp act lacked but one element of wisdom. Had it been an unconditional retreat from the position of the British administration, there would have been an end of all trouble in the matter. As it was, the act of repeal strongly reaffirmed the right of taxation, though it removed an obnoxious law. The people were, however, in no mood for hair-splitting, and were ready enough to accept and rejoice in their victory, though they reserved to themselves the right to oppose, with vigor, any effort to enforce the right assumed by the crown. As no such occasion came at once, the years immediately following the repeal were quiet and tranquil. Business fell again into its old routine, commerce thrived, the courts moved smoothly, and a casual observer might



SAMUEL ADAMS.

well have failed to recognize the truth that the bonds which united the colonies to Great Britain had been so rudely strained and stretched that their parting was a certainty, and one, too, not remote.

Adams accepted, with thankfulness, the opportunity thus given for returning to the practice of his profession. The stoppage of the courts had caused a considerable accumulation of business. His retainer by the town of Boston had greatly added to a reputation already reasonably well established, and he reaped his full share of the harvest of fees which came to the impoverished bar of the province. From the year 1766 onward, until public events again called him to the service of the province, his course was one of steady and increasing prosperity. In the spring of 1768 he removed his residence from Braintree to Boston. He had, in fact, quite outgrown the little rural arena in which he had fought his maiden battle. His business had grown to be large, and of an important class, and more and more, day by day, had centered in the capital of the province. He had already attained a position of leadership in Braintree, being a selectman of the town, and much consulted on every local question. His departure from the town, and the consequent resignation of his office, were sincerely regretted by his fellow citizens, and there were not lacking those who considered that he had foolishly surrendered the brightest political prospects. Of his life, during the year 1768, he gives this vivid picture in his diary:

"To what object are my views directed? What is the end and purpose of my studies, journeys, labors, of all kinds, of body and mind, of tongue and pen. Am I grasping at money, or scheming for power? Am I planning the illustration of my family, or the welfare of my country? These are great questions. In truth, I am tossed about so much, from post to pillar, that I have not leisure and tranquility enough to consider distinctly my own views, objects, and feelings. I am certain, however, that the course I pursue will neither lead me to fame, fortune, power, nor to the service of my friends, clients, or country. What plan of reading, reflection, or business can be pursued by a man who is now at Pownalborough, then at Martha's Vineyard, next at Boston, then at Taunton, presently at Barnstable, then at Concord, now at Salem, then at Cambridge, and afterwards at Worcester? Now at sessions, then at pleas, now in admiralty, now at supreme court, then in the gallery of the House? What a dissipation must this be! Is it possible to pursue a regular course of thinking in this desultory life? By no means. It is a life of "here and everywhere;"—to use the expression that is applied to Othello by Desdemona's father, a rambling, roaming, vagrant, vagabond life; a wandering life. At Mein's book store, at Bowe's shop, at Dana's house, at Fitch's, Otis' office, and the clerk's office, in the court chamber, in the gallery, at my own fire, I am thinking on the same plan.

Scarcely was Mr. Adams settled in Boston, before came overtures from

the government party to gain his service, if not his sympathy. Mr. Jonathan Sewall still continued in warm and intimate friendship with him, though the questions of the past few years had drifted them, politically, very far apart. Coming to his house one day, Sewall announced his intention of remaining to dine with him, and, after the meal was over, first secured the privacy of their conversation, then conveyed to him the desire of Governor Bernard, that he should accept the vacant post of advocate general in the court of admiralty. The offer was accompanied by an intimation that his political opinions had been taken into account, and that his acceptance of the proffered position would not be regarded as in any sense a compromise of them. The offer was a very flattering one; its acceptance promised honor and emolument, yet he declined it. His reasons; and his manner of so doing are stated in his autobiography: "My answer to Mr. Sewall was very prompt: That I was sensible of the honor done me by the Governor; but must be excused from accepting his offer. Mr. Sewall enquired, Why; what was my objection? I answered that he knew very well my political principles, the system I had adopted, and the connections and friendships I had formed in consequence of them. He also knew that the British government, including the king, his ministers, and parliament, apparently supported by a great majority of the nation, were persevering in a system wholly inconsistent with all my ideas of right, justice, and policy, and therefore I could not place myself in a situation in which my duty and my inclination would be so much at variance. To this Mr. Sewall returned that he was instructed by the Governor to say that he knew my political sentiments very well, but they should be no objection to him. I should be at full liberty to entertain my own opinions, which he did not wish to influence by this office. He had offered it to me merely because he believed I was best qualified for it, and because he relied on my integrity. I replied that this was going as far in the generosity and liberality of his sentiments as the Governor could go, or as I could desire, if I could accept the office; but that I knew it would lay me under restraints and obligations that I could not submit to, and, therefore, I could not, in honor or conscience, accept it. Mr. Sewall paused, and then, resuming the subject, asked: 'Why are you so quick and sudden in your determination? You had better take it under consideration, and give me your answer at some future day.' I told him my answer had been ready because my mind was clear and my determination decided and unalterable; that my advice would be that Mr. Fitch should be appointed, to whose views the office would be perfectly agreeable. Mr. Sewall said he should certainly give me time to think of it. I said that time would produce no change, and he had better make his report immediately. We parted, and about three weeks afterwards he came to me again, and hoped I had thought more favorably on the subject; that the Governor had sent for him, and told him the public

business suffered, and the office must be filled. I told him my judgment, and inclination, and determination were unalterably fixed, and that I had hoped Mr. Fitch would be appointed before that time. Mr. Fitch, however, never was appointed. He acted for the crown by the appointment of the judge, from day to day, but had never any commission from the crown, or appointment of the Governor."

The relinquishment of so fair a chance of advancement is an illustration of the strict moral consistency of Mr. Adams, and, at the same time, proves beyond question, that he saw in the temporary tranquility of the province, only a lull in the storm; that he looked for a renewal of the active discontent which the repeal of the stamp act had, for the time, stilled; and saw how inevitably would he be compelled either to surrender the office offered him, or to give to the king only a lip service, his heart going with the cause of the king's discontented, perhaps even rebellious, subjects. This fortunate prevision kept him free from entanglements, and free from even the suspicion of having compromised his principles for place and money, and thus preserved him for the highest service of his province in the doubtful struggle which was, in fact, very near at hand.

Almost immediately after Mr. Adams' settlement in Boston, he set out to attend court at Worcester, Springfield, and some other towns throughout the province, and during his absence occurred three of the most important events preliminary to the revolution, any one of which would have sufficiently vindicated the wisdom of his refusal to accept office at the hands of the crown. These were the holding of the Boston convention, the arrival of the royal commissioners of customs, and the landing of the British soldiers,—ostensibly a protective garrison, in reality an army of occupation. Governor Bernard had dissolved the general court, and refused to call a new session of the Legislature; the troops were quartered within the town, and the cost of their maintenance was to be enforced as a charge against the people of Boston. The arrival of the army was the first cast of the administration in the new game for the subduing of the recalcitrant colony. Legislative imposition had been contemptuously cast off; it was evident that the dread of British power, as an abstraction, had not sufficient weight to insure respect for the laws of parliament and the policy of ministries; that power must be materialized;—and so there came the gleam of white sails in the offing, guns frowned along the grim flanks of a fleet not from, but toward, the little city, and there marched through its streets, seven hundred red-coated incarnations of royal power, while the inhabitants were told that more were yet to follow. In this predicament—the general court dissolved, the Governor an enemy, and the chief justice little less—the town of Boston held a public meeting on the 12th and 13th of September, at which it was resolved that the king, in time of peace, had no right to station troops within the colony, without an expressed and official request so to do. On the

14th, a circular was addressed to the selectmen of other towns within the province, requesting them to send delegates to a convention to be held in Boston on the 22nd. The reasons assigned for holding this convention were those obviously suggested by the presence of the army, and, very unwisely, the evidently false one of "prospect of a war with France." This ostrich-like effort to conceal the aim of the selectmen, by hiding the head, while the body remained exposed, laid a very just, dignified and respectable movement open to unmerited contempt, and very considerably detracted from its weight. In spite, however, of this mistake, and of the short notice given, more than one hundred towns were represented in the convention. The proceedings were mainly in the nature of protests against the military occupation and the billeting act; the convention expressly disavowed the possession of legislative powers, and its importance was principally in the indication it gave of a determination on the part of the people to protect their rights to extremities.

The arrival of the soldiers aroused the people to fury; they refused to provide for the accommodation of the troops, and demanded that they be quartered at the castle, without the city proper; this request might have been granted, but for the meeting of the convention, which the Governor and General Gage chose to regard as so nearly approaching an act of treason, as to absolve them from considering the feelings of the people. Hence, Faneuil hall and other public buildings were converted into barracks, pending an effort to enforce the billeting act, and, this quite failing, it eventually became necessary to hire houses for the purpose. Even this was only accomplished with great difficulty, and at exorbitant cost.

There were not lacking persons ready enough to inflame the people against the soldiers; the latter could not go abroad singly or in small parties without being taunted, insulted, and sometimes assailed by mobs of citizens "of the baser sort," and so the rancor and hatred of the people were returned most heartily by the troops. Finally, on the night of the 5th of March, 1770, a crowd larger than usual being upon the streets, a sentry, on guard, was insulted by a passer-by; a brawl ensued; a corporal's guard came to the assistance of the imperiled soldier, and, gathering about him, faced the citizens, not more than twenty-five or thirty of whom were gathered. The latter proceeded from abuse to violence, hurling clubs, stones, and other missiles, at the red-coats, until the position of the latter became really perilous; then the guard—some say of their own accord, and others under the orders of their commander, Captain Preston—fired upon the crowd, killing five of the bystanders, more or less active participants in the riot. The people were aroused to the point of madness by this occurrence. The British commander drew in his force to a defensible part of the town, planted cannon to sweep the streets, and only by these precautions were prevented general riot and fearful bloodshed, which seemed inevitable.

CHAPTER V.

DEFENSE OF THE SOLDIERS—ELECTED TO THE ASSEMBLY—CONTROVERSY WITH BOWDOIN.

WHEN had passed the first excitement aroused by the "Boston massacre," came the demand for the trial of the captain and soldiers who had been engaged in the affair. All surrendered themselves, and were promptly indicted for murder. At this point began Adams' connection with the case, best told in the language of his autobiography. "The next morning, I think it was, sitting in my office near the steps of the town-house stairs, Mr. Forrest came in, who was then called the 'Irish infant.' I had some acquaintance with him. With tears streaming from his eyes, he said, 'I am come with a very solemn message from a very unfortunate man,—Captain Preston,—in prison. He wishes for counsel, and can get none. I have waited on Mr. Quincy, who says he will engage if you will give him your assistance; without it, he positively will not. Even Mr. Auchmuty declines, unless you will engage.' I had no hesitation in answering that counsel ought to be the very last thing that an accused person should want, in a free country; that the bar ought, in my opinion, to be independent and impartial, at all times and in every circumstance, and that persons whose lives were at stake ought to have the counsel they preferred. But he must be sensible this would be as important a cause as was ever tried in any court or country of the world, and that every lawyer must hold himself responsible, not only to his country, but to the highest and most infallible of all tribunals, for the part he should act. He must, therefore, expect from me no art or address, no sophistry or prevarication, in such a cause, nor anything more than fact, evidence, and law would justify. 'Captain Preston,' he said, 'requested and desired no more; and that he had such an opinion, from all he had heard from all parties, of me, that he could cheerfully trust his life with me, upon those principles. And,' said Forrest, 'as God Almighty is my judge, I believe him an innocent man.' I replied: That must be ascertained by his trial, and, if he believes he can-

not have a fair trial of that issue without my assistance, without hesitation he shall have it.

"Upon this Forrest offered me a single guinea as a retaining fee, and I readily accepted it. From first to last I never said a word about fees, in any of those cases, and I should have said nothing about them here, if calumnies and insinuations had not been propagated that I was tempted by great fees and enormous sums of money. Before or after the trial, Preston sent me ten guineas, and, at the trial of the soldiers afterward, eight guineas more, which were all the fees I ever received or were offered to me, and I should not have said anything on the subject to my clients, if they had never offered me anything. This was all the pecuniary reward I ever had for fourteen or fifteen days' labor, in the most exhausting and fatiguing cases I ever tried, for hazarding a popularity very general and very hardly earned, and for incurring a clamor, popular suspicions and prejudices, which are not yet worn out, and never will be forgotten as long as the history of this period is read. It was immediately bruited about that I was engaged for Preston and the soldiers, and occasioned a great clamor, which the friends of government delighted to hear and slyly and secretly foment with all their art."

The trial of the soldiers was postponed to a later term of court. The account of the trial, when it was called, survives very briefly in the autobiography, and may be again quoted: "Not long after the adjournment of the general court, came on the trial of Captain Preston and the soldiers. I shall say little of these cases. Preston's trial was taken down in shorthand and sent to England, but was never printed here. I told the court and jury in both cases that, as I was no authority, I would propose to them no law from my own memory, but would read to them all I had to say of that nature from books, which the court knew, and the counsel on the other side must acknowledge, to be indisputable authorities. The rule was carefully observed, but the authorities were so clear and full that no question of law was made. The juries in both cases, in my opinion, gave correct verdicts. It appeared to me that the greatest service which could be rendered to the people of the town, was to lay before them the law as it stood, that they might be fully apprised of the dangers of various kinds, which must arise from intemperate heats and irregular commotions. Although the clamor was very loud, among some sorts of people, it has been a great consolation to me through life, that I acted, in this business, with steady impartiality, and conducted it to so happy an issue."

Six of the eight soldiers were acquitted on this trial; the others were convicted of manslaughter, and, pleading a benefit of clergy, were branded on the hand and released. In the continuation, by Charles Francis Adams, of the memoir of his grandfather, begun by John Quincy Adams, is given a considerable extract from the speech of the illustrious counsel for the

defense. It was simple, scholarly, and, in every sentence, to the question. It opened as follows: "May it please your honors, and you gentlemen of the jury, I am for the prisoners at the bar, and shall apologize for it only in the language of the Marquis Beccaria: 'If I can but be the instrument of preserving one life, his blessing and tears of transport shall be sufficient consolation to me for the contempt of mankind.'" This was, in reality, the view of the case taken by Mr. Adams. It is easier now to undervalue than to appreciate the real strength of character necessary to the assumption and performance of what he felt to be his duty. The defense of Charles I., against the charges of the commonwealth; of Louis XVI., against the fury of the revolutionists; of Wilkes Booth, had his death not anticipated trial, against the charge of murder—these, while the right may have lain on a different side of the case, will convey some faint idea of the hazard of Mr. Adams' decision. All the respect in which he was held; all the reputation gained by years of conscientious uprightness; all the hope of future success and preferment, which exists in the breast of every generous man,—all these were placed in the balance, and weighed not at all against his persuasion of justice and duty. Quincy, who was associated with him in the trial, received from his father a letter, remonstrating against any connection with the matter. He answered bravely and manfully, as would Adams, had he been put to the test: "To inquire my duty, and do it, is my aim. I dare affirm that you and this whole people will one day rejoice that I became an advocate for the aforesaid criminals, charged with the murder of our fellow-citizens."

As a matter of fact, however, Adams lost nothing of popularity by his action. The best element of the people came to recognize, in the soberness of afterthought, the fact that he was right in his judgment, and that the killing of the five citizens, which, even to this day, is miscalled the "Boston massacre," was, in fact, the simplest act of self-defense on the part of the soldiers. Pending the trial, James Bowdoin, a member of the house of representatives, had been advanced to the council, leaving a vacancy in the former body. A special election was held on the 6th of June, and Mr. Adams was elected successor of Bowdoin, by a vote of four hundred and eighteen out of a total poll of five hundred and thirty-six votes. He thus gives an account of the event in his autobiography:

"I had never been to Boston town meeting, and was not at this until messengers came to inform me that I was chosen. I went down to Faneuil hall, and, in a few words, expressive of my sense of the difficulty and danger of the times, of the importance of the trust, and of my own insufficiency to fulfil the expectations of the people, I accepted the choice. Many congratulations were offered, which I received civilly, but they gave no joy to me. I considered the step a devotion of my family to ruin, and myself to death; for I could scarce perceive a possibility that I should ever go

through the thorns and leap all the precipices before me and escape with my life. At this time, I had more business at the bar than any man in the province. My health was feeble. I was throwing away as bright prospects as any man ever had before him, and I had devoted myself to endless labor and anxiety, if not to infamy and to death, and that for nothing, except what indeed was, and ought to be in all, a sense of duty. In the evening I expressed to Mrs. Adams all my apprehensions. That excellent lady, who has always encouraged me, burst into a flood of tears, but said she was very sensible of all the danger to her and to our children, as well as to me, but she thought I had done as I ought; she was very willing to share in all that was to come, and place her trust in Providence."

Mr. Adams at once proceeded to Cambridge and took his seat in the general court, which had been convened at that place by the governor, as a punishment of the contumacious Bostonians. A little anecdote related in the autobiography is somewhat amusing. At that session the words "In general court assembled and by authority of the same," were replaced in the preamble of bills presented, having been before used, but dropped at the instance of a former king's governor, Shirley, who then lived at Roxbury. Quite a dispute arose on the subject of the use of this form, and the old ex-governor, having read of it in the papers, asked: "Who has revived those old words? They were expunged during my administration." "The Boston seat," was the answer. "And who are the Boston seat?" "Mr. Cushing, Mr. Hancock, Mr. Samuel Adams, and Mr. John Adams." "Mr. Cushing I know, and Mr. Hancock I know," he replied, "but where the devil this brace of Adamses came from, I know not."

Mr. Adams continued a representative of the town of Boston until the spring of 1771, when, compelled by the failure of his health, he removed his family to the old home at Braintree. His legislative service was very arduous. Never a man to assume a duty without solemnly dedicating himself to its performance; recognized as the foremost constitutional lawyer of the province, he was constantly employed upon committees having to deal with one or another of the multitudinous phases of the contest between the crown and the province. He drew long reports and resolutions, many of which involved laborious and exhaustive legal research; he conducted protracted and trying arguments in the press; he labored with the people to keep alive the independent sentiments which he feared would be weakened by the lessening of immediate cause of irritation. During the session of 1770, he was appointed upon no less than eighteen special committees, every one of which called for important service which fell very largely to his lot. In addition to his regular and special labor as a legislator, he continued to carry on his practice as a lawyer, the largest in the province, and to respond to constant calls for advice and assistance in matters of public moment, and, beyond all these, the social demands inevitably made upon a man of his posi-

tion—all combined to deprive him of leisure for rest or study, and eventually to undermine his health and seriously threaten his life. He did not, upon the removal of his family, give up his office in Boston, but, save for a few weeks, while absent in quest of health, was almost daily in the city, and gave much attention to his practice. In November of the year 1772, finding himself much stronger and tired of the inconvenient ride from Braintree to Boston, he purchased a house in the latter town and once more removed his residence there, at the same time determining not to be drawn into politics. How soon he was compelled, by a sense of duty, to give over this resolve and plunge into a heated and dangerous contest, is a matter of familiar history.

In 1773 came the proposal to take the judicial officers of the province into the king's pay, thus making them dependent, not only for their places, but for their support, upon the crown, and winning, if possible, a subservience which should be useful in securing the suppression of "incendiary" processes. This plan, and the subsequent enactment in which it was crystallized, while they did not so immediately appeal to the fears of the common people as did the stamp act, excited greater apprehension among the thinking men of the community. The former was a single act of overbearing injustice, falling under the control of these courts, and within the statutes, the rules of the common law, and the guaranties of the constitution, which would justify its defeat whenever its evident conflict with any of them should be manifest; the latter was a deeper, more vital, in every way more dangerous blow. It struck at the very foundation of things, threatening the principal safeguard of popular liberty, and promising to open the way for the unopposed enforcement of the most tyrannous decrees of the home government. No one was more anxious or instant in opposing the innovation, than was Adams. He, however, made no public expression in the matter until William Brattle, of Cambridge, who had been heartily opposed to the stamp act, but had since succumbed to the wiles of Hutchinson, made a speech in favor of the new judiciary act, in a town meeting, at which the citizens had almost unanimously voted to instruct their representative to oppose that measure. After making a succession of mis-statements, and advancing a series of sophisms, he challenged, by name, several persons, including Mr. Adams, to oppose his arguments. But for the fear that his silence might be interpreted as an assent, Mr. Adams would probably have passed even so direct a challenge without notice, but as Brattle published his argument and defiance in one of the Boston papers, the matter seemed to demand attention. Hence, Adams prepared and published, in the Boston Gazette, during the early months of 1775, a series of eight letters, which completely silenced Brattle, and did very much in awakening the people to appreciation of the enormous wrong meditated.

The burden of the argument tended to enforce the necessity of main-

taining an independent judiciary, directly responsible to the people; to point the effect of transferring to the home government the payment as well as the appointment of judges, in undermining their independence, and, lastly, to prove the desirability of making the tenure of their office continue during good behavior, and to show that such a tenure did not, as argued by Brattle, already exist in the province. Hutchinson could not have been more devoted to the interests of the administration had he been born and lived in Mayfair. Though a native of Massachusetts, and a life-long associate with the leaders of the liberty movement, he had given or sold himself, body and soul, to the king, held several judicial offices in addition to the governorship, and had handsomely provided for his relatives and friends. He was thoroughly in sympathy with the effort to purchase the judiciary, yet he saw enough in Adams' argument to lead him to write to the home government, urging that, to allay the distrust of the people, a specific promise be made them, that the judges should hold office only during good behavior.

Mr. Adams had been dragged into an unwilling prominence by the necessity of answering Brattle's impertinent challenge, and would gladly have again withdrawn to the peace and obscurity of private life, but the emergencies of the time would not permit such indulgence, and he was, much against his will, compelled to resume the pen in the defense of popular rights. The occasion arose as follows: The spirit of independence had grown so strong and bold, that the denial of the right of parliament to interfere with the internal affairs of the province was openly made. Hutchinson repeated one of the many mistakes of his predecessor, Bernard, by challenging a pointless and utterly gratuitous contest with the people. At the opening of the general court, in 1773, he made an elaborate argument in support of the prerogative. He was very well satisfied with his effort, and, having little fear of an answer, felt confident of producing a decided popular reaction. The argument was not a very profound one, depending largely upon the necessary correlation of the duty of obedience with the privilege of claiming protection. He avowed that the ultimate authority must be either in Great Britain or in the province itself; if in the latter, what was it but independence, and what obligation remained in Great Britain to extend her protection further than her authority? Proceeding to the clause of the colonial charter by which the inhabitants of Massachusetts were guaranteed all the rights of Englishmen, he said that the rights of Englishmen were not uniform, even within England. He sophistically urged that the rights guaranteed were necessarily limited to such as it was possible to grant; that by leaving England, the colonists had voluntarily cut themselves off from many rights, including that of representation, which they might resume upon returning. Thus he skilfully substituted the particular right of the individual for the corporate right of the colonist, and suc-

ceeded in evolving a very specious, though thoroughly false, argument in favor of his position.

This could not, of course, be suffered to pass in silence; a committee of the House was appointed, charged with the duty of preparing an answer and empowered to call for aid from competent persons, within or without Massachusetts, in framing it.

CHAPTER VI.

REPLY TO THE GOVERNOR—ADAMS APPOINTED DELEGATE TO THE FIRST CONGRESS.

IT is said upon the authority of a single person, that the assistance of Mr. Dulany, of Maryland, and John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania,—both of whom had been prominent in opposition to the stamp act, was solicited by the committee for the service named in the last chapter, and refused; be this as it may, they certainly bore no part in preparing the answer, which was very slow in appearing. When it came, every one at once acknowledged its logical force, clearness, and exhaustiveness. It went to the very root of the question, denying much to the king that had been universally admitted. It denied the right of the monarch of a Christian people to seize the lands of heathen, and grant them at his pleasure; by hypothetically admitting this right, however, it proceeded with the statement that the sovereign, in whom, if not in its aboriginal inhabitants, lay the title to the lands lying within the boundaries of the province, had expressly granted to certain of his subjects the right to occupy and settle the same, under certain restrictions appearing in the language of the grant; this, it was claimed, reduced the question from one of natural right to one of interpretation of the grant, and of the presumption arising from subsequent acts of the colonists, done under its sanction, and countenanced by the king. Among these acts was that of making all laws for the internal government of the province, subject to no restriction, save that they should not be repugnant to the laws of England. This very limitation, under Lord Bacon's rule, would increase the presumptive right of self-government on the part of the colony. For the king to have made a guaranty of the rights of British subjects, as an integral part of a colonial grant, unless those rights were intended to be exercised in that colony, would be an absurdity. If these rights could only be enforced by returning to England, it needed no solemn act of the king to convey them, for they already existed, and to withdraw them was beyond his power. The paper then proceeded to a

review of Mr. Hutchinson's precedents, and less vital arguments; by a clever *argumentum ad hominem*, it turned against him his own words, embodied in his History of Massachusetts, to prove his disingenuousness.

The effect of this masterly paper was not only to completely rout the governor, but to more than counteract his own argument. Had he been content to allow matters to take their course, the progress of the liberty propaganda must have been slow, but his unwise and ill-considered precipitation of the contest, and his ignominious defeat gave to his enemies a power for which they might long have striven in vain.

The authorship of the answer has been very much questioned and discussed, yet it seems very plain that the facts were fully recognized at the time. As it was by far the most important state document of the pre-revolutionary period, it seems proper that the credit for its preparation should be properly bestowed. The facts appear to have been as follows: A committee, which included Samuel Adams and Joseph Hawley, was appointed by the house to frame a reply to the governor's argument. An answer was, in fact, prepared, principally by Mr. Samuel Adams, after the completion of which, Mr. John Adams, though not a member of the house, was called upon for counsel. His autobiography tells much of what followed:

"When I first met the gentlemen, they had an answer to his excellency's speech already prepared, neatly and elegantly composed, which I then believed to have been written by Samuel Adams, but which I have since had reason to suspect was drawn at his desire and with his co-operation, by my friend, Dr. Joseph Warren. It was full of those elementary principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity, which have since made such a figure in the world; principles which are founded in nature and eternal, unchangeable truth, but which must be well understood and cautiously applied. It is not safe, at all times, and in every cause, to apply the *ratio ultima rerum;* resort to club law and force of arms. There was no answer, or attempt to answer, the governor's legal and constitutional arguments, such as they were. I found myself in a delicate situation, as you may well suppose. In the first place, the self-love of the composer, who I believed to be Samuel Adams, having then no suspicion of Warren, would be hurt by garbling his infant. In the second place, to strike out principles which I loved as well as any of the people, would be odious and unpopular. We read that West would give five hundred dollars for a red lion, which he painted for a sign post. I, poor as I am, would give as much for a copy of that answer to Governor Hutchinson. But I fear it is lost forever; it may, however, be found hereafter, and I hope it may. . . . We read the answer, paragraph by paragraph. I suggested my doubts, scruples, and difficulties The committee seemed to see and feel the force of them. The gentlemen condescended to ask my opinion what answer would be

proper for them to report. I modestly suggested to them the propriety of leaving out many of those popular and elegant periods, and of discussing the question, with the governor, upon principles more especially legal and constitutional. The gentlemen very civilly requested me to undertake the task, and I agreed to attempt it. The committee met from evening to evening, and I soon made my report. I drew a line over the most eloquent parts of the oration they had before them, and reduced those legal and historical authorities which appear on the record. It is more than forty years since I have seen any one of those papers which composed the controversy, and I know not how they would appear to the present generation, nor indeed, how they would appear to myself. They stand upon record and were printed together, in a pamphlet, and no doubt in the newspapers. They ought to be looked up, for the effect of them upon public opinion was beyond expectation. The governor's reasoning, instead of convincing the people that parliament had sovereign authority over them in all cases whatsoever, seemed to convince all the world that parliament had no authority over them, in any case whatsoever. Mr. Hutchinson really made a meagre figure in that dispute. He had waded beyond his depth. He had wholly misunderstood the legal doctrine of allegiance. In all great affairs there is always something ridiculous; *et malheureusement, j'ai toujours ete trop inclina a saisir les ridicules.* I had quoted largely from a law authority which no man in Massachusetts, at that time, had ever read. Hutchinson and all his law counsels were at fault. They dared not deny it, lest the book should be produced to their confusion. It was humorous enough to see how Hutchinson wriggled to evade it. He found nothing better to say than that "it was the artificial reasoning of Lord Coke." The book was Moore's Reports. The owner of it, for alas, master, it was borrowed, was a buyer, but not a reader of books. It had been Mr. Gridley's."

From this statement it must be very clear that, while Samuel Adams framed the body of the answer, it was his more distinguished kinsman who breathed into it the soul; that, while without his help it might have ranked as a very pretty patriotic declaration, it was the master hand and mind of John Adams which gave it its vital power, and made it, as it is even to-day, a significant argument to the point.

Hutchinson's reply was very lame. He recast his argument, falling back upon the right of eminent domain, to sustain the theory that British subjects, in every part of the world, held their lands from the crown of England, not from the king as an individual, and that an obligation to submit to the authority of the crown was a necessary correlative of such tenure. This was, in effect, to claim that the colonists of Massachusetts were feudatories of the crown, and such argument was equivalent to a desertion of the ground which he had formerly taken. Of course, such vacillation did not strengthen his case. It was, in fact, practically an admission of defeat.

If he was before defeated, he had now opened the way for annihilation. The committee again consulted Adams, who prepared an admirable rebuttal of Hutchinson's new argument, which completely drove the latter from the field, earning him the contempt of the colonists, and bringing upon him the criticism of the administration to which he was so servilely devoted.

Hutchinson's influence, and consequent value to the home government, was very much impaired by this *faux pas*, and, very shortly afterward, came the finishing stroke. By some agency never fully explained, there came into the possession of Mr. Adams and his few stanch and confidential associates, a number of letters written by Hutchinson and his friends to correspondents in England. These letters made a sensation, even among those who had none too great confidence in the governor; they had before given him credit for a certain measure of sincerity; they now discovered that he was a Judas, trafficking in the liberties of his countrymen, in the coolest and most calculating manner. The possession of the letters was for a time kept for the most part a secret, none but the faithful being informed of their existence. Then it was deemed wise to extend the knowledge to some honest men who, misled by Hutchinson's arguments, were wavering in their allegiance to the patriot cause. Among these was John Hancock. Never so much of a man as he has had credit for being, the most wealthy colonist of Massachusetts, conceited, and easily offended, he was out of conceit with Adams and others of his old associates, and already found his friends and advisers in the opposite camp. A timely reading of Hutchinson's letters brought him at once to his senses, and he joined heartily in the effort which was later made to secure the removal of the obnoxious and treacherous governor. On May 25, 1773, occurred the annual election of members of the general assembly. Friends of Mr. Adams so persistently urged him to accept an election to the council, and supported their request by appeals to his public spirit, so strong that he was induced to give over his determination to remain aloof from public affairs and consent to the use of his name. He was elected by a very large majority, but, having done what he deemed the right, was still saved from the service he so little desired, by the act of the governor, who exercised his right of objection, and prevented him from assuming his seat. No sooner had the general court met than the letters of Hutchinson and his associates were published, and were made the basis of a petition of the general court to the king, praying the removal of Hutchinson from his post of governor, and, also, of Andrew Oliver, who was then lieutenant-governor. It seemed extremely unlikely that the expressed wish of the colonists should avail against either, and the petition was, in fact, ignored, but other considerations compassed the desired end. Hutchinson had made so many mistakes and was so completely unmasked before the people that his usefulness was over. Being severely criticized in England, he later sent a request to be allowed to explain his action in person, and receiving it, sailed from Bos-

ton never again to see the land which he had both loved and wronged.

Hutchinson out of the way, the attention of the general court was turned to the question of judicial salaries. Strong efforts were made to induce the judges to refuse to accept payment from the home government, but these developed the fact that the chief justice had already drawn his salary for eighteen months; that three of the judges were inclined to the same course, and that only one—Trowbridge—could be depended upon to respect the will of the people. This seemed a hopeless case; the crown, the governor, the council, the judges themselves—all were arrayed in support of the outrageous measure, and there seemed, indeed, no recourse but in submission. The house had drawn up a petition demanding the removal of the chief justice, and had even gone so far as to vote the adjournment of the superior court, for three days, after the commencement of the term, to prevent his sitting, pending the action of the governor and council in the premises. Of course the petition was not considered, as the governor and council could scarcely have reversed the edict of king and parliament. At this juncture, Mr. Adams attended a large and mixed dinner party, at the house of Mr. Samuel Winthrop. The conversation was almost entirely regarding the judicial question. After nearly every person at the table had spoken, the last, turning to Mr. Adams, said, "Mr. Adams, we have not heard your sentiments on this subject; how do you consider it?" He answered that his own sentiments had been expressed by others; that, if nothing could be done to defeat the measures of the crown, the ruin of the province would be accomplished.

"But," said Dr. Winthrop, "what can be done?"

Adams answered: "I know not whether any one will approve of my opinion, yet I believe there is one constitutional resource."

Several voices at once cried out: "A constitutional resource; what can it be?"

"It is," said Mr. Adams, "nothing more nor less than an impeachment of the judges, by the house of representatives, before the council."

These words created the greatest excitement. Some cried out that such a course was without precedent.

"I believe it is so," said Adams, "in this province, but there have been precedents enough, and by much too many, in England. It is a dangerous experiment at all times, but it is essential to the preservation of the constitution, in some cases, that could be reached by no other power but that of impeachment."

"But whence can we pretend to derive such power," was the next question.

"From our charter, which gives us, in words as express, as clear, and as strong as the language affords, all the rights of Englishmen, and, if the house of commons, in England, is the grand inquest of the nation, the



JOHN HANCOCK.

house of representatives is the grand inquest of this province, and the council must have the powers of judicature of the house of lords in Great Britain."

After had passed the first surprise excited by this bold proposal, the practicability of such a measure was discussed at length. The company was well agreed in believing that, though the house might impeach the judges, the council, being under the domination of the governor, would either refuse to try the impeachment, or, trying, would not sustain it. As events proved, there was also a general feeling that the experiment should be tried. There seemed no other resort, and, having made a case, if justice could not be obtained, the odium must rest where it properly belonged. On the next day, Hawley, a member of the house, called upon Mr. Adams, and questioned him closely as to the law and authorities bearing upon the matter; examined the English statutes, and consulted the state trials and other reports, in search of authorities. Thence he went directly to see Mr. Trowbridge, the only judge who had refused the purchase money of the king, and discussed the subject with him. Truly an odd situation; calling upon a public officer to consult with him as to the propriety of instituting proceedings for his own impeachment! Trowbridge, although he had renounced the salary of his position, naturally did not highly relish the proposal to so summarily assail the bench, yet he was obliged to admit that there existed unquestionable constitutional and chartered authority for the proceeding.

Reinforced by this opinion, the house appointed a committee to draw up articles of impeachment against Oliver, the chief justice. Hawley was a member of the committee, and insisted upon having Adams' counsel in the matter. Hence the committee passed evening after evening at his house, examining the impeachment, article by article, in the light of his advice and the authorities, until all was ready. Then the report was made, and the house, adopting the impeachment, sent it up to the council, where it rested without consideration, much to the delight of the tory party. This feeling was, however, very short lived, for, when the superior court met, with Oliver upon the bench, the jurors, both of the grand and petit panel, as their names were called, refused, to a man, to take the oath. Their reasons being asked, they replied that the chief-justice of the court stood impeached of high crimes and misdemeanors before his majesty's council, and they would not sit as jurors while that accusation was depending. Jurors at Charlestown, Worcester and other points in the province took the same stand, the courts were necessarily adjourned, never again to meet under royal authority. When next they came together, it was by the call of the governor, after the battle of Lexington, and under the rights granted the province in its charter. Thus the impeachment, received with silent contempt by the king's council, was nevertheless fruitful in results,

so soon as the people having heard, took it upon them to decide it. The judges found their occupation gone; the effort of the parliament to retain the bench of the province for the cause of the crown, reacted upon its projectors, and the second blow at the liberty of the colonies had failed. Mr. Adams, as the projector of the impeachment, gained greatly in reputation, and was set down by king's officers at home and in England, as the most able and dangerous of all the "rebels."

With the closing of the courts, closed as well the first epoch of the contest between the king and the colony of Massachusetts. For thirteen years it had continued, and never, during that time, had the administration doubted that by the use of arts and finesse, the councils of the colonies might be divided; the leaders seduced by more or less direct bribes, and, finally, the people be wheedled and cajoled into submission. Lord North now saw his mistake. The destruction of the tea in Boston harbor, and the contumacy of colonists whenever they came in conflict with the king's authority, told him that the time for argument had passed, and he must now resort to sterner measures. The king's authority must be established at any expense of money, or of blood. It seems strange, in looking back, that it should have required all these years to convince the administration that the people of Massachusetts were contending, not alone for the righting of specific wrongs, or the removal of given impositions, but for the establishment of principles, and against the fixing of precedents which must prove destructive to their liberties.

As a result of this tardy recognition of the truth, came, in quick succession, the Boston port bill, the revocation of the charter of Massachusetts, the act for the removal of certain offenders to other colonies, or to England, for trial, the appointment of Gage as military governor, and the order for massing troops in Boston. In other words, the policy of intimidation and punishment had been fully adopted. With this policy, disappeared from the councils of the Massachusetts patriots the last doubtful voice. Many of Hutchinson's friends followed him to England; those who remained were cowed and silent in the presence of the people.

There came, too, with these severe measures, a great change to the life of Mr. Adams. He had before, with the sole exception of his own term in the house of representatives, been but a councillor of the people; thenceforth he was to be a leader. He had determined to avoid politics and public life, and devote himself to his profession, that he might provide for himself, his wife, and children; now, with the enforcement of these tyrannous edicts, courts were closed, commerce and trade cut off, and he found his occupation gone. On the one hand, he was called upon to face the danger of loss of property, loss of life, or, at least, outlawry, in the service of a desperate cause, which seemed almost foredoomed to failure and destruction; on the other, was the ignominy of retreat in the face of

danger, the certainty of earning the contempt of his fellows, and the reproval of his own conscience. All these prospects and possibilities he recognized, but, in his journals and correspondence, we look in vain for any symptom of wavering or timidity. The vital moment had come, and he did not hesitate to cast his all into the scale of liberty.

When met at Salem the last general court of Massachusetts which pretended, even in form, to recognize the authority of the governor, having been banished to that place as a punishment of the recalcitrant citizens of Boston, every patriot in the colonies looked for some signal action from that body, in the direction of uniting the colonies in opposition to the high-handed outrages of the administration. It was not long in coming. On the 17th day of June, the secretary was sent to the general court with a message of dissolution. That body was even then discussing the proposal to send a delegation to meet committees of other colonies at Philadelphia; this was to be the first Continental Congress, but it had not yet found a name. The doors were closed in the face of the honorable secretary, and he was kept, vainly clamoring without, until the matter was concluded, and five gentlemen—Mr. Bowdoin, Mr. Cushing, Mr. Samuel Adams, Mr. John Adams, and Mr. Robert Treat Paine—had been appointed, and instructed to attend the meeting. Then the doors were opened, and the empty form of dissolution was suffered to proceed.

From the time of this choice, Mr. Adams' service was for many years almost continuous, yet it was wider and more important, mingling more with affairs of commonly recorded and familiar history, neither demanding nor permitting so minute and particular account as has been given of his earlier life, and the services which he gave to the cause of liberty within his own colony, in the days of the inception and growth of the spirit which led to the great Revolution. Adams usually saw farther than his neighbors and he now recognized the certainty of complications more serious than any the colonies had ever known, and the probability of bloodshed. He removed his family to Braintree to prepare, as he said, for the coming storm. He placed his affairs in the best condition possible, so that in his absence, longer or shorter, his family might be provided for, then was ready to join his fellows in their pilgrimage to Philadelphia, and to dedicate his prosperity, his time, even life itself, to the cause in which his heart was so earnestly engaged.

CHAPTER VII.

SERVICE IN CONGRESS.

THE duties of that first Continental Congress, and the responsibilities placed upon its members, were most peculiar and delicate. The path before them had never been trodden; they were without precedent or authority to guide them. Appointed by the people represented in the various colonial legislatures, as a result of the impulse to do something, which always arises in the face of a dangerous emergency, the majority of those whom they went to represent had no idea as to what that something should be, and, among those who had formulated a policy in their own minds, there was the widest diversity of opinion. The colonies were as different in the spirit and tendencies of their people, as in their origin; nothing but a common peril, of the greatest moment, could ever have brought them together in council, and they looked upon each other with no small measure of distrust. The situation of Massachusetts was more doubtful than that of any other colony. While the principle upon which the contest with the crown arose was one of common significance, the specific acts of oppression which had aroused the colonies were almost entirely confined to that province. It had been the sufferer, and its delegates to Philadelphia went from a people without courts of law, without recognized chartered rights, without a legal existence, from the standpoint of the crown. They went, then, rather to appeal for support and protection, than to consult with their neighbors upon a common footing for the common welfare. This was, of course, a false view, and it did not ultimately prevail to such a degree as to prevent hearty co-operation, but it presented a possibility which caused much anxiety to Adams and his colleagues, and to the tact, caution, and sagacity, which they displayed, was due the substantial unanimity of the Congress. There was still another weight upon the delegation. There existed among the inhabitants of other provinces a prejudice against New Englanders in general and especially against the

citizens of Massachusetts. Hawley, a warm friend and admirer of Adams, writes to the latter warning him against falling into the error attributed to "the Massachusetts gentlemen, and especially of the town of Boston," of assuming to dictate and take the lead in continental matters. This report had been industriously circulated, in advance, by certain tories, in the hope of injuring the Massachusetts delegation, and marring the harmony of the Congress.

How little foundation there was for such a charge, in the case of Mr. Adams, is clearly shown in a letter written by him to his wife, in which he bewails his unavoidable absence from Boston during the weeks immediately preceding the setting out of the delegation. He says: "If I was there I could converse with the gentlemen who are bound with me to Philadelphia. I could turn the course of my reading and studies to such subjects of law, and politics, and commerce as may come in play at the Congress. I might be polishing up my old reading in law and history, that I might appear with less indecency before a variety of gentlemen, whose education, travels, experience, family, fortune, and everything, will give them a vast superiority to me, and, I fear, even to some of my companions." His own feelings and apprehensions were acutely excited by the situation of his country and the prospect of the doubtful and important service before him. His diary is full of passages like the following, expressive of his hopes and anxieties: "I wander alone and ponder; I muse, I mope, I ruminate; I am often in reveries and brown studies. The objects before me are too grand and multifarious for my comprehension. We have not men fit for the times. We are deficient in genius, in education, in travel, in fortune, in everything. I feel unutterable anxiety. God grant us wisdom and fortitude! Should the opposition be suppressed, should this country submit, what infamy and ruin! God forbid! Death in any form is less terrible."

On the 10th of August the delegation, less Mr. Bowdoin, who had asked to be relieved from serving, set out from Boston for Philadelphia. Their journey was an ovation. Throughout Connecticut they were met by successive delegations and escorted from town to town. At Hartford and New Haven they were formally entertained. Arrived at New York the principal citizens vied with each other in extending courtesies. In New Jersey there was almost equal cordiality—especially at Princeton. Five miles from Philadelphia they were met by a committee of citizens and escorted to their quarters in that town. Much of this interest was, in fact, spontaneous and sincere, but, aside from such patriotic manifestation, there existed curiosity, fear, doubt, and distrust. In Connecticut there was less of all this than in the more southerly provinces. New York was one of the most aristocratic of the provinces; the prevailing religion was of the Episcopal form, and fear of what were termed the "leveling tendencies of New England"

was generally entertained, and some persons did not hesitate to express as much to the delegates. The clergy of the dominant church, necessarily in close sympathy with the home establishment, formed a royalist propaganda, which had drawn with it many prominent among the laity. Friends in New Jersey warned the delegates to be discreet in their utterances as they drew near Philadelphia, and after arriving in that city; and the committee which met them without its limits, though ostensibly come merely to extend the civility of an escort, in fact desired to warn them against any display of radical sentiment, saying that, by some, they were actually suspected of a desire to compass the independence of the colonies! Even Washington was disquieted by this fear, although there was assuredly small warrant for it at that time. It will be readily seen from all this, that the mission of the delegates for Massachusetts was one of the greatest delicacy. Mr. Adams wrote, in one of those invaluable confidential letters to his wife, "We have a delicate course to steer between too much activity and too much insensibility in our critical, interested situation. I flatter myself, however, that we shall conduct our embassy in such manner as to merit the approbation of our country. It has taken much time to get acquainted with the tempers, views, characters, and designs of persons, and let them into the circumstances of our province."

Early in the session of the Congress—before it had committed itself to a policy, before its members had thrown off their natural timidity and distrust, and become sure of their ground—in some way there arose and came to Philadelphia a false report that Gage had turned his cannon upon the town of Boston, and had cruelly murdered a large number of its people. If ever the Lord was served by a lie, it was then. The excitement produced by the report, acted like the agitation of the reagents in a chemist's test tube, to produce crystallization. Another letter to Mrs. Adams tells of its effect: "When the horrid news was brought here of the bombardment of Boston, which made us completely miserable, for two days, we saw proofs of the sympathy and the resolution of the continent. War! war! war! was the cry, and it was pronounced in a tone that would have done honor to the oratory of a Briton or a Roman. If it had proved true, you would have heard the thunder of an American Congress."

The contradiction, which came later, was not in time to undo the work. Massachusetts was recognized; its cause was declared to be that of the colonies, and the united support of all was pledged. Money was also promised to sustain the crippled city of Boston, until the common representations of the American provinces should avail to change for the better the policy of Great Britain. Yet, after all this was done, events moved too slowly to please the Massachusetts delegates; they were placed in the difficult position of men vitally interested in a common cause, yet compelled by prudence to dissimulate their eagerness "The art and address

of ambassadors from a dozen belligerent powers of Europe," says Adams, "nay, of a conclave of cardinals at the election of a pope, or of the princes in Germany, at the choice of an emperor, would not exceed the specimens we have seen. Yet the Congress all profess the same political principles! They all profess to consider our province as suffering in a common cause; and, indeed, they seem to feel for us as if for themselves. . . . We have had numberless prejudices to remove here. We have been obliged to act with great delicacy and caution. We have been obliged to keep ourselves out of sight, and to feel pulses and to sound the depths; to insinuate our sentiments, designs, and desires, by means of other persons; sometimes of one province, sometimes of another."

Such was the care with which this discreet and modest course was maintained, that the Massachusetts delegation, instead of being regarded as radicals,—almost as incendiaries, came to be considered, when compared with the delegates of Virginia, as conservative, almost timid; yet they were then, as was their colony, later, only less demonstrative, not less brave and devoted than were their southern brethren. Throughout the Congress, Massachusetts preferred, and was permitted, to remain in the background. It seemed that she, as the colony more vitally interested than any other in the adoption of stringent measures, should be least active in concerting the policy of the colonies. The delegates from that province, too, instinctively felt that the surest way to enlist the sympathy and, more important, the active support of the sister colonies, was to surrender to their representatives the leading places in the legislative and committee work of the session. The most important work of the Congress was the preparation and adoption of a bill of rights. To this end was appointed a committee consisting of nearly half the members, and including both the Adamses from Massachusetts. John Adams was also a member of the smaller committee appointed to prepare a petition to the king; but it is chiefly in the drawing of the bill of rights that his handiwork may be seen. From the inception of the contest in Massachusetts, when he drew his instructions to the member for Braintree, he had been constantly laboring to induce his fellow-citizens to base their arguments upon natural rights, and to deny any authority of parliament to legislate for the colonies, and any right of the king himself not literally and strictly included in the compact implied in the charter. When arose in committee the important question as to how much should be conceded to Great Britain, he again appeared as the champion of his opinion, which all must now be convinced was the only true one. He could not carry with him even his own delegation entire, yet the resolution finally adopted was his own, modified to a degree, to meet the views and the prejudices of other members of the committee. It will well repay quotation here:

"*Resolved*, That the foundation of English liberty, and of all free gov-

ernment, is a right in the people to participate in their legislative council; and as the English colonists are not represented, and from their local and other circumstances, cannot be properly represented in the British parliament, they are entitled to a free and exclusive power of legislation in their several provincial legislatures, where their right of representation can alone be preserved, in all cases of taxation and internal polity, subject only to the negative of their sovereign, in such manner as has been heretofore used and accustomed. But, *from the necessity of the case*, and a regard for the mutual interests of both countries, we cheerfully consent to the operation of such acts of parliament as are, *bona fide*, restrained to the regulation of our external commerce, for the purpose of securing the commercial advantages of the whole empire to the mother country, and the commercial benefits of its respective members; excluding every idea of taxation, internal or external, for raising a revenue on the subjects in America without their consent."

Even this very moderate declaration was not adopted without much doubt and some strong opposition. Men asked, as had Hutchinson, years before: "What is this but independence?" and so set were they against the fulfillment of their manifest destiny, that many were prepared to mourn the hope of the colonies as dead. As the authorship of this famous declaration of the bill of rights has been the subject of some question, it may be well to quote the words of Mr. Adams' autobiography, regarding it. He writes: "After several days deliberation, we agreed upon all the articles excepting one, and that was the authority of parliament, which was, indeed, the essence of the whole controversy; some were for a flat denial of all authority; others for denying the power of taxation only; some for denying internal, but admitting external, taxation. After a multitude of motions had been made, discussed, and negatived, it seemed as if we should never agree upon anything. Mr. John Rutledge, of South Carolina, addressing himself to me, was pleased to say: 'Adams, we must agree upon something; you appear to be as familiar with the subject as any of us, and I like your expressions,—"*the necessity of the case*" and "*excluding all taxation, external and internal*"; I have a great opinion of that same idea of the necessity of the case, and I am determined against all taxation for revenue. Come, take the pen, and see if you cannot produce something that will unite us.' Some others of the committee seconded Mr. Rutledge; I took a sheet of paper and drew up an article. When it was read, I believe not one of the committee was fully satisfied with it; but they all soon acknowledged that there was no hope of hitting on anything, in which we could agree with more satisfaction." All therefore agreed to this, and upon this depended the union of the colonies. The sub-committee reported their draught to the grand committee, and another long debate ensued, especially on this article; various changes and modifications in it were

attempted, but none accepted, and the draught was reported to Congress, and, after a second debate, was adopted and promulgated.

But one other act of grave importance was passed by the first Congress;—that the adoption of the non-importation, non-exportation, and non-consumption agreement, a measure which was based upon the false assumption that the loss of American trade meant bankruptcy for Great Britain. As this assumption was a false one, little practical good arose from the enforcement of the resolution, and its highest result was the bringing of the colonies into a closer confederation, by an act of common and serious self-denial. The agreement received the support of Adams, but he was never over-sanguine as to its efficiency. The refusal of Great Britain to make any concessions; her contrary course in increasing the stringency of her measures, are matters of history, and do not call for discussion.

The Congress had been important to Adams, as a matter of education. He was tacitly admitted the leader of the Massachusetts delegation; the interests of Massachusetts overshadowed, in importance, those of any other colony; hence his was a position of prominence, and he found himself, from the outset, wielding a considerable influence in the deliberations of the national legislature. Instituted to consult, the Congress was much less significant in expression than in action, the evenly-balanced and penetrating mind of the future diplomat and President, could not escape recognition, and the self development and confidence which the obvious esteem of others always produce. Then, too, there was the social experience gained by life in Philadelphia, then the gayest and most polite of American cities. Daily calls and dinners, constant contact with all that was polished, wise, and witty in the civil and political life of America, did wonders in making this man of mind and ideas, as well a man of the world.

The Congress adjourned on the 26th day of October, 1774, and on Friday, the 28th, Mr. Adams, with the other delegates for Massachusetts, set out for home, arriving on the 9th of November. Scarcely was he once more domesticated before he was again called into public life, by a resolution of the provincial congress requesting his attendance upon its deliberations. This was followed by a regular election to membership in that body, which continued until its dissolution. On the 12th of December appeared, in a Boston journal, an able paper in defense of the royal prerogative, which caused much comment and filled the adherents of the crown with delight. Who the writer was, no one in the patriot councils ever certainly ascertained. The papers were published over the signature "*Massachusettensis*," and were commonly supposed to be the joint production of Daniel Leonard and Jonathan Sewall, both old friends of Adams, and very uncommon men. Believing that much harm might result from these heresies, should they remain unanswered, Adams entered the lists and, throughout the winter, bore his part, over the name "*Novanglus*," in a very close and interesting

newspaper controversy, which only ended on the 19th of April, 1775. The last paper was prevented from appearing by the beginning of hostilities. Mr. Adams' articles afford a better view of the legal and constitutional grounds of the Revolution, as viewed from a standpoint within his own colony, than does any other literature of the day. Lacking in polish and elegance of diction and construction, they are close, well considered, masterly analyses of the issues, and form the best possible rough material for the philosophical historian.

In the affairs at Concord and Lexington Adams saw the passage of the Rubicon; he saw that there was now only the chance of a successful armed resistance, disgraceful subjugation, or death. He rode over the field, met General Ward, the gallant commander of the mushroom army of the colonies, and returning, was attacked with a fever, but so big with events was the time, that he would not permit even sickness to restrain him, and set out for Philadelphia, to attend the second Congress, which was to meet May 5th, and, although the journey was to the last degree painful, overtook the remainder of the delegation, and reached his destination on the 10th day of May.

The salient feature of this Congress was the proposal, discussion, and adoption of the Declaration of Independence; its most important legislation that relating to the organization, equipment, and maintenance of an army.* Adams was a warm advocate of the declaration, and, when the question of naming a commander in chief for the army threatened to arouse sectional jealousy, he, the leading New Englander, poured oil upon the waters by arising in his place and moving the selection of George Washington, the foremost Virginian, for that post. Soon after the opening of Congress, Adams wrote, in a letter to his wife, that the Congress had business to keep it through the year; "no assembly ever had a greater number of great objects before them. Provinces, nations, empires are small things before us. I wish we were good architects." Still another "dutiful and humble petition" was prepared and sent to the king, against the judgment and protest of Adams. The colonies held the olive branch in the left, a flaming sword in the right hand. Bunker Hill settled all doubt once for all. From that time, war, long a certainty to Adams' view, was as obviously so to all. Before this Washington was appointed commander in chief, and on that fateful 17th of June Adams wrote his wife: "I can now inform you that the Congress have made choice of the modest and virtuous, the amiable, generous, and brave George Washington, Esquire, to be general of the American army, and that he is to repair, as soon as possible, to the camp before Boston. This appointment will have a great effect in cementing and securing the union of these colonies. The continent is really in earnest in defending the colonies. I begin to hope we shall

* See Biographies of Washington and Jefferson.

not sit all summer. I hope the people of our province will treat the general with all that confidence and affection, that politeness and respect which is due to one of the most important characters in the world. The liberties of America depend upon him in a great degree."

Already there were two parties in Congress; the majority, with Dickinson and Hancock as leaders, moderate, conservative, and slow; the minority, of whom the Virginia Lees and the Massachusetts Adamses were most prominent, bent upon active measures which assumed the feud between the king and the colonies to be irreconcilable. Adams could ill brook the dilatory policy of the former, at such a surpassingly important crisis. He wrote freely to his wife and to General Warren, criticising, in no very measured terms, the course of Dickinson and Hancock; these letters were sent by private hands, but reached General Gage, were published in Boston, the originals were sent to England and printed copies eventually came to Philadelphia. Their effect in England was to mark Adams as an arch-traitor; to convince the ministry that there existed in Massachusetts a deep-seated and long-standing determination to rebel; to procure for Penn, who bore the latest memorial of Congress, the sternest rebuff. In Philadelphia, Adams was avoided on the street, and regarded as one of those incendiaries who favored independence; hence as a traitor! There exists in history no greater paradox than the position of this majority, in condemning for treason those whose views savored of independence, while maintaining an organized army for resistance of royal authority.

In the month of August, Congress adjourned for a recess,—a measure which Adams opposed, and he returned to Boston, and spent a busy month in consultation with committees, and with individuals, including the commander in chief. The middle of September found him once more at Philadelphia, engrossed in renewed labor, and suffering to the full the consequences of the publication of his intercepted letters. His name was omitted from the committees, and Massachusetts was neglected, as a colony of advanced and dangerous ideas. To this trouble was added sad anxiety concerning his family, by reason of a malignant and fatal epidemic, which had broken out about Boston. The mother of his wife and a female servant,—an inmate of his household,—died in close succession, and nearly every member of his family was dangerously ill.

Soon public opinion, in and out of the Congress, began to change: many embraced, more looked indulgently upon the opinions of Mr. Adams: he was appointed upon a committee to carry out his own measure for the organization of a navy, which hastened its deliberations and soon provided for securing the nucleus of a sea armament. The most important measure came from Rhode Island, and resulted in Congress advising the colonies to establish governments adequate to the maintenance of order and the administration of affairs, "during the continuance of the present difficulty."

This Adams fathered and actively supported. These measures would very probably have been defeated but for the arrival of news of the king's refusal to receive and consider the memorial of Congress, sent by the hands of Penn. The ships of the patriots were indeed burned behind them, and only a steady and determined advance could save the colonies from hopeless subjugation.

During the autumn of 1775, the colony of Massachusetts, which had been long without the protection of organized courts, appointed Mr. Adams chief justice, advancing him over many of his seniors, both of the bench and bar. After much consideration he determined to accept the post, and so soon as an adjournment of Congress should render it possible, to assume its duties. He sent formal notice of his determination, and, as the autumn advanced, and there seemed no prospect for an adjournment, decided that, both for the sake of the interest of his province and that of the confederation, it was desirable that he consult with the prominent men of Massachusetts in person. Hence he concluded, for a time, to desert his seat in the Congress and return home. Arrived, he found that he had been chosen a member of the council, and shortly assumed his place in that body. The council was divided between its desire to secure to the court the benefit of his wisdom, and to retain his services in Congress. This conflict of inclination was at last settled by arranging that the court should proceed without him, so long as his service seemed necessary to the confederacy; that during the intervals of such service, and continuously when it should be ended, he should perform his judicial duties. It is well to here state that he never found the opportunity to take his seat upon the bench.

During the time of his stay in Massachusetts, Adams was constantly called upon for counsel in most weighty affairs. He drew with his own hand the proclamation which inaugurated the new provisional government; gave his private advice to Washington in several momentous matters, and sat in one council of war. Finally, the general council unanimously chose him to represent the province during the remainder of the Congress, thus ratifying the arrangement by which his assumption of the judicial robes had been postponed. The new election was accompanied by a formal letter of instructions, in which the delegates were directed to use their efforts to "establish liberty on a permanent basis in America." Adams, arrived in Philadelphia on the 9th of February, 1776, found the Congress sadly lacking in that spirit which had dictated the instructions of Massachusetts. Particularly were the delegates of New York and the other Middle states depressed by the failure of pacific measures, and alarmed at the irresistible tendency of events toward independence and war.

The chief business of the Congress during the remainder of the session related to the Declaration of Independence, and the many and delicate steps which led up to it. Scanty details remain of all these processes, but cer-

tain it is that the seeking of foreign alliances was one of the earliest, and that this involved the sending of ambassadors to various foreign powers. Adams' main effort seems to have related to the establishment of such foreign relations as should best contribute to the success of America in the war. So early as the fall of 1775, he had concerted with Mr. Chase, of Maryland, and the latter had presented, a resolution providing for the appointment of envoys to certain European powers, for the negotiation of treaties. The exact scope of this proposed measure is unknown. We only know that it was, to use his own expressive language, "murdered," when put upon its passage. A tendency exhibited itself to secure an alliance with France, by the bribe of the exclusive trade of America and large grants of territory. Mr. Patrick Henry was advocate of this policy, and Mr. Adams one of its strongest opponents, seeing little gain in a mere change of masters, especially as the right of the new one would depend directly upon a grant made for good consideration. The session resulted in no more decisive steps than the appointment of a committee to correspond with friends of America in England, Ireland, *and other parts of the world.* The important part of this resolution was, as Mr. Charles Francis Adams very justly observes, like that of a lady's letter,—in the post-script.

Already during the latter portion of the year 1775, Adams had been often in council with the Lees, Henry, and Wythe, as to the framing of a form of government for Virginia. Especial danger to popular government, in America, existed in the aristocratic ideas of that colony. It was proposed to establish a senate, the members of which should hold office for life, and there was there, even more than in New York, a dread of the "leveling tendencies of New England." The men with whom Adams was intimate, represented the cause of popular government in Virginia, and the burthen of the advice sought by them, was as to means of foiling this aristocratic propaganda in that colony. Being requested to reduce his ideas to writing, Adams did so, embodying them in a letter to Lee, which was passed from hand to hand in Virginia, copied, and had much effect in modifying the views of the conservative wing of the party, and winning the majority, by which a popular government was at last secured. A copy of the letter found its way to England, and into the hands of the ministry, where it strengthened the idea that America was hopelessly rebellious, and that Adams was an arch traitor.

The letter to Lee was later supplemented by one more elaborate to Wythe, which was published and widely circulated, and similar ones were sent to representative men in other southern colonies. Thus, Adams had a very considerable influence in determining the course of at least two colonies, Virginia and North Carolina, and the constitution adopted by the latter, surviving until 1836, was the longest lived of any framed during the Revolution. Now came the direct agitation of the independence of the

United States, and the days from February to July were the busiest of Adams' life. He was an active pioneer in clearing away the obstructions, prepared to defeat the great advance. He served, spoke, thought, and wrote every day, and many a night, to secure the instruction of delegations in accordance with his views, or at least, the submission of the matter to the discretion of delegates. In the concerting of the measures which led to the proposal of the grand declaration, he was prominently concerned; in the debates which followed, he was active and effective; in the delicate and difficult labor of influencing doubtful and reluctant delegations, during the interval allowed for discussion and consideration, he was assiduous, and no one was more delighted than he at the final triumph of the measure, which he deemed the only salvation of his country. He served on the committee, headed by Jefferson, which drew the declaration, was appointed on that named to negotiate treaties with foreign powers, and later ones for framing a plan for a war office; to devise a policy as to persons giving aid or information to the enemy, and was, from time to time during the session, a member of ninety committees, and at the head of no less than twenty-five.

When Admiral Lord Howe and General Sir William Howe sent their famous message to Congress, representing themselves as commissioners to arrange an accommodation of differences, they sent notice, as will be remembered, of a desire to meet certain members of the Congress, not officially, but as prominent citizens of the colonies, saying, at the same time, that, should they come to any accommodation with them, the ratification of Congress would be deemed sufficient. A committee was appointed to this end, charged, also, with the duty of inquiring into the state of the army in New York, and, upon this, Adams reluctantly consented to serve. The abortive result of Howe's mission, has already been stated; the second duty of the committee was important to Adams as bringing him into closer relations and familiarity with the army and its commander in chief, which, as he was president of the board of war, was peculiarly desirable.

In the meantime the erection of a well considered and consistent foreign policy was occupying much of the attention of the best thinkers. The secret committee of correspondence, the appointment of which has been mentioned in these pages, had gone no further than to appoint Silas Deane as a secret agent of the United States, to go, first to the French West Indies, later to France, to solicit aid from individuals, and to sound the government as to its inclinations. The committee upon foreign relations, appointed about the time of the Declaration of Independence, found very serious duties. From the chaos of errors, doubt and conflict, it was to devise a system, and at least two of its members—Adams and Franklin—felt the overwhelming importance of securing, at a cost of no concession which should afterward prove damaging and burthensome, alliance with foreign powers sufficient to carry the colonies to the establishment of their ends by

the mere moral force of recognition. Adams had, early in his congressional service, avowed his unalterable aversion to foreign alliances or complications beyond those purely commercial. Previous to Lord Howe's mission, in conjunction with Franklin, he proposed a scheme for alliances in Europe, going no further than this. Upon submission to Congress, many members feared that the powers proposed would not enable envoys to tempt any first-class power into a treaty and amendments were offered, considerably extending the provisions recommended in the original report. These were supplemented, during Adams' absence at the conference of Lord Howe and at Washington's headquarters, by a resolution empowering the committee to propose additional instructions for the envoy, and these instructions were adopted during his absence and without his participation. They were framed under what was deemed to be an immediate necessity for aid, and opened the way for evils which bore fruit during the second administration of Washington, and that of Adams, in misunderstandings with that Republican France, which succeeded to the rights of Louis XVI., as does the highwayman to the watch of his victim, and so nearly resulted in war.

One further collateral matter must be mentioned, that future events may be understood. Shortly before this time, Dr. Arthur Lee, an ardent American patriot resident in London, had unwisely written Dr. Franklin a letter (cloaked in the pretence of being an anonymous communication with the loyalist lieutenant-governor, Colden), in which it was intimated that two members of the secret committee, Jay and Dickinson, were secretly in sympathy with Great Britain, and that the safety and well-being of America demanded that they be replaced by such men as the Adamses. Though this letter was sent by Dr. Lee under injunctions that it be shown to no one but Richard Henry Lee, his brother, its contents leaked out, and showed a decided effect upon the action of Congress in naming a commission to treat with France, besides later resulting in serious disagreements between Franklin and Lee.

Congress, in balloting for members of this commission, chose first Franklin, then Jefferson; Jefferson declining, Dr. Lee was substituted, and Adams was urged to take the third place. This he refused to do, and Silas Deane, of Connecticut, was named. It is worthy of notice that the last-mentioned is the only one of all the diplomatic appointments of the new and inexperienced Congress, of an untried, and unrecognized government, which proved unfortunate. His head was turned by scheming agents of the French government, by sycophants, and adventurers, and he first made a series of unwise, unauthorized, and embarrassing contracts with foreign military adventurers, of which class Conway is an example, and ended by playing flatterer to Franklin, against which influence "Poor Richard" was by no means proof, and, misrepresenting Lee, until the jealousy excited resulted in enmity, and well nigh wrecked the commission.

The remainder of Adams' career in Congress cannot be minutely treated without re-writing the history of the war of the Revolution, embodied in the biography of Washington. It was the era of the direct conduct of the war by Congress, through a board of war, appointed from its own membership. Adams, as president of this board, was constantly immersed in military affairs. He did himself as much justice as could be expected from the wisest agent of so pernicious a military system. He was not a soldier, in theory or practice, and was inclined to be unduly elated by victories and depressed by defeats. One might almost judge of the fortune of the war by the tone of his letters, even when the subject is not mentioned. Sometimes he narrowly escaped being ridiculous, as when he wrote his friend Warren that he had expected two or three Bunker hills, between Long island and Trenton. Knowing what he did of the opposing armies, such a statement is either a deliberate extravagance, or an indication of bad judgment.

Nevertheless, Adams did very valuable service in the board of war. He labored hard to induce the colonies, particularly his own, to do their duty. He had a sensitive pride in Massachusetts, and desired, above all things, that she do herself credit. He was stung by the bad behavior of the New England troops, upon the occasion of Howe's attack on New York, and his very pride led him bitterly to demand, "Are there no cowards south of New England?" Probably no other man in the Congress so constantly and effectively exerted himself for the securing and maintenance of an efficiently organized army, as did he. It is strange that, having so much experience with the tardiness and evasion of various colonies, he never saw the fatal weakness of the plan of confederation, involved in the absence of a competent central authority, but certain it is that, when the scheme came before Congress, and was pushed to adoption, it was done very largely through his instrumentality.

With a bare summary, this overlong chapter must close. On the 1st day of October, 1776, Adams introduced a resolution for the establishment of a naval academy. This plan, as afterward elaborated by Hamilton, and approved by Washington, was carried into effect, during his own administration. On the 13th of the same month he obtained leave of absence to return to his home, where he was called by pressing family and business matters. He there remained until the 9th of January, when he set out for Baltimore, which was the temporary seat of government, arriving in that place on the 1st of February. During his stay at home he discovered that the courts of the state were moving smoothly, and to the satisfaction of the people; the judges were honest and able, and, not caring longer to pose as the holder of a sinecure, he resigned the judgeship which he had accepted during the previous year. After his arrival at Philadelphia, he settled once more to his hard work upon the board of war, and numerous committees. He was, as

always, sagacious, wise, and indefatigable. The question of the confederation coming up, he gave it his utmost influence and support, and pushed it to an adoption. Then came the victory over Burgoyne, the relinquishment of Clinton's campaign against the North, and the end of the war in that quarter.

Adams now resolved to leave Congress, for a time, if not permanently. He had embarked in the service of his country, to the infinite detriment of his private interests, with a determination to do his utmost for the accomplishment of two results—the independence, and the confederation of the colonies. The latter had been effected; the former was declared, and he, in common with many others, overestimating the immediate influence of the defeat of Burgoyne, considered its establishment to be near at hand. His family had been long alone, his business had, of course, ceased with his absence, and he, a poor man, could ill afford its total loss. Hence he sent in his resignation upon the 9th day of November, 1777, and set out for home, little thinking that the decisive battle of the war was yet nearly four years distant, and that the most important of his public service was before him, instead of being already passed.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE TWO MISSIONS TO FRANCE.

SCARCELY had Adams set out upon his homeward way, rejoicing in his newly acquired freedom, when arose in Congress the emergency which was to compel its relinquishment. The many contracts made by Silas Deane had brought to America a number of soldiers of fortune of more or less ability and character, holding that erratic diplomat's promises of rank and pay, and so annoyed was Congress by the complications resulting, that Mr. Deane's recall was sounded, and Mr. Adams was, without his knowledge, made a candidate for the post, and chosen against Robert Livingston. The message announcing this fact followed him closely, and was accompanied by most urgent letters from many friends, urging the infirmity of Franklin, the surpassing importance of having one discreet and honest man in France, and the vital necessity of closing an alliance upon favorable grounds, as reasons why he should accept the place. These considerations, added to the pleasant prospect of being able to apply his principles regarding foreign affairs, induced Adams to abandon the law practice, which he had resumed, and again assume the galling cares of office. He sailed from Boston February 13, 1778, accompanied by his eldest son, John Quincy Adams, a lad of ten years; his vessel out-ran a British cruiser, fought and captured a British privateer, and weathered a storm. Upon landing, he was received with honors, and proceeded to Paris, where he arrived April 8, 1778.

The news which met him was, to his view, far from encouraging. A treaty had been closed during the preceding February, which purchased America the assistance of France, but at the cost of an alliance, offensive and defensive, and a guaranty to France of territorial integrity in America. Adams, even admitting the inadequacy of a purely commercial treaty to accomplish the results gained by this, could not but fear that complications might result quite uncontemplated by its framers. The events of twenty years later quite justified this fear.

The nature of the treaty was not, however, his only or most immediate cause of disquiet. The relation of the American envoys in France was such as to bring discredit upon the United States. Deane, with his surrounding of toadies, had become dissatisfied with the conduct of Dr. Arthur Lee and his brother, William Lee, both of whom thoroughly distrusted and cordially disliked the weak-headed Connecticut envoy. Deane had worked upon the vanity and prejudices of Franklin and the natural suspicions of the Count de Vergennes, until he had won them both to his opinion, and the Count actually requested that Lee, an envoy duly accredited by the United States, be kept in ignorance of transactions in which his colleague and the American minister plenipotentiary took part! It will readily be conceived that Adams was most uncomfortably placed. He had a very high respect for Franklin, a sincere regard for the Lees, and knew at that time no reason why he should not respect the character, if not the wisdom, of Deane. He determined, then, to maintain his neutrality, and, at the same time, to use his influence, so far as possible, for the restoration of harmony among his colleagues. In the latter he was not successful, but his own attitude, and his effort for the pacification of his warring countrymen, met the approval and the public commendation of the Count de Vergennes.

It was, from the first, evident to Adams that the settlement of treaty terms had anticipated his mission, and that his usefulness in Europe was more than questionable. He, however, possessed his soul in patience for a time, awaiting an answer to his request for instructions. Pending this he devoted himself to systematizing the business of the consular service, reducing its records to order, and conducting an extensive correspondence with various prominent men in private and official life, with a view to perfecting himself in knowledge of European affairs. The result of his observation was reduced to writing, and published after his return to America. Inactivity was foreign to Adams' character, and, after chafing under the necessity of a comparatively idle life for some time, he at last determined, against the advice of Franklin, to act for himself, since he seemed forgotten by Congress, and embarked, on the 17th of June, 1779, in a French frigate, which reached Boston August 2d. He felt very much dissatisfied with the results of his long foreign stay, which were represented, to his mind, only by the division of the strictly diplomatic from the commercial service abroad, the transfer of Arthur Lee as minister to Madrid, and the appointment of an American consul general to France. There had been some reason for the failure of Congress to pay proper attention to his request for instructions, for that body had been sufficiently harassed in the effort to pay an army from an empty treasury; to increase it, with a prostrate credit; to settle the quarrels of the diplomats and the complications

arising at home, by reason of the Conway cabal. Adams forwarded his report and once more sought his home.

Again his native province claimed his service, and he was elected representative for Braintree, in the general assembly of Massachusetts. That colony had been making shift, since the outbreak of hostilities, to live under a provisional government, and had procured no substitute for the charter granted by William and Mary at the institution of the province. It was the office of the newly elected legislature to frame a new constitution, and there existed so decided differences, throughout the province, as to endanger the harmony of the session. One party, headed by Bowdoin, demanded a recognition of property as a basis of representation; the other, headed by Samuel Adams, was extremely democratic. John Adams was not committed to either party, and favored a middle course. He succeeded in obtaining a resolution of the assembly, declaring in favor of a republican government, administered by officers chosen by the people. A committee of thirty-two members was then appointed, to make and prepare a draft of a constitution; this committee appointed a smaller one, and the latter placed the whole matter in the hands of Mr. Adams. He drew a constitution which harmonized the parties, receiving the hearty support of each, and placed the machinery of the province, for the first time, in running order. In the meantime Congress was striving for the solution of the vexatious questions relating to the foreign diplomacy of the United States, and a resolution was drawn, intended to cut the gordian knot, by revoking the commissions of all ministers and envoys. Adams having come home upon his own motion, still held a commission, and was necessarily included within the operation of the act. As the resolution named the officers categorically, it was moved by his friends that each name be voted upon separately, and the result was the exception of Franklin and Adams from its operation.

Pending the discussion, arrived M. Gerrard, accredited by Versailles to the United States. One of his first official acts was to propose the mediation of Spain between Great Britain and the United States. This proposal was eagerly considered by Congress, the discussion being defined only by a desire that any treaty made should guarantee to America: First, independence. Second, a just settlement of boundaries. Third, the protection of the fisheries. Fourth, the free navigation of the Mississippi. The French ambassador desired nothing so much as to free the negotiation from any other condition than that of the independence. He set himself very skillfully to work to procure the removal of these restrictions, one of which,—that regarding the Mississippi,—was particularly distasteful both to France and Spain. This first gave way, and, later, he obtained the withdrawal also of the condition as to the fisheries, but only with the understanding that America should be at liberty to attempt an independent negotiation with Great

Britain. These important steps—the most important since the declaration of independence,—rendered necessary, first, the filling of the vacant ministerial post at Madrid, by a very able man, and, second, the appointment of one, if possible, more able, as envoy extraordinary to negotiate directly with Great Britain. Both Adams and Jay were urged for the latter place, but New England would not consider the name of Jay, for the reason of his real or imaginary lukewarmness in the matter of the fisheries, and, hence, Adams received the appointment to that post, while Jay was accredited to the court of Spain. Adams' commissions, empowering him to negotiate distinct treaties of peace and commerce, bore date October 20, 1779, and, on the 13th of November, of the same year, again accompanied by his son, John Quincy Adams, he set sail, and, duly arriving in Paris, presented his credentials.

It was, of course, necessary for him to establish himself in friendly territory and watch his opportunity to open communication with Great Britain. The vexations and delays which attended his vain effort can not be minutely related here. It was no part of the plan of the crafty Count de Vergennes to permit of the negotiation of a peace to which France should not be directly or indirectly a party, to her own profit. Hence, he threw constant obstacles in the way of the envoy, all covered by a mask of polite solicitude.

It is well to state before entering upon the brief relation of the circumstances attending Mr. Adams' mission, that documentary evidence exists in great abundance to prove that France, though her "disinterested succor" of the United States has been made the toast at so many banquets for this century and more, was, in fact, not in the slightest degree disinterested. She would not have ended the war a year sooner than 1781, could it have been done with honor and success. She had her private reasons for desiring to withdraw troops from Europe, at that particular time, and, beyond this fact, had no other interest in the conflict than that which arose from the double willingness to cripple her natural enemy and to open the way for possible gain to herself. Adams estimated rightly, when he held that the faith of France could be relied upon just so far as her interests and those of America coincided—beyond that, not at all.

Vergennes saw in Adams' embassy the possibility of purchasing a peace by offering exclusive trade to England, and thus leaving France out of the affair; he distrusted the Lees, and, knowing Adams to be their friend, distrusted him as well, and, when applied to to open a way for notifying England of the mission, refused to grant it, and set every means at work to procure a reconsideration of America's determination. In the meantime, Adams was courteously received as one empowered *to assist* in any negotiations for peace, which might be opened through other channels. Though thus practically without a mission, Adams did not waste time, but began

a series of communications to the press, intended to dispel the prevalent ignorance on the subject of the situation and resources of America. He also bent his efforts in conversation with the most intelligent people in the French capital, to the same end, and soon received an intimation from Vergennes, that the latter would be glad to receive any information he might have to convey. Taking this to be quite as much a direction as a request, he sent the minister newspapers and extracts from letters, which were acknowledged, with a request for more. Among the matter later sent, was a portion of a letter from Adams' brother-in-law, in which he referred to a proposal of Congress to redeem the emissions of continental currency, by the payment of one dollar in silver for forty in paper. This was made clear by a subsequent letter dispatched by Adams to the minister, explaining the difference between the domestic currency referred to, and loan certificates, many of which were held by French creditors of the United States. Before the receipt of this second letter, Vergennes, in great excitement, called upon Adams, upon whom he had no official claim, to use his efforts for the prevention of such partial repudiation. Adams could not well keep silence, thus apparently confirming Vergennes' erroneous impression, and hence replied with a full explanation. The minister, probably finding himself in error, was irritated, and denounced the communication and the former transmissions of intelligence as gratuitous and impertinent, as if they had been voluntary and not expressly requested by himself. He avowed a design to communicate to Congress, through the minister of France, his objection to the proposed measure, and, when Adams procured Franklin to suggest a delay of such action until the matter could be more fully discussed, repelled this suggestion and criticised Adams,—as he did later to Congress,—for interfering in the affair. Franklin was probably a little piqued at Adams' course, for he went out of his way to say that he was not responsible for the latter's action, and, when he drew a report to Congress, made no effort to set him right. Congress, however, did not regard Adams' action as worthy of condemnation, but, on the contrary, passed a resolution expressing its approval and thanks. In spite of all these facts, well recognized at the time, there has been a tendency to charge him with having gratuitously provoked a contest with the French minister.

Once more Adams proposed to Vergennes the opening of communication with England, urging the existence of a popular discontent in that country, which, in the event of a failure to properly consider his proposals, might well result in overturning the ministry of Lord North; again he met a rebuff, accompanied by a threat to appeal to Congress, should he persist in endeavoring to carry the plan into effect. He asked permission to go to Holland, desiring to open certain financial negotiations in that country. This, too, was refused. The menace of Vergennes was uncalled for, ill-timed,

and directed at a man so secure in the sense of his own integrity, that he was not to be in any manner intimidated. It drew from him a manly, full, and convincing statement of the condition of affairs in America, upon which was predicated the statement that his countrymen would scarcely forgive a failure to embrace any opportunity for an honorable peace, consistent with treaty obligations. Vergennes found, to his surprise, that he had encountered a man who would not be subservient, even to the representative of the crown of France. France was, at that time, more than inclined to favor a long truce, rather than the recognition of independence, as the basis of negotiation between England and America. Franklin had countenanced the idea, and the French alliance for a time bade fair to defeat, rather than to forward, its original purpose.

Having at last obtained a modification of Vergennes' orders, Mr. Adams, on the 27th of July, left Paris for the Hague. His prime object in this journey was to obtain materials which should permit of his forming a judgment as to the probability of obtaining an American loan from the Dutch. His first impression was very favorable. The principal obstacle seemed to lie in the perverted ideas regarding America, which the friends of England had instilled into the minds of the Dutch. To counteract this, Mr. Adams made his usual free use of the journals of the day, and also took every occasion to disseminate in private, such facts as would tend to forward his wishes. As the result of his representations, he was formally empowered by Congress to effect a loan in Holland.

Mr. Laurens had been appointed, by Congress, minister to Holland, and had set sail for Amsterdam. At this critical moment of Mr. Adams' negotiation, when the bankers seemed favorably interested in America, came news that Laurens had been captured by a British cruiser, and with him a draft of a proposed treaty between the United States and Holland, which seriously compromised the latter with Great Britain. A panic at once seized the merchants and bankers, and negotiations were, for the time, brought to a stand-still.

On the 1st day of January, 1781, came a commission to Adams, as plenipotentiary to Holland. No sooner was this received than he began to labor for recognition. The arrogant action of England toward Holland, had left only the choice between resistance and abject surrender. The Dutch were not prepared for the latter, and the eagerness of England to find cause for quarrel, indirectly served the ends of America. The stadtholder and the court were known to be inclined to the English view of the subject, but the people were strongly tinctured with the spirit of liberty, and among them Mr. Adams found his best friends. In the midst of this negotiation, and before it had been prosecuted to a result, there came to Adams a message from the Count de Vergennes, requesting his presence in France, in his capacity of commissioner for the negotiation of a peace.

This was accompanied by no explanation of the attitude of affairs, and the American envoy had been studiously kept ignorant of the progress of the negotiation. Nevertheless he set out, and arrived in Paris on the 6th day of July, 1781.

The immediate reason for summoning Adams to Paris, was the necessity of considering a proposal of accommodation, made by Russia and Austria, and forwarded to the respective ministers of those powers at Paris, London, and Madrid. The proposal provided for a wholly separate negotiation between Great Britain and the United States, without the intervention of France, or of mediators, unless such should be requested; no treaty was, however, to be executed or signed, except simultaneously with a peace between the belligerents for whom the mediation was proposed. The fourth article provided, in the event of the acceptance of this proposal by all parties, the belligerents should call upon the mediating powers to open the congress, and should at once commission representatives to attend it. This fourth and last article, which involved the standing of the United States in the negotiation, was kept secret from Mr. Adams,—the Count de Vergennes fearing that the American envoy might demand so much for his country, and for himself in his representative capacity, as to defeat his own plan of reducing America to the ignominious position of holding a seat in the congress, without a vote, thus juggling with her interests and leaving her powerless to act.

It is not necessary to go into particulars regarding this effort at mediation, for the reason that it failed—principally because of the obstinacy of England's doting old king, who could not brook an interference of France between Great Britain and her colonies. Even had this stubborn resistance failed of wrecking the project, it would have been gravely imperiled by the fact that America, in spite of Franklin's leaning, would assuredly have insisted upon independence, absolute and unqualified, as its ultimatum, refusing to accept the prolonged truce proposed by Spain, and would have withdrawn unconditionally from the negotiation, unless regarded as a belligerent power, rather than an insurgent praying succor from Europe. While the proposals of Russia and Austria were pending, Adams wrote Vergennes in no uncertain tone, foreshadowing this policy, and evoked an angry answer from that minister, in which it was stated that preliminaries were to be arranged before the United States could be fully recognized, and which closed with something very like a threat that Adams should lose his place, did he insist upon making such demands. The letter was addressed and franked by Vergennes, in his own hand, to Adams, as *agent* of the United States of North America. In spite of this pointed rebuff, Adams supplemented his letter to Vergennes with two others, in which he respectfully and clearly reiterated his arguments for the recognition of America in the congress, and to such effect that the minister, without previously consulting

him, intimated to the mediating powers, that the recognition of the United States in the negotiation would be a necessary condition precedent to the acceptance by France of the proposal for intervention. The negotiation lingered through January, 1782, when it died by the act of England.

Long before this final closing of the negotiation, Adams, despairing of its effect, had returned to Holland, and resumed his independent labors for recognition. He had scarcely reached Amsterdam, when he learned that the representations of Vergennes had resulted in the revocation of his commission to negotiate a treaty of commerce with England, but he had so long regarded that matter as practically ended, that the revocation gave him little uneasiness. He also received word that the peace commission had been enlarged by the addition of Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jay, Mr. Laurens, and Mr. Jefferson. The association with himself of so many able and representative men, gave him great satisfaction. The Congress, which was much lowered in tone and spirit, had, however, done other acts in connection with the commission, which, had he then known, would have caused him serious anxiety and annoyance. The first of these was the retreat from every condition precedent to the peace, save that of independence; the second—and this is the most ignominious act in the history of America—to direct its commissioners, "ultimately to govern themselves by the advice and opinion of the French minister."

In the meantime, Adams' distrust of Vergennes was increased by discovering that his own negotiations in Holland, those of Jay at Madrid, and of Dana at St. Petersburg, not only did not receive the assistance of France, but were covertly opposed. Hence he concluded to wait no longer upon the action of Vergennes, but to throw his whole personal reputation, and the success of his effort, upon a single cast. Several circumstances united to favor his effort. He first received a commission from the United States, authorizing him to negotiate a tripartite alliance of France, Holland, and the United States; next came news, conveyed directly by Washington, of the capitulation of Cornwallis, and, most potent of all, England adopted so arbitrary a course toward Holland, in declaring war when negotiation might so easily have settled the differences, that the old popular party of the commercial cities was aroused, and fairly overbalanced the stadtholder, who was the creature of a corrupt favorite, and the friend of England. Mention has been made of a memorial, addressed by Adams, to the States General, announcing his accrediting to Holland, and demanding recognition. In January, 1782, he began a round of formal visits to the representatives of the various states, requesting a categorical answer to this memorial. He was received with varying cordiality, according to the inclination of the several officers. The assent of seven of the states was necessary to the granting of his request, and, in every instance, the persons to whom he appealed, pleaded lack of authority, and promised to refer the matter. Soon

came news that one state had decided favorably to the request; then that another had done so, and, finally, on the 19th of April, 1782, the council having received a sufficient number of favorable votes, recognized John Adams as minister plenipotentiary of the United States. He did not allow matters to rest with this recognition, but on the same day presented a proposal for a treaty of amity and commerce, and, pending the slow course of Dutch diplomacy, pressed the negotiation of a much needed loan. His success with council and capitalists was complete The treaty was signed on the 17th of October, 1782, and, before that time, a loan of five million guilders, only the first of several large investments, was closed. Thus his second mission to Holland came to an end.

Mr. Adams was wont to regard his success in Holland as the greatest accomplishment of his life, and it may with much reason be so considered. He went to that country, under the disapproval of the French minister, unacquainted with the language, customs, and sentiments of the people. He found them ignorant to the last degree as to American affairs, or, worse still, intentionally misled by friends of England. He overcame all obstacles; used the press and obtained the ears of prominent men in private. He conquered the secret discountenance of France, the opposition of the stadtholder and the aristocracy; created a public sentiment in favor of America, and won recognition, alliance, and, hardest of all, money. All this he accomplished quite alone, and it was, in truth, a great achievement.

CHAPTER IX.

THE NEGOTIATION OF THE PEACE.

WHEN came the call to Paris, Adams was none too eager to go. He had sufficient knowledge of Vergennes to doubt his good faith, and to be certain that the coming negotiation would be extremely vexatious. He did not, therefore, at once desert his mission in Holland, which had then reached a very critical point, but waited to secure the signature of his treaty, —then took his departure, arriving in Paris October 6, 1782.

The condition of the negotiation was most peculiar. Already, so early as the month of March, 1782, Lord North, whose administration had received its death blow, had sent a certain private agent named Digges to sound Mr. Adams, as to the terms upon which negotiation might be established, evidently desiring to conduct an independent and private conference with him. As a condition precedent to granting Digges an interview, Adams required that a third person be present, and that he himself should be at liberty to disclose anything that might pass to the Count de Vergennes. These requirements in effect announced the failure of Digges' mission. After an unimportant conversation he returned to England and later made a communication to Adams, which confirmed his suspicion that Lord North was simply sounding him with the hope of betraying him into some unwise communication, and was never sincere in his expressed desire to treat. Later came the crisis which upset North, to give place to a cabinet headed by the Marquis of Rockingham, with Charles Fox in the foreign, and Lord Shelburne in the colonial office. Of course the subject of American affairs, upon which the cabinet of North had been wrecked, was the rock in the course of the new ministry as well. At the very outset arose a complication between Fox and Shelburne, each of whom claimed that the American negotiation belonged in his province, which ultimately wrecked the ministry. Out of this grew a remarkable series of secret manœuvres, in which each of the ministers carried on his own preliminary

negotiation by means of private agents. Mr. Richard Oswald, sent as representative of Lord Shelburne, was soon deep in consultation with Franklin, while Mr. Thomas Grenville, an emissary of Fox, was sounding the Count de Vergennes.

It is neither necessary nor possible to follow the various phases of the preliminary steps to the negotiation. Fox favored admitting American independence in the first instance; Shelburne desired that question to remain as an element in the negotiation. The misunderstandings and mysterious reservations of agents, impressed Vergennes and Franklin with distrust of the good faith of Great Britain. Then Jay returned from Spain. He knew that Spain would claim such a boundary as should cut off the United States from the Mississippi river. All knew that England would make every possible encroachment at the north, and that she would protest against the demands of the United States regarding the fisheries. Jay suspected that Vergennes could not be relied upon for any active opposition. He did not, however, know—what was the fact—that Vergennes had sent a secret emissary to Lord Shelburne, intimating that France would not uphold America *in any unjust* demands, from which language a readiness to make liberal concessions, in the name of America, was intended to be inferred.

The defeat of Fox, his retirement from the cabinet, the death of Rockingham, and the elevation of Shelburne to the premiership, all these led up to the commissioning of Mr. Oswald to treat regarding peace, with "the thirteen *colonies* of North America, or any persons whatever." Franklin and Vergennes expressed themselves willing to accept this peculiar commission and to treat with Mr. Oswald. Mr. Jay refused so to do, or to be content with aught but an antecedent recognition of American independence. It was by reason of this disagreement that Mr. Adams was summoned, not much to the satisfaction of Vergennes, and decidedly to the chagrin of Oswald, who had hoped to conclude his treaty without the intervention of a person so difficult either to intimidate or cajole. Adams' first suggestion, made in a letter to Jay during September, was that a compromise be effected by the amendment of Oswald's commission which should give him power to treat with the United States of America. He considered that this, while not a formal recognition, would be a sufficient admission to form the basis of a negotiation. The combined influence of Mr. Jay's pressing representations and of the anxiety of England to close a treaty without the intervention of Adams, was to secure this amendment of Oswald's instructions, and he at last stood recognized and apparently unhampered as the agent of Great Britain, and opened his business with Jay and Franklin. The first step was the submission by Mr. Oswald to his government of a threefold proposition, suggested by Mr. Franklin as a basis of negotiation. This embraced, first: the recognition of American independence and liberal definition of boundaries; second: such joint use of fisheries, as had existed since the French

war until the Revolution; third: free navigation of the Mississippi. This proposal certainly was broad enough, covering every possibly controverted point; it was, in fact, too broad to suit king, cabinet, or people of Great Britain. It began to be suspected that Mr. Oswald was not quite as wise as a serpent, hence he was reinforced in his mission, by the appointment of Mr. Henry Strachey, who was instructed to insist upon the indemnification of refugees, the curtailment of boundaries, and the modification of American demands regarding trade and the fisheries. From the moment of the arrival of this gentleman, the harmony of the negotiation was at an end. France, too, began to manifest in an unequivocal manner her design to support the British commissioners in their demands for the modification of the American ultimata as to trade and the fisheries. It was at this point that Mr. Adams, having at last settled his important matters at the Hague, arrived at Paris to assume his place in the commission. This was indeed a most delicate one, calling for his action with and judgment between two colleagues radically disagreed upon a vital matter, he himself being fully of the mind of neither.

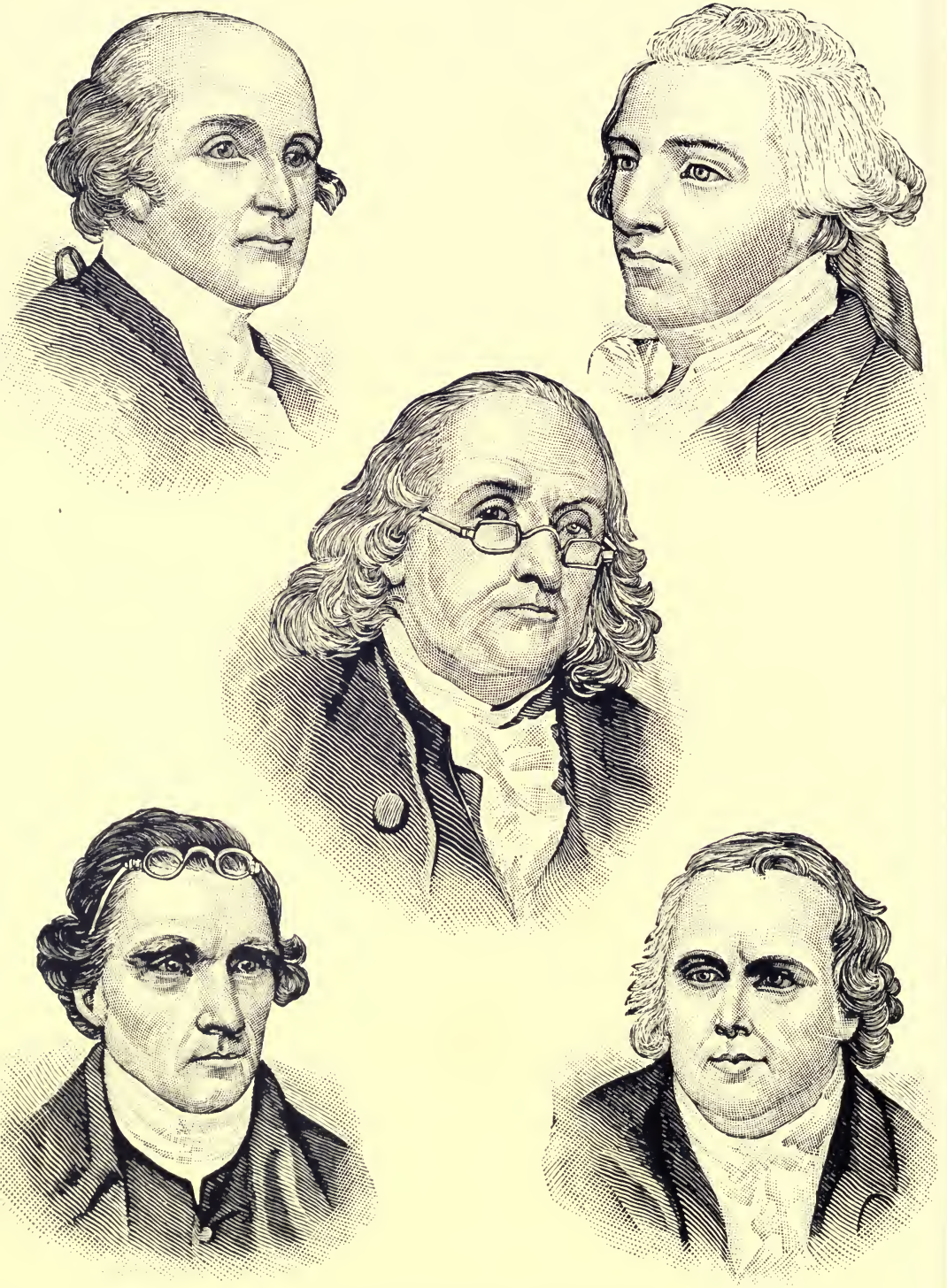
The attitude of France brought before the commissioners for the first time, a full practical appreciation of the disadvantage and the blind folly of the action of Congress, which had made them ultimately dependent upon the decision of the French minister. They had before felt this as a humiliation; they now saw before them only the choice between ignoring this direction and proceeding with a separate negotiation, and, on the other hand, standing idly by, while France should barter away the most valuable rights of America, to assist in oiling the wheels of European diplomacy for her own purposes. Jay was the first to declare his intention of proceeding independently of France; Franklin still professed confidence in the ultimate justice of that power, but, upon Adams' joining with Jay, he assented. Vergennes did not seem seriously offended at the action of the commissioners; it was, in fact, a delicate and vexatious duty taken from his hands, and if he might be clear of it, he was willing to waive every real and imaginary right, except that secured in the treaty of alliance, that the peace of France and America with Great Britain should be simultaneous.

When the negotiation was re-begun, under this new determination, Franklin and Jay were reinforced by Adams; Oswald by Strachey. The independence was conceded, as was the matter of navigation of the Mississippi. The points principally at issue were questions of boundary and the fisheries, claimed by America; the securing of debts due British subjects, and the payment of indemnity to refugees, insisted upon by the British. Adams came just in time to save the interests of New England as to the northeastern boundary and the fisheries, for, while his colleagues had pressed for them, they had not insisted upon them as essential. The result of the early consultations of the enlarged commission, was the drawing of

new proposals by Mr. Adams, which granted to British subjects the right of collecting their debts by agency of the American courts, refused all indemnity to refugees, demanded liberal boundaries, and equal rights with Great Britain as to the fisheries. These Strachey conveyed to London, leaving behind him a note in which he predicted a failure of the negotiation, should they not be modified. The ministry was, however, in such a strait that peace was a necessity, and the ultimate granting of the demands made by the American commissioners, a light matter when compared with it. Hence Strachey returned to France with instructions to offer concessions regarding boundaries, to maintain the former position regarding the fisheries and refugees, until the determination of the American commissioners became evident, then to recede and accept their terms.

The fisheries question coming up, after some discussion, Strachey offered to concede the fishing at a distance of more than three leagues from the coast, as a privilege, but declined to yield it nearer the shore. Adams claimed the fisheries of the high seas as a right, that of the waters within the jurisdiction of Great Britain as a concession. The British commissioners made one more stand, avowing their readiness to yield the *liberty* but not the *right* of fishing. Adams answered in a bold, determined, vehement speech, saying that he had come to the conference to protect the rights of America to the fishery, and that he would accept no other expression in lieu thereof. This was a bold stand, for the commercial mission under which he originally went to France, had been revoked, and the matter of the fisheries was then not even held as an ultimatum by the United States. He turned to Laurens, who had joined the commission, for corroboration and support, which he received in liberal measure. Jay, though perhaps less warm in his approval, also acquiesced. The British commissioners, deeming that they had carried resistance as far as their instructions demanded, announced their willingness to accept the terms proposed, and, on the same day, the 29th of November, 1782, was signed the provisional treaty of peace. The victory was indeed a grand one. The negotiation of so favorable a peace by the inexperienced diplomatists of an infant nation, hampered by the weakness of their Congress, furtively opposed by the wily minister of France, dealing with a nation so arrogant and unbending as England—it was indeed an accomplishment excusing a measure of pride. No other man upon the commission did so much to literally and inflexibly support the demands of America as did Adams, and the maintenance of her boundaries and fisheries may justly be ascribed to him.

The preliminary treaty could, of course, only become effective when a peace should be concluded between the other belligerent powers and England. There had never been a thought, on the part of any one of the American commission, of overlooking the obligation which bound them to make a common peace as they had made a common war with France. Yet Ver-



JOHN JAY.
PATRICK HENRY.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

JOHN HANCOCK.
GOUVERNEUR MORRIS.

gennes was not free from suspicion that they might make such an attempt. When the result of the conference was first reported to him, he expressed his approval, and complimented the commissioners upon the skill and tact which had brought their labors to so happy an issue. Later, however, when Jay offered him the opportunity to send dispatches to America, in the vessel which was to bear the announcement of their own success, he appeared much discontented, and taxed them with being in great haste to communicate the result of their own work, without taking any pains to ascertain the condition of the French negotiation, so that their preliminary treaty might, in fact, have the same weight and effect as if it were definitive. He, however, accepted the offer of their vessel, and sent serious complaints regarding the conduct of the commissioners, particularly as related to the independent negotiation. This action on his part would have had much greater effect, had it been taken earlier. Coming with the news of the preliminary treaty, it lost half its force. It drew, however, from Livingston, secretary of Congress, a rebuke and admonition, which were ill-timed and undeserved. This action excited much indignation among the members of the commission, and was answered in an elaborate official statement of facts and arguments.

In spite of all misunderstandings and mistrust, delays, cavillings, and insincerity, France, Spain, and England at last settled upon terms of peace, and the definitive treaty, which formally admitted America to the family of nations, was signed on the 3d of September, 1783. With this act, Mr. Adams regarded his mission in Europe as completed. He had accomplished all he had sought, the alliance with Holland, the loan which released America from desperate straits, and the peace. Hence he applied for permission to return home. Congress and the people were, however, too well satisfied with what he had done in Europe, to consent to give up his services. He had, in certain private letters, expressed regret that the revocation of his former commission had left no one in Europe with power to negotiate a commercial treaty with England. This suggestion reached Congress, and, instead of his wished for permission to return to his home, he received notice of his appointment, in connection with Messrs. Franklin and Jay, for that service.

CHAPTER X.

FURTHER FOREIGN SERVICE—THE VICE-PRESIDENCY.

ADAMS was not at once permitted to assume his duties upon the new commission for negotiation with Great Britain. The arduous labors of several successive years, and his long exposure to the miasmatic poison of the low countries, had combined to undermine his health; already he had passed through an attack of fever at the Hague, and now, having barely completed his peace mission in Paris, he was again prostrated. His illness was long and serious; in its course it was deemed necessary to remove him from his hotel, in the heart of Paris, to the quiet home of a friend, in the suburbs. There he gradually improved, until he reached convalescence; long rides and drives in the Bois de Boulogne, and the pleasant by-ways of Auteuil, brought slowly back a measure of his strength. Still he did not gain as fast as he should, and, under advice of his physicians, he sailed for England in October, 1783, made the journey with comfort, and was ensconced at the Adelphi hotel, in London. Through the intervention of his great and honored countryman, Benjamin West, he obtained access to Buckingham and Windsor palaces, and, by a strange coincidence, stood in the house of lords when the poor, weak old king made his address, presenting to the house the Prince of Wales, that day attained majority, and at the same time confessing that the war which he had provoked, had brought only defeat, disaster, and humiliation.

Though the change of air and scene had proven beneficial to Mr. Adams, it was found that he still required something more, and he was recommended to try the effect of the waters at Bath. Hence, he left London and was just becoming domesticated in the gay English watering place, when came word that the American loan, negotiated with Holland, had been exhausted; that the drafts of the American treasury upon the Barings had been protested for non-acceptance, and were in danger of being protested for non-payment. At the same time he received urgent directions to

repair to the Hague and negotiate an additional loan. Weak and frail in health, he could scarcely but regard such an expedition, in the depth of a severe winter, with the primitive means of travel then existing, as attempted, if at all, almost necessarily at the price of his life. Yet he determined to make the effort, that he might save to America the results of his former efforts. To reach the Hague a dangerous and difficult voyage was necessary, and this was undertaken by Mr. Adams and his son, John Quincy Adams, who had been his constant companion throughout his journeys and labor in Europe. The vessel was detained by unfavorable winds and finally landed its passengers upon the island of Goree, whence it was necessary to cross the half frozen arm of the sea to the island of Over Flackee, traverse its length, then make another perilous crossing to the main land. All this was done at a cost of hardship such as Mr. Adams had never before suffered, and he reached the Hague and opened the not too hopeful negotiation, which he carried to a successful issue, providing sufficient means for all the needs of government, until it became self-sustaining under the Constitution. This was done, however, upon less favorable terms than formerly, by reason of the extravagance and bad business methods of the government, which had somewhat alarmed the methodical Dutchmen.

Pending the negotiation of this important loan, came overtures from Frederick II. of Prussia, for the making of a commercial treaty with the United States. Franklin had just concluded such a treaty with Sweden, and Mr. Adams submitted a copy of it to the king, as a basis for preliminary discussion. Then followed a long and interesting consideration of the subject, involving a correspondence between Mr. Adams and the Prussian minister of state, which was the source of great satisfaction to the former. Finally, when every point had been carefully discussed, and every suggestion of the king elaborated and embodied in the form of a proposed treaty, the whole was sent to the United States for the consideration of Congress. Before it was received, Congress had commissioned John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Thomas Jefferson with general powers for the negotiation of commercial treaties with all European powers. This commission came in the early portion of the year 1784, and not far from this time Mrs. Adams and her daughter arrived in Europe and the reunited family settled in Paris. Then ensued a few months of keen and uninterrupted enjoyment, which years of almost constant separation and arduous labor had well earned. The official character of Mr. Adams, added to the recognition which his personality had won, opened the most jealous doors of the gay French capital. Mrs. Adams was well capable of worthily sustaining her husband's position, and thus, in the society of the most cultivated and interesting persons of the official, fashionable, and literary world, the days and weeks passed very smoothly.

The first meeting of the new commission was held at Paris, on the 30th

day of August, 1784, and notification sent to every maritime power in Europe, of its existence and the scope of its authority. There was no manifestation of eagerness on the part of the powers to meet the commission, and conclude treaties with the new and half-trusted nation beyond the Atlantic. Frederick, of Prussia, was a notable exception; the unfinished negotiation, begun with Mr. Adams, was carried forward under the new commission, and resulted in the adoption of a treaty which, for liberality and humanity, was far in advance of any that had ever been sealed between nations. The privileges of trade, the guaranties of personal immunity, and the general unreserved reciprocity, did infinite credit alike to the king and to Mr. Adams, and were well worthy of a more general recognition and imitation than they have received even in a later century. The labors of the commission were not engrossing, and the happy life at Paris continued until the month of February, 1785, when came to Adams notice of his appointment as envoy to St. James,—a tardy recognition of the folly of the revocation of his former commission. It was with reluctance that the recipient of this appointment left Paris for London, to take up his new and important duties as the first envoy of the victorious colonies, to the court of the defeated king. It was, indeed, a delicate charge which he had to assume. The confederation of the North American States, had only survived the war by the force of public emergency, and, with the withdrawal of this external pressure, it was falling to pieces like the timbers of a stranded ship. The British government had deserted the pacific and liberal policy of the Shelburne ministry, which, had it been adopted, would have united the two nations by ties of common interest more permanent and valuable than those which had been dissolved by war. In its place had been proposed a policy of rigorous exclusion of the United States from all the benefits of the British colonial trade. It can, in fact, scarcely be regarded as a policy, for it was the least politic course which could have been pursued, and was dictated purely by resentment. Though opposed by the wisest statesmen, it pleased the thoughtless ones, it pleased the king, and it flattered the wounded pride of the people. Then, too, the American confederation failed to live up to its treaty agreements; not only was there a conspicuous lack of zeal in opening the way for the collection of debts held by British citizens, but some states actually went so far as to declare such obligations void, repudiating the act of Congress and its commission. There was much cause for the mortification of the friends and the exultation of the enemies of America throughout Europe, and especially in Great Britain. The latter power needed only a pretext for retaliation, and refused to abandon the frontier forts as stipulated in the treaty.

This being the condition of affairs, the mission of Adams was foredoomed to failure. Upon arriving at London, in May, he was formally presented to the king, and was received with icy civility. No people in the

world, sooner detects or is more strictly ruled by the humor of royalty, than is the British. What was bare civility in the king, became coldness in the ministry, superciliousness in the court, rudeness in the people. When Jefferson was summoned from Paris, to give counsel in the matter, he went with Adams before the king, and the monarch, after a few formal words, placed the royal orb in eclipse, by turning his back upon the representative rebels. Failure was everywhere predicted for the American experiment, and there seemed little reason for a better hope. There were not lacking wise men in England, who expected to see America begging for pardon, protection, and a place in the colonial family. Under such circumstances the negotiation of a treaty of commerce was entirely impracticable. Jefferson returned to Paris within a few weeks, and, although Adams remained in London for nearly three years, his mission calls for no further attention.

The opinions of Europe were at that time very unsettled. The political leaven which resulted in the French revolution, was even then at work, and not alone in Paris or in France. Every capital in Europe had its imitators and disciples of Rousseau, Voltaire—even of the hideous fanatic, Marat. Political discussion was the only discussion, and the word liberty was upon every tongue. As was inevitable under the circumstances, the American experiment was much discussed and freely condemned, though with no great enlightenment. Among its assailants was M. Turgot, a French publicist, and, upon reading his production, Mr. Adams determined to devote his time to elaborating his own theory of American system, for the enlightenment of Europe, as well as the clarification of American ideas upon the subject. With infinite labor he prepared and published his work entitled, A Defense of the Constitution of the United States from the Attack of M. Turgot, which ultimately extended to three volumes, and was published and read throughout Europe and America. The work was not a remarkable one from a literary standpoint, and its significance has long since passed, but it vindicated its *raison d' etre* at the time, placing before the world the first elaborate and well considered discussion of the subject. The first volume came to Massachusetts just at the time when the fate of the newly framed federal Constitution hung in the balance. The state was divided, the commercial element favoring the Constitution; the agricultural class opposing it. Samuel Adams and John Hancock were inclined to take part with the opposition. They read John Adams' volume; he had learned lessons by the failure of the confederation, and the burthen of his argument was in favor of a federation, with adequate central authority, in the hands of an elective executive, a legislature composed of two branches, and a judiciary which should check the legislative. This was a modification of the British system to meet the needs of America, and it did not sufficiently differ from that embodied in the proposed constitution of America, to weaken the effect of its arguments in favor of that instrument, and, as a

result, these may be said to have determined the policy of Samuel Adams and Hancock; with them the action of Massachusetts; with Massachusetts the fate of the constitution. The work was later read, analyzed, rudely dismembered, and every isolated sentence which could be turned to such a purpose, used to show that Adams was a monarchist and a dangerous enemy of freedom.

With the completion and publication of this treatise, Adams felt his work in Europe to be done. During the year 1787 he solicited permission to return home; in February, 1788, he received his recall, and during the following spring sailed for America. Thus ended his marvelous diplomatic service.

The period intervening between the return of Adams to America and his assumption of the honors of the presidency must be dismissed with great brevity. The Constitution was ratified immediately after his homecoming, and the agitation of the presidential question at once began. Washington was clearly to be President; who should be Vice President was problematical. The fundamental differences out of which grew the federal and democratic parties, dated from the Constitution. All who favored it were deemed federalists, all who opposed, democrats. Hamilton was a leading spirit in the preliminary steps of what we should now call a campaign. It was vitally important that the Vice President should be in harmony with the Chief Executive, and, to Hamilton's view, no less so that he should be of the federal inclining. Geographical considerations, too, had their weight. As Washington was a Virginian, it was desirable to throw a sop to the North, and New England in particular needed a harmonizing effort. The most prominent men of New England, were John and Samuel Adams, and John Hancock, and, among these, there could be no question either as to general fitness for the place, or peculiar eligibility for the harmonizing of factions and supporting the first efforts of the administration. Yet, while Hamilton accepted John Adams as a necessity, he was far from being perfectly content; he desired above all things to keep the second office of the administration in subordination to the first, and he determined to secure such a distribution of electoral votes as should insure the repression of any quiescent ambition to shine with too prominent a greatness. Hamilton, to borrow a modern slang expression, was the first political "boss"; he manipulated the electoral college with such good effect that, of its sixty-nine members, thirty-four voted for Adams, while the votes of the remaining thirty-nine were divided among ten other candidates. This was sufficient to elect him, but, to Hamilton's view, enough to suggest to him the advisability of a reasonable subordination. The service of Mr. Adams as vice president may be tersely summed up, yet it was more important than he would have had the world believe, when he wrote his wife: "But my country has, in its wisdom, contrived for me the most insignificant office

that ever the invention of man contrived, or his imagination conceived." There was, at the outset, a membership of but twenty two in the Senate. Feeling ran high and party lines were closely drawn. One of the earliest important questions which arose, was as to the appointment of the President's cabinet—whether or no the confirmation of the Senate should be necessary. The injustice of placing such power in the same body of men who constituted a court for the trial of an impeachment, to-day seems obvious enough, yet the Senate was divided, nine votes being cast upon either side of the question. This threw the decision into the hands of Adams, as president of the Senate, and he voted against the conferring of such power upon that body. No less than twenty times, during the first Congress, was he called upon to give a casting vote, and usually upon important measures. In every case he voted with the administration, not because he was in sympathy with Hamilton, or always with his measures, but because he saw the vital importance of organization and the investment of the federal government with authority sufficient to carry its formative policy into effect.

Then came the French revolution. Adams, from the first, believed that no stability could be expected in a government of millions of atheists and political agnostics. He said as much in private conversation, in letters, and in a series of elaborate dissertations in the press. During all the dangerous complications which followed, he was always a devoted advocate of Washington's policy of neutrality and an opponent of the ruinous fallacies, which the Galliphiles attempted, in their clubs and through the press, to engraft in America. Here he, for the first time, came in direct personal conflict with Jefferson, who was as much an extremist upon one side of the question as was Hamilton on the other side. It is interesting to note that, while he was using the pen in opposition to the popular agitation in Philadelphia, his son, John Quincy Adams, then a young Boston lawyer, was doing a similar work over the signature *Publicola*, without consultation with him; the letters of the latter were pronounced by the most prominent English publicists, the ablest exposition of the matter that had been made. It was not only in writing and speaking that Adams served America in this emergency. When, as a result of the arrogant interference of Great Britain with the shipping of the United States, trading with France, measures had passed the lower house which could only have resulted in plunging the young nation into the midst of a general European war, and, these measures coming to a vote, in the Senate, that body was equally divided, he gave the casting vote in favor of the administration,—which meant in favor of neutrality and peace.

On the 30th of May, 1794, Mr. Adams had the satisfaction of seeing his son, John Quincy Adams, spontaneously named by Washington and confirmed by the Senate for the mission to Holland.

The history of the two administrations during which Adams filled the vice presidential chair has been fully written elsewhere.* Having briefly named the principal features of his service, it is necessary to pass to the year 1796, when, by an electoral vote of seventy-one, one more than necessary to a choice, he was chosen President of the United States, with Thomas Jefferson as Vice President. This close vote presaged the dissolution of the federalist party.

* See life of Washington, *ante*.



RESIDENCE OF JOHN ADAMS.

CHAPTER XI.

MR. ADAMS' PRESIDENCY—CONCLUSION.

MR. ADAMS was inaugurated President of the United States, March 4, 1797. He retained in office the cabinet which had advised Washington during the latter months of his administration,—Thomas Pickering, secretary of state; Oliver Wolcott, secretary of the treasury; James McHenry, secretary of war; Charles Lee, attorney-general. When, during the year 1798, the navy department was established, he made Benjamin Stoddart, of Maryland, secretary of the navy. At the very outset of his administration, he was brought face to face with the misunderstandings with France, which have been discussed at large at an earlier page of this work. It will be remembered that Charles C. Pinckney, American minister to France, had been insulted and driven from its territories by the republic; that American ships carrying English products, or trading with England, were subjected to examination and the diversion of their cargoes, and that one arrogant and injurious edict had followed another until there was apparently little further virtue in forbearance. Hence, the President called an extra session of Congress to meet May 15 1797. The federalists had, at that time, a good working majority in each house of Congress, and the indignation caused by the action of France drew many members of the opposition temporarily to the administration. The President and the majority in Congress had not, however, despaired of maintaining an honorable peace; the neutrality laws were re-affirmed, the fitting out of privateers and the participation in any hostile movement against France forbidden, the exporting of arms interdicted, and their importation encouraged. The President was authorized to call out militia to the number of eighty thousand, and provision was made for the equipment of a naval force, but one entirely inadequate to offensive service. In order to meet the great expense of these measures, stamp duties were provided for,—than which no legislation ever proved more unpopular. These various acts include all the important legislation of the special session, which adjourned July 10, 1797.

Previous to that time, the President had intimated his determination to make one more effort at accommodating the differences with France. To this end, he nominated Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Elbridge Gerry, and John Marshall special envoys to France, with the fullest powers to treat. These gentlemen met in Paris during the month of October, 1797, and immediately put forward every effort toward the fulfilment of their mission. They were met, however, with every manner of evasion and subterfuge. The government, affecting to ignore them, still employed unofficial persons to negotiate with them. These suppressed their own names, and conducted their endeavors under the mysterious initials X, Y, and Z. The burthen of this dishonorable effort was to detach the ministers from each other and obtain the views of each in separate interviews. Marshall and Pinckney were convinced of the impossibility of effecting any desirable result by such processes, and requested of Adams permission to return to America. The granting of this request was almost immediately anticipated by an insulting and summary order from the government, that Marshall and Pinckney leave France, coupled with an invitation to Gerry to remain, which was very much like a demand. Gerry, doubtless with good intentions, but very unwisely, did continue in France until the following October, while his colleagues made the best of their way homeward.

The news of the outrageous conduct of France excited the wildest excitement and anger—particularly when it became known that money had been demanded as the price of peace. It was then that Mr. Pinckney coined the noble and now proverbial phrase: "Millions for defense, but not a cent for tribute." This sentiment was echoed by the people at large, and the Congress which assembled in regular session on the 13th of November and sat constantly for more than eight months, was busy in concerting means for defense against an apprehended French invasion. Measures were adopted for organizing an army under the command of Washington; for defending the seaboard cities; for the institution of a naval department, and the organization of an adequate maritime force. A loan was also negotiated and a direct tax upon real estate levied. Still, the neutrality of the country was sought to be maintained; America stood simply in a vigilantly defensive attitude. France was engaged in a most outrageous interference with American shipping, which, under pretext of enforcing a blockade against England, was subjected to constant and malicious damage. An act of Congress suspended commercial relations with France; merchant vessels were permitted to arm themselves for defense. Against this policy the democratic minority was strongly arrayed, but the people were with the administration and Adams had good reason at that time to believe himself secure in the good opinion of the country.

War was never declared between the United States and France. The intent of France, at that time as unscrupulous a power as any in the world,

seems to have been to work upon the fears of America and exact money by that means. The active war preparations of the United States, the worsting of the French frigates *L'Insurgent* and *La Vengeance*, by the American frigate *Constellation*, tended to disabuse the minds of the mercenary French of the idea that the further prosecution of such an attempt could be profitable. Anticipating somewhat the order of events, the history of this complication may be completed. The two powers maintained their attitude of mutual distrust until the year 1799, without further collision or overture. When the fifth Congress convened for its third session, in December, 1798, the message of the President was met with very cordial approval; his war measures were promptly supported; an increase of the army was voted, and a million dollars appropriated for strengthening the navy. France was far from eager to measure swords with the United States, and had she done so, it is more than likely she would have been defeated, for the younger nation was well prepared and well disposed for the conflict. After making many important provisions for defense, Congress expired by limitation, in March, 1799. Before this time President Adams had received word from Mr. William Vans Murray, American minister in Holland, that the French minister to that power had intimated that his government would receive one or more American envoys, to treat for an accommodation. The President determined to act upon this hint, and, on the 25th day of February, 1799, nominated to the Senate Mr. Murray, Oliver Ellsworth, and Patrick Henry as such envoys, and all were confirmed. Mr. Henry declined to serve, and William R. Davie, of North Carolina, was substituted. The envoys did not depart for France until November, 1799, no official assurance that they would be favorably received, having been given until October. When they reached Paris, they found that a change of government had taken place, and that Napoleon Bonaparte had taken the first step in his then unsuspected scheme of advancement, and ranked as first consul. The history of the negotiation need not be followed here. It resulted in the conclusion of a treaty which secured peace, though it did not definitely provide for indemnity for the outrages committed by France. It was ratified by the French government in 1800, and was in the main confirmed by the Senate of the United States, during the administration of Mr. Adams. Two sections were, however, reserved and remained for Jefferson to settle.

This was a peace without honor. Mr. Adams, carried away by his desire to prevent a war, sadly forgot the dignity of the United States, when he consented to accept an indefinite and roundabout report of the readiness of France to receive the envoys of a people which she had so grossly wronged. War would doubtless have been a misfortune, even if successful, but not so great as this ignominious suit for peace, when America was well able to command her right by force. This single act lost Mr. Adams the support of his party, and the sympathy of the people, and rendered cer-

tain his own defeat, and the overthrow of federalism. Mr. Adams felt quite certain that his cabinet would at least be divided in sentiment; perhaps a majority would oppose this last opportunity of pacification; hence, when he proceeded to name the envoys, he did it without consultation with them; he overcame the opposition of the Senate by falling back upon the constitutional rights of the executive, and thus took solely upon himself the responsibility for the measure. His action resulted directly in alienating his cabinet, especially McHenry, secretary of war, and Pickering, secretary of state. The ill-feeling arising at this time increased until, in May, 1800, Adams summarily dismissed both from his cabinet.

It is necessary to return to a brief discussion of important legislation, of the years 1797 and 1798.

In the summer of the former year was begun a system of repression which called for and deserved the unqualified disapproval of the democratic party, as it has at this day the condemnation of every thinking man. This was the enacting of the famous—or infamous—alien and sedition laws. The first required all unnaturalized persons to report themselves for registration at the office of the clerks of district courts; required a residence of fourteen years, and a declaration of intention to become permanent residents, to be filed five years before naturalization papers would be issued. The President was authorized to warn all persons he deemed dangerous to the peace and safety of the country, to depart therefrom "within such time as should be expressed in such order," a penalty of three years' imprisonment to be enforced in case of non-compliance. These laws were made still more oppressive from time to time, until ship-loads of French refugees and others were forced to seek asylum in other lands.

The second act of repression affected particularly the citizens of this country. On the 14th of July the sedition act was passed. It provided that any person unlawfully conspiring to oppose any measure of Congress, to prevent any officer of the government from fulfilling his duties, or advised or attempted "to procure any insurrection, riot, unlawful assembly, or combination, whether such conspiracy, threatening, council, advice, or attempt, should have the proposed effect or not," the persons so offending should be deemed guilty of a high misdemeanor, and should be punished by a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars and by imprisonment of not less than six months and not more than five years. The second section of this act provided "That if any person shall write, print, utter or publish, or shall cause or procure to be written, printed, uttered, or published, or shall knowingly and wilfully assist or aid in writing, printing, uttering, or publishing any false, scandalous, and malicious writing or writings, against the government of the United States, or either house of Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States, with intent to defame the said government, or either house of said Congress, or the said President, or to

bring them or either of them into contempt or disrepute; or to excite against them, or either or any of them, the hatred of the good people of the United States, or to stir up sedition within the United States, or to excite any unlawful combinations therein, for opposing or resisting any law of the United States, or any act of the President of the United States, done in pursuance of any such law, of the powers in him vested by the Constitution of the United States, or to resist, oppose, or defeat any such law or act, or to aid, encourage, or abet any hostile designs of any foreign nation against the United States, their people, or government, then such person, being thereof convicted before any court of the United States having jurisdiction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding two thousand dollars, and by imprisonment not exceeding two years."

Thus was a gag placed in the mouth of every person in the Union. There could be no more free speech or free expression regarding any measure of Congress. The opposition held that Hamilton had planned deeply, and his plans had assumed definite shape. The minority had the terror of enforcement of this law suspended over their heads should they by word or act condemn any of his measures, or pass stricture on any of his acts. The first victim was Matthew Lyon, a member of Congress, who caused to be published in a Vermont paper, respecting President Adams, that his "every consideration of the public welfare was swallowed up in a continual grasp for power, and unbounded thirst for ridiculous pomp, foolish adulation, and selfish avarice." At a public meeting he had read and commented upon a letter from Joel Barlow, then in France, expressing the sentiment that for his speech to Congress the President should be "sent to a mad-house." On conviction, Mr. Lyon was sentenced to pay a fine of one thousand dollars and suffer four months imprisonment. The unfortunate publisher of the paper was convicted of the publication of the offensive words, and sentenced to two months imprisonment and to pay a fine of two hundred dollars. Other trials and convictions followed during the continuance of the law, which expired by limitation during Jefferson's first term as President. Free speech and free discussion of political matters were then decided constitutional rights of all citizens, and have since been generally so admitted, although some instances of the enforcement of the gag law are on record, notably many years later in the discussions relating to slavery.

The condemnation of both alien and sedition laws was justified by their effect in their entirety, while the restraint of the former upon too speedy naturalization, and of the latter upon conspiracy, were certainly desirable. If federalism had been weary of life and power, it could not have committed a more certainly effectual *fido de se* than this. There were two hundred newspapers published in the United States at the time, and all but twenty of them were of avowed federalist sympathies, yet the influence of these was in no case actively engaged in favor of these laws. Congress was rained

with petitions for their repeal, public meetings everywhere condemned them, and several state legislatures denounced them as unconstitutional. Another pregnant cause of discontent was the imposition of direct taxes, which produced so great disorder in Pennsylvania, that it was necessary, for a second time, to call upon the governor of that state to order out the militia to enforce obedience to the laws.

In the sixth Congress, was still a federalist majority. Theodore Sedgwick, of Massachusetts, a prominent member of that party, was speaker of the House, and the President received in answer to his speech, assurances of the approval of both houses. This was a strictly party demonstration, and meant simply that the federalists were in a majority. In December came news of the death of Washington, and, after the usual adjournment, the Congress resumed the business of a singularly laborious session, during which eighteen hundred acts were passed, further providing for the defense of the country and for the protection of commerce; for maintaining peace with the Indians, and for the relief of persons imprisoned for debt, in cases decided by the courts of the United States; a bankrupt act; laws for the increase of import duties; for the extension of the post-office, and for the taking of a census in the year 1800,—these were among its most important measures.

The popular opposition to the administration of Adams grew daily stronger. The danger of war with France being past, and the popular ebullition over, the pressure of taxes was severely felt and strongly resented. As may be supposed, the opposition did not permit this dissatisfaction to fail for lack of fomentation. When came the time for the selection, by congressional caucuses, of the candidates of the respective parties for President and Vice President, the federalists named John Adams and Charles Cotesworth Pinckney; the democrats, Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr. Under the state constitutions then existing many of the electors were to be chosen by legislative votes; this was true of New York, and, such being the case, the election of members of the legislature of that state,—the first to occur after the nomination—was peculiarly significant in pointing to the result of the Presidential election. It occurred on the 29th and 30th of April, and the 1st of May, 1800, and was favorable to the democrats, thus reversing the vote by which Adams had been elected. The effect of this may, in some degree, be judged at the present day by that of elections in "October states"; it was to encourage the democrats, to nerve the federalists to renewed efforts, and to vastly embitter the struggle between them. It was immediately after this election, that Mr. Adams removed Pickering and McHenry from his cabinet. This action drew from Hamilton a letter condemning the conduct and impugning the character of the President. This was published in a pamphlet, and was industriously circulated, having a very marked effect in securing the annihilation of the federalist party. It was but nat-

ural that a direct repudiation of the nominee of a party by the man who was recognized as its leader, should have such an effect. Hamilton did not intend to elect Jefferson, but Pinckney; his pamphlet was intended to be circulated among federalists, not democrats, but it came into the hands of the latter, and quite overreached its original intention.

It was believed by some that South Carolina would vote for Adams and Pinckney, but when, in December, 1800, her electoral votes were given for Jefferson and Burr, the fate of the federalists was recognized as sealed. The electoral colleges duly met and gave their votes as follows: Jefferson, seventy-three; Burr, seventy-three; Adams, sixty-five; Pinckney, sixty-four; John Jay, one. Thus the election was thrown into the House, with the result of electing Jefferson to the Presidency.

On the 22d of November, 1800, the sixth Congress met in the new capital city, Washington, and Adams presented his last regular message. John Marshall, of Virginia, was secretary of state, in place of Pickering, and Samuel Dexter, of Massachusetts, secretary of war, in place of McHenry. On the 31st of December following, Oliver Wolcott resigned the treasury portfolio, and was replaced by Dexter, Roger Griswold, of Connecticut, being made secretary of war.

The remainder of Mr. Adams' administration calls for comment in only one particular. During the winter Congress passed a bill, amending the judiciary system by dividing the United States into six judicial districts, and appointing three judges for each, thus leaving the bench of the supreme court free to act only upon appeals and in error. Between the 13th of February and the 4th of March, 1801, President Adams, with the consent of the Senate, appointed judges to fill these newly created vacancies, and issued their commissions, upon the eve of Jefferson's inauguration. This action was of course a party expedient, and called down upon him much severe criticism. The appointees were called "Adams' midnight judges," by reason of the supposed hour of their appointment. They lost their offices early in Jefferson's term, by reason of the repeal of the law under which they were appointed.

On the 11th of February, 1801, the electoral votes were counted, the tie being announced by Jefferson, as president of the Senate. This threw the vote into the House, which balloted thirty-six times, finally electing Jefferson President, and Burr Vice President. On the 4th of March, the new President was inaugurated, and Adams retired forever from public life.

Mr. Adams laid down the duties of the presidency, an irritated, disappointed man. Not that he desired the office; had he been defeated, after receiving the hearty support of his party, he would have gone cheerfully and happily to his home, but he felt that the swords of his enemies in front, and the daggers of false friends behind, had combined to cut him off. He

felt a strong and deep-seated distrust of the democratic party, and a personal irritation toward Thomas Jefferson, the incarnation of its principles. With characteristic disregard for appearances—very unwise in its effect upon himself and sadly undignified, he refused to remain at Washington to attend the inauguration of the President-elect, and hastened to his farm at Quincy, which he never, save once, left for any public service. That once was between the 15th of November, 1820, and the 9th of January, 1821, when, Maine having been erected into a state, a new constitution was framed for Massachusetts. He served in this convention, and thus aided in building both the constitutions of his state.

So soon as he reached Quincy, he seemed to drop into the condition described by the poet:

"The world forgetting, by the world forgot;"

bitter in the estimate of his wrongs and his feeling toward his enemies, he was not the recipient during the first year of more than one hundred letters. The world not unnaturally judged harshly of his action in deserting Washington before the inauguration, and the federal party made him the scapegoat for its defeat. His feeling toward Jefferson was at that time so bitter that, then and for many years, there was no communication between them. Finally, with the death of old parties and the change of issues, there came to be a very different feeling. Adams and Jefferson were reconciled; the world regarded the wonderful services of the former more than his errors, and his time was again filled by correspondence and visits of respect. He lived upon his farm at Quincy, eking out his slender income by its products, and living a life of which one day was so like another that one is at a loss to describe any. He lived to see his son United States senator, minister to St. James, secretary of state, President of the United States—to see the full fruition of his own teaching, and the carrying of his name in high and increasing honor. Feebleness came with great age; his wife had already found rest in the green cemetery at Quincy. Finally approached Independence day, 1826; the people of Quincy sent a messenger to crave his presence at their celebration; he was too weak to go but sent a toast, "Independence Forever." This was drunk, and almost before the shouts which greeted it had sunk into silence, John Adams, with the words "Thomas Jefferson still survives," had passed away, following, by but a few hours, the illustrious man who commanded his last thought.

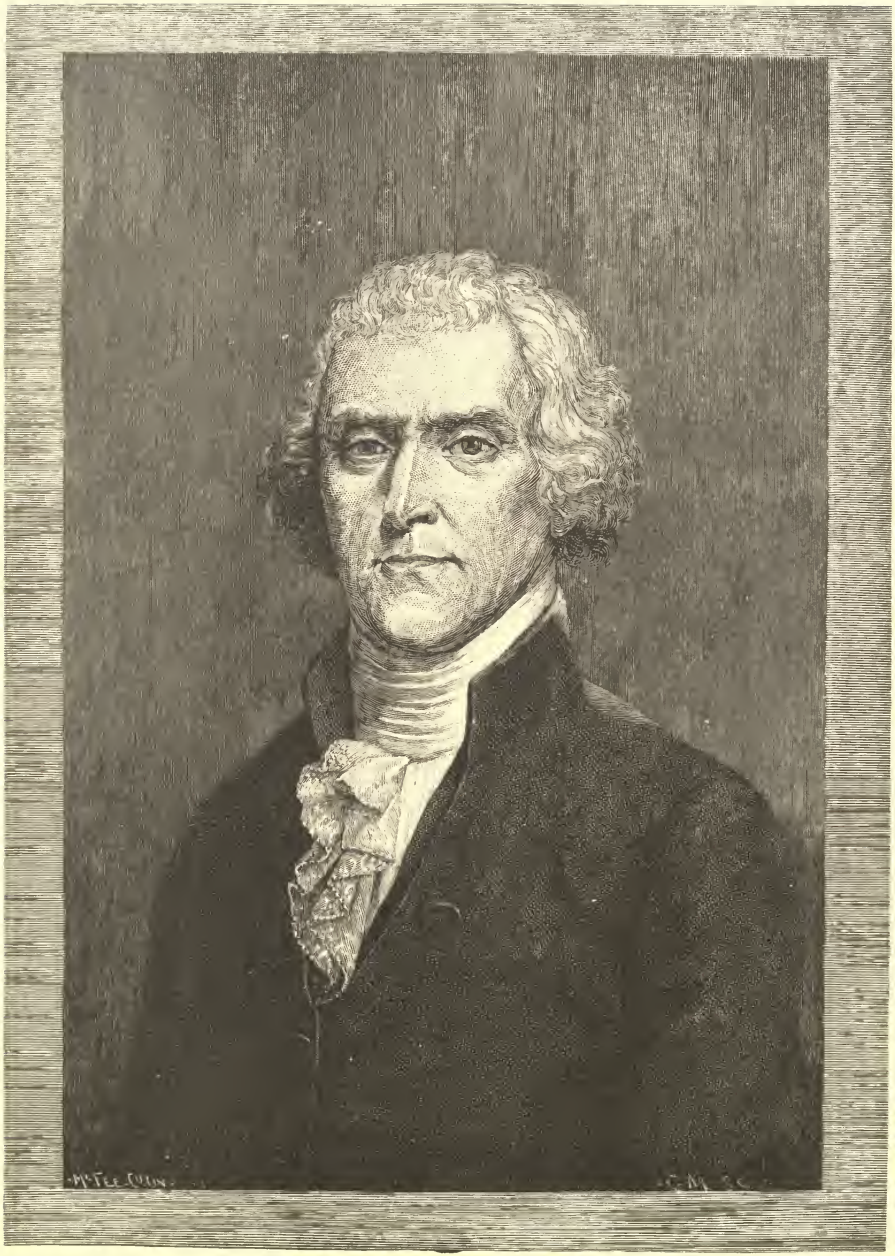
In taking leave of this stalwart figure that held its own so bravely among the early statesmen of America, it is proper to refer somewhat to the personal traits and gifts of character that made him what he was. The testimony of his son and grandson* is, apparently, not so clouded by personal affection or pride of family as to injure the truth or honesty of the picture:

* 'The Life of John Adams.' Begun by John Quincy Adams: completed by Charles Francis Adams.

"In figure, John Adams was not tall, scarcely exceeding middle height, but of a stout, well-knit frame, denoting vigor and long life, yet as he grew old, inclining more and more to corpulence. His head was large and round, with a wide forehead and expanded brows. His eye was mild and benignant, perhaps even humorous, when he was free from emotion, but when excited, it fully expressed the vehemence of the spirit that stirred within. His presence was grave and imposing on serious occasions, but not unbending. He delighted in social conversation, in which he was sometimes tempted to what he called rodomontade. But he seldom fatigued those who heard him, for he mixed so much of natural vigor, of fancy and of illustration with the stores of his acquired knowledge, as to keep alive their interest for a long time. His affections were warm, though not habitually demonstrated, towards his relatives. His anger, when thoroughly roused, was, for a time, extremely violent, but when it subsided it left no trace of malevolence behind. Nobody could see him intimately without admiring the simplicity and truth which shone in his action, and standing in some awe at the reserved power of his will. It was in these moments that he impressed those around him with a sense of his greatness. . . . At times his vehemence would become so great as to make him overbearing and unjust. This was most apt to happen in cases of pretension or any kind of wrong-doing. Mr. Adams was very impatient of cant, of sciolism, or of opposition to any of his deeply-established convictions. Neither was his indignation at all graduated to the character of the individuals who might happen to excite it. It had little respect of persons, and would hold an illiterate man or a raw boy to as heavy a responsibility for uttering a crude heresy, as the strongest thinker or the most profound scholar. His nature was too susceptible to overtures of sympathy and kindness, for it tempted him to trust more than was prudent in the professions of some who proved unworthy of his confidence. Ambitious, in one sense, he certainly was, but it was not the mere aspiration for place or power. It was the desire to excel in the minds of men, by the development of high qualities, the love, in short, of an honorable fame, that stirred him to exult in the rewards of popular favor. Yet this passion never tempted him to change a course of action or to suppress a serious conviction; to bend to a prevailing error, or to disavow an odious truth.

"In two things he was favored above most men. He was happily married to a woman whose character was singularly fitted to develop every good point of his; a person with a mind capable of comprehending his, with affections strong enough to respond to his sensibility, with a sympathy equal to his highest aspirations, and yet with flexibility sufficient to yield to his stronger will without impairing her own dignity. In this blessed relation he was permitted to continue for fifty-four years, embracing far more than

the whole period of his active life; and it is not too much to say that to it he was indebted not merely for the domestic happiness which ran so like a thread of silver through the most troubled currents of his days, but for the steady and unwavering support of all the highest purposes of his career. . . . The other extraordinary blessing was the possession of a son who fulfilled in his career all the most sanguine expectations of a father. From his earliest youth John Quincy Adams had given symptoms of uncommon promise, and, contrary to what so frequently happens in such cases, every year, as it passed over his head, only tended the more to confirm the hopes that had been raised at the beginning. . . . And the pleasure was reserved to the father, rarely enjoyed since time began, of seeing his son gradually forcing his way, by his unaided abilities, up the steps of the same ascent which he had trod before him, until he reached the last and highest which his country could supply. . . . And when this event was fully accomplished. whilst the son was yet in the full enjoyment of his great dignity so honorably acquired, it was accorded to the old patriarch to go to his rest on the day above all other days in the year, which was the most imperishably associated with his fame. Such things are not often read of, even in the most gorgeous pictures of mortal felicity painted in eastern story. They go far to relieve the darker shadows which fly over the ordinary paths of life, and to hold out the hope that, even under the present imperfect dispensation, it is not unreasonable to trust that virtue may sometimes meet with its just reward."



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE—SERVES IN CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

THE life of Thomas Jefferson was, in a degree, associated with the birth and development of a nation. To him who gave to a distracted country that incomparable declaration "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their creator with inherent and inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness;" and to those associated with him, was due the step that at once sundered the bonds which bound the colonies to the mother country, and prepared a way for progress from the confederacy of states of 1776 to the formation and development of the well-nigh perfect government of a later century. Taking life in hand as each subscribed his name to that immortal document, he hazarded even more than death; should the elements of cohesion between the states, on which all depended for support in the inevitable contest already begun, prove inadequate to unity of action, not only would life be forfeited, but property confiscated, and families relegated to disgrace and ignominy. With what sublime courage, then, did they *risk* everything in making a stand for the rights of all.

Encompassed by perils on every side, clear-headed statesmen were needed to direct the new ship of state into smooth waters, steering clear of breakers and rocks on either side, as she threaded the narrow and tortuous channel that led to the open sea of prosperity. In Thomas Jefferson, Samuel and John Adams, Patrick Henry, George Washington, Benjamin Franklin, the Lees, the Randolphs, and all that splendid fellowship that stood shoulder to shoulder in the fight, were found safe counsellors, pure

statesmen, unflinching patriots, and men with no ambition that conflicted with their country's good. No one among them better deserved the honor of his countrymen than did Thomas Jefferson. No one did more arduous service in every stage of the contest than did he. With what unwavering fidelity he served in the legislature of his native state, in the halls of the Continental Congress, as governor of Virginia, as an ambassador to foreign courts, and chiefest of all, as the Executive of the republic he had helped to form,—all this can be but briefly told in these pages.

That Jefferson was a man imperfectly understood by those not personally and intimately acquainted with him, is certain. While his life was spent in the service of his country, and his every effort directed toward her welfare, men who differed from him regarding the means to be employed, were unceasing in devices to defeat his plans. By deepest persuasion a republican, he met the opponents of his views with moderation that accorded well with the spirit of the man. Never violent in his utterances, he yet pressed his points with courage and fearlessness, and left a record that will endure while the union of states shall exist. The spirit of the time and the environment of this early band of patriots, were calculated to the highest development of the character of men, and their effect is evinced in the lives of his contemporaries—lives like his own, marked not less by honesty and bravery, than by the wonderful wisdom which directed the infant struggles of their country.

Thomas Jefferson was, by education and natural endowment, fitted to be a leader in the stirring contests of his time, as he would be pre-eminent did he live in this era of the world's history. Great intellects then directed the course of the state,—intellects governing men of principle, with aims above the measures of party, to which they owed small allegiance. Statesmen were born and educated to the duties of life, and the cares of office came to them unsought. Men like Washington, Adams, and Jefferson would scorn to stoop to the petty expedients adopted by the men of to-day in their greed and ambition for place. They scorned even the use of personal influence in their favor, and were content to abide the verdict of the people as to their merits. A man the peer of any man, Thomas Jefferson took the place assigned him by the suffrages of the people, while yet young in years. Necessarily many of the views and actions of the man, in his well nigh fifty years' connection with the public service, came under adverse criticism from those who honestly differed with him, yet time has justified the wisdom of the greater number of these acts. Of that life, passed amid the tumults of war, and in the quiet of peace, let what follows tell the story.

The settlement of Virginia was begun at Jamestown, in 1607. Within a few years isolated communities were gathered at various places, and during the century that followed the English obtained a strong foothold, gradually forcing the aborigines toward the mountains by the power of a

superior civilization. It was soon after the close of the first century of settlement in America—in 1612—that the first of the Jefferson family arrived. That the progenitor of the Jeffersons was a person of influence among his fellows is apparent from the fact that the name occurs in the list of the twenty-two members of the first general assembly of Virginia, which met in Jamestown, in the year 1619—the first legislative body ever convened in America. Of the after life of this Jefferson and of his descendants nothing is known. More than a century later the grandfather of Thomas Jefferson lived at Osbornes, in Chesterfield county, and there reared a family consisting of three sons: Thomas, who died young; Field, who settled on the waters of the Roanoke and died, leaving numerous descendants; and Peter, who settled in Albemarle county, where he made a home which he called Shadwell, after the parish in England where formerly lived his wife.

Peter Jefferson was born February 29, 1708, and in 1739 married Jane, daughter of Isham Randolph, whose ancestors had early settled at Dungeness, in the county of Goochland, Virginia. Mrs. Jefferson was aged nineteen at the time of her marriage, was well educated for the time—when a very simple course of lessons was deemed sufficient for a woman—and was a fit companion to share the home and life of the energetic Peter Jefferson. As a young man he was possessed of little more than the rudiments of an education; but strong in mind, sound in judgment, and eager in the pursuit of knowledge, he read and improved himself so that eventually he became prominent and influential in the province. Some years previous to his marriage he was chosen, with Joshua Fry, professor of mathematics in the college of William and Mary, as a commission to define the boundary-line between Virginia and North Carolina, which survey had been begun by Colonel Byrd. So satisfactorily were these duties performed that the same gentlemen were afterward employed to make the first map of Virginia that had ever been made from definite surveys. No difficulty was experienced in performing that part of the work to the east of the Blue Ridge, but the portion to the west of that range was little known and required weary weeks of travel and unremitting labor to make it in any respect complete. This work gave him a very correct idea of the topography and soils of the province, and decided him in the location of a home on the Rivanna river, a tributary of the James. Here he entered a patent for one thousand acres of land, his intimate friend, William Randolph, selecting twenty-four hundred acres adjoining. The land Mr. Jefferson had chosen possessing no eligible site for a house, he purchased from Mr. Randolph four hundred acres, the price being, as stated in the deed still in possession of the family, "Henry Weatherbourne's biggest bowl of arrack punch." On the land thus acquired he built a plain, weather-boarded house, and to this place brought his bride soon after marriage. They were among the first to settle in this portion of the country, and were subject to all the

inconveniences arising from their isolation. Here they lived six years, when they removed to the home of Colonel William Randolph, of Tuckahoe, who on his decease had appointed Peter Jefferson to the guardianship of his son, Thomas Mann Randolph. To this trust he remained faithful seven years, then returned to Shadwell, where he died, August 17, 1757, leaving a widow—who lived until 1776—with six daughters and two sons.

Peter Jefferson had accumulated a large landed estate, which at his death was apportioned between his two sons, as was the law in those days, the daughters being left dependent on the generosity of the heirs to the property. To his younger son he left the estate on the James river, called Snowdon, after the supposed birth-place of the ancestors of the family, near the mountain of that name in Wales. To his oldest son, Thomas Jefferson, he left the family home of Shadwell.

Thomas Jefferson was born at Shadwell, April 13, 1743. The death of his father left him, then a youth of fourteen, the owner of a large estate, beside a considerable number of negro slaves. From his earliest youth he received careful training, mental as well as physical. When but five years of age he was placed in the family of Rev. William Douglas, where he acquired a primary education, and also pursued the study of the Greek, Latin, and French languages. He inherited from his father that inordinate thirst for knowledge which he pursued with avidity throughout his busy career. Returning home on the death of his father, he soon after became a pupil of Rev. Mr. Maury, an enthusiastic and correct classical scholar. Under such wise tuition he made good progress, and acquired a taste for the writings of the ancient philosophers and poets that he retained during life. Two years were thus spent in the most profitable manner, at the end of which, in the spring of 1760, when seventeen years of age, he was enabled to enter the college of William and Mary. He continued in college two years, and while here it was his good fortune to be brought into intimate association with Dr. William Small, a learned Scotchman, at that time professor of mathematics in the college. A mutual attraction drew these two together, and the time not occupied in the school-room, was passed in daily companionship. This resulted in giving a broader scope to the thought of the pupil, enlarged his views, and encouraged him to devote more time to abstruse and metaphysical studies. From Dr. Small he obtained his first insight into the realm of science and philosophy. The chair of philosophy becoming vacant soon after Jefferson entered the college, his friend and teacher was appointed to its duties, and delivered the first lectures on ethics, rhetoric, and belles-lettres ever given in the institution. Dr. Small occupied the chair of philosophy barely two years, when he returned to Scotland, first, however, procuring for his favorite admission to the law office of George Wythe, who afterwards became chancellor of the state. Mr. Wythe introduced Jefferson to the acquaintance and friendship

of Governor Fauquier. To the intelligent conversation of these gentlemen was the young man much indebted for the early impressions that afterward developed into habits of thought and life, and shaped his career.

At this time Mr. Wythe was about thirty-five years of age, ardent in temperament, and with ideas in advance of his time. He early took the ground that "the only link of political union between the colonies and Great Britain, was the identity of the executive; that parliament had no more authority over us than we over them, and that we were co-ordinate nations with Great Britain and Hanover." He was chosen a member of Congress, and in 1776 signed the Declaration of Independence. It was but natural that the impressible nature of Jefferson should be infused with the spirit of his preceptor in law. In 1767, under the instruction of Mr. Wythe, Jefferson was inducted into the legal practice at the bar of the general court, in which practice he continued until the beginning of hostilities connected with the Revolution closed all courts of justice. During the period of his continuous practice of the law he acquired very considerable reputation, and there still exists a digest of reports of adjudged cases in the higher courts of Virginia, as a monument to his painstaking care and labor in early life.

The assiduous study and labor of Jefferson had developed a naturally strong and vigorous intellect to quick and mature habits of thought, and his practice in the courts of justice had brought him into intimate acquaintance with his fellow-citizens of all degrees. So well were all agreed upon his mental and moral qualifications, that, in 1769 he was called by the county in which he lived, to represent it in the legislature. In that body he soon attained prominence, and was recognized as one holding advanced views upon subjects appertaining to the present and future welfare of the province. It was while yet a young member of the legislature that he introduced a resolution providing for the emancipation of slaves, but public opinion was not educated to look with favor upon a measure that promised to curtail comfort and ease.

At the time of the promulgation of the stamp act, Mr. Jefferson was a student at law, and during the discussion of the resolutions of 1765, in regard to that oppressive measure, from the door of the lobby to the house of burgesses he listened with rapt attention to the impassioned utterances of Patrick Henry, which were such words as he never heard from any other man. He said of them: "He appeared to me to speak as Homer wrote." That Jefferson was deeply impressed with the injustice of Great Britain toward the colonies is evident from his own words: "The colonies were taxed internally and externally; their essential interests were sacrificed to individuals in Great Britain; their legislatures suspended; charters annulled; trials by jury taken away; their persons subjected to transportation across the Atlantic, and to trials by foreign judicatories; their applications for

redress thought beneath answer; themselves published as cowards in the councils of their mother country and courts of Europe; armed troops sent amongst them to enforce submission to these violences; and actual hostilities commenced against them. No alternative was presented but resistance or unconditional submission. Between these there could be no hesitation. They closed in the appeal to arms."

In May, 1769, Lord Botetourt, then governor of Virginia, called a session of the general assembly, of which Jefferson had but lately become a member. The joint resolutions of the houses of lords and commons on the proceedings in Massachusetts, were made public in the assembly, and counter resolutions and an address to the king were adopted. The Virginia assembly espoused the cause of Massachusetts, and was dissolved by the royal governor. The following day the members met in a public room in the Raleigh tavern, and formed a voluntary convention; drew up an agreement pledging themselves against the use of any articles of merchandise imported from Great Britain, and recommended the people to follow the same course. The convention then adjourned, members repaired to their respective counties, and were almost unanimously re-elected to the legislature; the only exceptions being the few that had dissented from the resolutions, whose places were filled by men in full sympathy with the cause of freedom and equal rights.

Following these events a season of apathy pervaded the people for a number of years. There was still a recognition of the divine right of the king, and of attachment to the mother country. Great wrongs were endured before a loyal people was roused to open rebellion against one they deemed a lawful sovereign. The duty on tea still remained unrepealed, and the act of parliament declaring the right to bind the colonies by its laws, in all cases, was suspended over them. The claim by parliament of the right of sending persons to England for trial for offenses committed in the colonies, was an act that aroused the people from their seeming apathy. With no race under the sun are the principles of justice held in greater veneration than among English-speaking peoples. Virginians were not slow to action in this case, although the serious act of injustice in question was committed against another province. The house of burgesses included many fiery young spirits who would not be held back by the dilatoriness and lack of enthusiasm of their elders. A few of the younger members, including Thomas Jefferson, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Francis L. Lee, Mr. Carr, and perhaps two or three others, met one evening in the early part of the session, at a private room in the Raleigh tavern, to consult on the then existing state of things. It was unanimously their opinion that an understanding should be reached with the other colonies in a consideration of the claims of Great Britain, and an uniform course of action decided upon. Resolutions were drawn calling for a

convention of delegates from all the colonies, and the appointment of a committee of correspondence. These resolutions were presented to the house by Mr. Carr, brother-in-law of Jefferson, and immediately agreed upon. Peyton Randolph, the speaker, was appointed chairman of the committee. Upon knowledge of this action reaching the governor, then Lord Dunmore, he dissolved the assembly. The committee met the following day, prepared circular letters to the speakers of the houses in each colony, and copies of the resolution were forwarded to them by the chairman, by express. At about the same time the state of Massachusetts prepared similar circular letters, to be sent to towns within that province, and also to other provinces.

The promulgation of the Boston port bill, closing that port on the 1st of June, 1774, to the entry of all articles of merchandise, combined with other acts of injustice and oppression, capped the measure of iniquity proceeding from the government of Great Britain. This measure would deprive the people of Boston of their trade, and involve many of the citizens in utter ruin. The primary cause of its passage lay in the action of those citizens who had assembled in disguise, boarded two vessels laden with tea, and cast their cargoes overboard into the bay. The act of retaliation condemned the entire mercantile interests of Boston to extinction to punish a few persons. The text of this bill was received in early spring, while the assembly was yet in session, and excited the sympathies of the members. The leadership of the house now devolving on the younger members, Patrick Henry, Richard Henry Lee, Francis L. Lee, Thomas Jefferson, and several others, met in the council chamber and determined upon a bold and unequivocal stand in support of Massachusetts in this emergency. Reference was had to the library contained in this room, for authorities and precedents in the course they were about to take. No parallel case had arisen for more than a century, and before entering upon steps that might result in revolution and war, grave counsel was requisite. It was resolved that the 1st day of June, the day on which the port bill was to go into effect, be set apart as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer, "devoutly to implore the divine interposition, for averting the heavy calamities which threatened destruction to their civil rights, and the evils of a civil war; and to give them one heart and one mind to oppose by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights." This resolution was offered to the house the next morning, by Mr. Nicholas, a man of strong religious convictions, and was passed without opposition.

These proceedings had the effect greatly to exasperate Lord Dunmore, who a second time dissolved the assembly. The members again met in their private capacities, and prepared a memorial addressed to the people, setting forth the unjust course of the governor in thus suppressing the legislative power, preventing the taking measures to secure the rights and liberties of the province; and that they believed a systematic effort was being

made to reduce the inhabitants of the American colonies to a condition of slavery. An association was formed, and the committee of correspondence instructed to propose to the similar committees in other colonies, the appointment of deputies to meet in a general congress, annually, at such place as should be deemed convenient, to consider the means necessary to be adopted in the establishment of universal liberty. It was declared that an attack on any one colony should be deemed an attack on all, and should constitute cause for definite concerted action. These events took place in May, 1774, and it was recommended that the several counties of Virginia elect delegates to meet at Williamsburg August 1st, to consider the state of affairs in their own colony, and appoint delegates to a general congress, all which was acceded to. Philadelphia was selected as the place of meeting for the congress.

The members of the dissolved assembly then returned to their homes, and invited the clergy to meet with the people on the 1st of June, in accordance with the spirit of the resolution appointing that day as one of prayer and humiliation. Great anxiety and alarm were manifested at these assemblies, the people in remote districts, far from the scene of disturbance, hardly comprehending the necessity for the course taken. The events of the day aroused them to action, and nearly all accepted the situation, and entered heartily into the work of preparation. Delegates were selected in the different counties, Mr. Jefferson being chosen to represent Albemarle. With the enthusiasm already displayed in resisting the tyranny of Great Britain, he now entered into the cause, and drew up instructions to be given delegates to the congress. In these he took the ground "that the relation between Great Britain and these colonies was exactly the same as that of England and Scotland after the accession of James, and until the union, and the same as her present relations with Hanover, having the same executive chief, but no other necessary political connection; and that our emigration to this country gave her no more rights over us, than the emigrations of the Danes and Saxons gave to the present authorities of the mother country over England." Two copies of these instructions were made, one of which he caused to be sent to Patrick Henry, the other under cover to Peyton Randolph, who was chairman of the convention. Mr. Jefferson himself set out to attend the debate, but was taken quite ill while on the way, and was unable to proceed. Mr. Henry was not much disposed toward reading, and if he ever perused the copy sent him gave no evidence of it, and never mentioned the matter to the author. Mr. Randolph announced to the convention that he had received such a communication from a member who was detained by sickness, and laid the document on the table, whence it was taken and read by many members, approved by some, and thought too bold and aggressive by others. The Lees, Randolph, Nicholas, Pendleton, and Dickinson believed England possessed the right to regulate commerce, and impose

duties for its regulation, but not for the purpose of revenue. Mr. Jefferson held no foundation existed for such claim, expatriation being a natural right, not to be interfered with. Although many differed with the views taken by the author, the document was published by the convention under the title: A Summary View of the Rights of British America. The authorship of this pamphlet was boldly avouched by Mr. Jefferson, who was thereupon threatened by Lord Dunmore with arrest and trial for high treason. Copies found their way to England, where the matter was taken up by the opposition. Edmund Burke changed its meaning to answer his purpose, and several editions were printed, which had a large circulation. It had the effect to include the name of Thomas Jefferson, together with those of Hancock, John and Samuel Adams, Peyton Randolph, Patrick Henry, and others to the number of a score or more, in a bill of attainder introduced into one of the houses of parliament, but which subsequent events caused to be dropped.

The convention assembled the 1st of August, renewed the association, appointed delegates to the congress, and gave them very temperate instructions, carefully worded, defining the part they were to take. The action of the convention in framing more moderate instructions to the delegates to the congress received Mr. Jefferson's cordial approval, afterthought convincing him that his draft, hastily written, was too far in advance of public sentiment at the time. The delegates appointed by the convention were Peyton Randolph, Richard Henry Lee, George Washington, Patrick Henry, Richard Bland, Benjamin Harrison, and Edward Pendleton. The congress met on the 1st of September, and remained in session until the 26th of October, at which time it adjourned to meet again on the 10th of May following.

The Virginia convention, which was now thoroughly organized, met again in March, 1775, approved the action of its delegates to the Colonial Congress, and re-appointed them for the May session. It being probable that Mr. Randolph would be called from the chair in Congress to attend the general assembly, Mr. Jefferson was appointed his alternate.

The general assembly, convened by Lord Dunmore in June, 1775, was called for the purpose of receiving the proposals of Lord North, looking to a peaceable settlement of the questions at issue. As was expected, Mr. Randolph attended, as speaker of the house, and, fearing the sentiments and wishes of Congress might not harmonize with the resolutions proposed in assembly, he requested Mr. Jefferson to prepare an answer to the proposition of Lord North. This answer was presented to the assembly, and, though it was severely condemned by some of the members who were favorable to the cause of the king, it was, after a few minor amendments, almost unanimously passed. The powerful influence of the speaker, and of Mr. Jefferson himself, had much to do in procuring its passage. Immediately

after action had been taken on this question, Jefferson repaired to Philadelphia, and conveyed to Congress the first intimation of the reply made by the Virginia assembly to the proposition for a peaceable settlement. This was entirely approved by Congress. On the 21st of June, Mr. Jefferson took his seat in that body. On the 24th the report of a committee appointed to give cause for the taking up of arms, was presented, but, proving unsatisfactory, was not accepted. The committee was continued, Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Dickinson being added to its number. Several drafts had been submitted in the committee. The first, by Mr. Lee, was disapproved and re-committed. The second was drawn by John Jay, and, though accepted in the committee, was disapproved by the house. Mr. Jefferson drew the next resolution, which proved too strong for Mr. Dickinson, who was still in hope of a reconciliation. He was, therefore, requested to prepare a resolution, which the committee accepted, and the Congress approved, though it did not at all meet the views of most of the members; yet, out of respect to Mr. Dickinson, who was an able, if a too scrupulous man, it was adopted. It was couched in a humble tone of submission that ill accorded with the spirit of men stung to the quick by the unprovoked and unmerited oppression of the crown.

The proposition of Lord North was not submitted to a committee until the 22d of July, at which time Dr. Franklin, Mr. Adams, Richard Henry Lee, and Thomas Jefferson were appointed to take it under advisement. The reply of the Virginia assembly had been approved, and by request of the other members of the committee Mr. Jefferson prepared a report on the subject, to be presented to the Congress. As a consequence there was much similarity between the two reports.

On the 11th of August Mr. Jefferson was elected delegate to the third Congress, and during the following winter took an active part in its deliberations. The opening of the year 1776 showed a change in the minds of many of the political leaders. There had been a feeling of hope that some settlement might be attained that would not change the existing system. A strong feeling of attachment to old institutions had a hold on many, and was about to be expelled. A year and a half had passed since the first open manifestation of resistance to oppression, and since the erection of entrenchments about Boston conveyed to the colonists the knowledge that England was determined on coercive measures to reduce them to subjection. The battles of Concord and Lexington had been fought, privateers had been equipped and naval engagements had taken place. A spirit of action now began to pervade all classes, from the lowest to the highest, and stronger means of defense were called for. The colonies were still bound to the mother country by ties that seemed almost indissoluble. Yet a change was coming. Already the first notes were heard in the air. The influence of men like Samuel Adams, John Hancock, John Jay, Patrick

Henry, Thomas Jefferson, and many others of equal calibre, was felt for independence. Every course but sundering the ties that bound the country to Great Britain had been employed in vain. A decided stand must soon be taken, the bonds broken, a leap made for the life or death of a nation. The result of the struggle depended on immediate action. No more compromise with stern necessity could be employed. Action took the place of lethargy. The subject of a declaration of independence was in every man's thought, and was discussed from every point. The colonial assemblies reviewed the situation, and that of Virginia declared for an immediate withdrawal from allegiance to the crown, henceforth and forever. Jefferson's whole soul was engaged in the struggle. His was a mind in many cases in advance of the times. While everything received careful consideration, and with him was viewed from all points, it was well that the counsel of others, no abler than he, and not so progressive, was invoked. Thoroughly imbued with the character and principles of a statesman, and fitted as he was by education and natural ability for leadership in a grand cause, he now pushed forward, aiming not for personal aggrandizement but for the good of the country of which he was a citizen.

CHAPTER II.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE—SERVICE IN STATE LEGISLATURE.

ON the 15th of May, 1776, the delegates of Virginia in the Congress were instructed to propose a declaration that the colonies be independent of the dominion of Great Britain. On June 7th the delegates complied with their instructions, but other business being before the Congress, the subject was laid over until another day. On Saturday, June 8th, it was taken into consideration, the house resolving itself into a committee of the whole for discussion. Two days were devoted to the question, in which was developed the fact that certain of the delegates, though friends to the measure, and believing it impossible again to unite with Great Britain, were themselves opposed to immediate action. Besides, the provinces of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, were not yet ripe for such declaration, and had not so advised their delegates. It was therefore thought prudent to postpone a final decision until July 1st. That there might be as little delay as possible, a committee, consisting of John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, Robert R. Livingston, and Thomas Jefferson, was appointed to prepare a declaration of independence.

At this time the provinces had not confederated; some had instructed their delegates to take no part in such declaration, and to precipitate the question would cause such to withdraw from the Congress, while hasty action might turn them against the formation of a union. Under these circumstances prudent counsels were advisable. Very many considerations were to be weighed. It might be that England would cede Canada to France to secure her assistance or neutrality; Spain had reason to fear the growing power of the American colonies, and might enter into treaty with England to preserve her southern possessions. The promulgation of a declaration of independence might precipitate ruin and death upon every member concerned, and consign his family to poverty and contumely. With all these

adverse influences to face, the men who boldly determined on carrying through their resolution, come what would, have never received the honor that is justly their due.

The original manuscript of the document prepared was wholly in the handwriting of Mr. Jefferson, who had in several places erased and interlined with the object of making it plain and directly to the point. Other corrections and changes were made by Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams, before the declaration was adopted. The signing of the declaration of independence was accomplished July 4, 1776, every member taking part in the proceedings affixing his name, with one exception. The person declining to sign the document was Mr. Dickinson.

In a letter to Samuel A. Wells, bearing date May 12, 1819, Mr. Jefferson gives his recollections of the incidents preceding and attending the signing of the declaration, taken from notes, prepared by himself during the discussion, and fully written out on the conclusion of the convention. He says:

"Friday, June 7th.—The delegates from Virginia moved, in obedience to instructions from their constituents, that the Congress should declare that these united colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; that measures should be immediately taken for procuring the assistance of foreign powers, and a confederation be formed to bind the colonies more closely together. The house being obliged to attend at that time to some other business, the proposition was referred to the next day, when the members were ordered to attend punctually at 10 o'clock. Saturday, June 8th, they proceeded to take it into consideration, and referred it to a committee of the whole, into which they immediately resolved themselves, and passed that day in debate. It appearing in the course of these debates, that the colonies of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, and South Carolina, were not yet matured for falling from the parent stem, but that they were fast advancing to that state, it was thought most prudent to wait awhile for them, and to postpone the final decision to July 1st. But that this might occasion as little delay as possible, a committee was appointed to prepare a declaration of independence. The committee were John Adams, Dr. Franklin, Roger Sherman, Robert R. Livingston, and Thomas Jefferson. This was reported to the house on Friday, the 28th of June, when it was read and ordered to lie on the table. On Monday, the 1st of July, the house resolved itself into a committee of the whole, and resumed the consideration of the original motion made by the delegates of Virginia, which, being again debated through the day, was carried in the affirmative by the votes of New Hampshire, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Mary-

land, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. South Carolina and Pennsylvania voted against it. Delaware had but two members present, and they were divided. The delegates from New York declared they were for it themselves, and were assured their constituents were for it; but that their instructions having been drawn near a twelvemonth before, when reconciliation was still the general object, they were enjoined by them to do nothing which should impede that object. They, therefore, thought themselves not justifiable in voting on either side, and asked leave to withdraw from the question, which was given them. The committee rose and reported their resolutions to the house. Mr. Rutledge, of South Carolina, then requested the determination might be put off to the next day, as he believed his col leagues, though they disapproved of the resolution. would then join in it for the sake of unanimity. The ultimate question, whether the house would agree to the resolution of the committee, was accordingly postponed to the next day, when it was again moved, and South Carolina concurred in voting for it. In the meantime a third member had come fresh from the Delaware counties, and turned the vote of that colony in favor of the resolution. Members of a different sentiment attending that morning from Pennsylvania, also, her vote was changed; so that the whole twelve colonies, who were authorized to vote at all, gave their votes for; and within a few days the convention of New York approved of it, and this supplied the void occasioned by the withdrawing of their delegates from the vote."

This vote was on the original motion made by the delegates from Virginia, on the 7th of June, that Congress should declare the colonies independent, and no longer under allegiance to Great Britain.

"Congress proceeded, the same day, to consider the declaration of independence, which had been reported and laid on the table the Friday preceding, and on Monday referred to a committee of the whole. The pusilanimous idea, that we had friends in England worth keeping terms with, still haunted the minds of many. For this reason, those passages which conveyed censures on the people of England were struck out, lest they should give them offence. The debates having taken up the greater part of the second, third, and fourth days of July, were, in the evening of the last, closed; the declaration was reported by the committee, agreed to by the house, and signed by every member present except Mr. Dickinson."

Thus far Mr. Jefferson's notes extended. The following was written from his memory of the further events connected with this memorable episode:

"The subsequent signatures of members who were not then present, and some of them not yet in office, is easily explained, if we observe who they were, to wit: that they were of New York and Pennsylvania. New York did not sign till the 15th, because it was not until the 9th (five days



EDMUND RANDOLPH.

after the general signatures), that their convention authorized them to do so. The convention of Philadelphia, learning that it had been signed by a minority only of their delegates, named a new delegation on the 20th, leaving out Mr. Dickinson, who had refused to sign, Willing and Humphreys, who had withdrawn, re-appointing the three members who had signed, Morris, who had not been present, and five new ones, to wit: Rush, Clymer, Smith, Taylor, and Ross: and Morris, and the five new members were permitted to sign, because it manifested the assent of their full delegation, and the express will of their convention, which might have been doubted on the former signature of a minority only. Why the signature of Thornton, of New Hampshire, was permitted so late as the 4th of November, I cannot now say; but undoubtedly for some particular reason, which we should find to have been good, had it been expressed. These were the only post-signers, and you see, sir, that there were solid reasons for receiving those of New York and Pennsylvania, and that this circumstance in no wise affects the faith of this declaratory charter of our rights, and of the rights of man."

To Richard Henry Lee, who, with Washington and Patrick Henry, represented the province of Virginia in the first continental Congress, belonged the right of preparing the draft of the declaration of independence. Virginia instructed her delegates at the session held in September, 1775, to present a resolution declaring the colonies independent of England. On the 7th of June, 1776, Mr. Lee moved "That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." Before the subject had been fully discussed and action taken, Mr. Lee was called to his home by the dangerous illness of some members of his family. When the committee was appointed to frame a declaration of independence, to Thomas Jefferson, as its chairman, was accorded that honor. Immediately after the passage of that act, Jefferson sent a letter to Mr. Lee, of which the following is an extract:

"For news, I refer you to your brother, who writes on that head. I inclose you a copy of the Declaration of Independence, as agreed to by the house, and also as originally framed. You will judge whether it is the better or worse for the critics."

On Friday, July 12th, the committee appointed to draft articles of confederation, reported. Debate began on the 22d, and continued from time to time for two years, final ratification by ten states being made July 9, 1778. New Jersey followed November 26th, and Delaware the 23d of February, 1779. Maryland did not accept the articles until March 1, 1781.

Mr. Jefferson was returned as delegate to the Congress which met August 11, 1781, and occupied his place until September 2d, following, when

he resigned to accept a seat in the Virginia legislature. The new government had become thoroughly settled, and questions he deemed of paramount importance would come before the legislature of his native state. An entire revision of the laws framed under the royal government, and which were not adapted to a republic, was demanded. To this subject he now devoted his energies. The legislature met, and on the 7th of October he was in his seat. On the 11th he moved a bill for the establishment of courts of justice, which were imperatively needed. The motion was adopted, and Mr. Jefferson drew up the bill for their organization, which was reported from the committee, and passed in due course. On the 12th he presented a bill for the abolishment of the system of entail, as tending to the manifest injury of younger children of a few aristocratic families. In effecting this, no injury, no violence, and no deprivation of natural rights would ensue. The bill was combated by friends of the system of aristocracy, who did not wish to see it abolished, and when it was found that the feeling of the house was in favor of the passage of such act, an effort was made so to change its provisions, that instead of positive abolition the tenant in tail might convey it in fee simple if he chose so to do. But the bill for total abolition finally passed.

The first importation of slaves into America, was made by a Dutch ship in 1619. Efforts were, at various times thereafter, made by different persons, for the prohibition of the slave trade, but without avail, as the crown and ministry found in it a profitable business. The war of the Revolution, however, barred further importation for a time, and in 1778 Mr. Jefferson introduced a bill prohibiting such importation in the future, which measure was passed.

The established church was the next system Mr. Jefferson attacked. Virginia had been settled by loyal adherents of king and church, and it was but natural that the religious forms of England should prevail. The grant to Sir Walter Raleigh expressly provided that the laws of the colony "should not be against the true Christian faith, now professed in the Church of England." Immediately the colony was able to support a clergy, the province was divided into parishes, each with its minister of the Church of England. A regular stipend was allowed the minister, to be paid in the products of the country, principally tobacco. A parsonage was also furnished, and all the inhabitants were taxed alike for support of the church, whether members of the faith or not. Great intolerance was shown Quakers, whose property was taken from them and they driven from the colony under pain of the enforcement of severe penalties. Gradually other sects gained a foothold, the Presbyterians becoming strong through the eloquence and zeal of their preachers, while the Episcopalians dwindled in number. The ministers of the latter, secure in their place, devoted Sunday only to the instruction of the people, spending the week in their

schools and on their farms, accumulating such substance as they could, while the despised sectaries were garnering the members of their flocks. In time the Presbyterian greatly outnumbered the established church, but the system of taxation was continued, to their manifest injustice and the emolument of the regular institution. The first session of the legislature in 1776 brought many petitions for the abolition of this spiritual tyranny. Mr. Jefferson had been brought up a Presbyterian, and took an active and decided part in the discussion of this subject. The petitions were referred to a committee of the whole on the discussion of the state of the country. Debate continued almost uninterruptedly from the 11th of October until December 5th, when the opposition achieved a partial victory. They were able only "to repeal the laws which rendered criminal the maintenance of any religious opinions, the forbearance of repairing to church, or the exercise of any mode of worship; and further to exempt dissenters from contributions to the support of the established church; and to suspend, only until the next session, levies on the members of that church for the salaries of their own incumbents." On the 19th of November a resolution was carried by the house, a majority of whose members were favorable to the established church, "that provision ought to be made for continuing the succession of the clergy and superintending their conduct."

The capital of the provincial government of Virginia was originally established at Jamestown. It was later removed to Williamsburg, where it remained until sometime in 1779, when a bill for its removal to Richmond, which had been introduced by Mr. Jefferson in 1776, was passed. Williamsburg is situated between two rivers, up either of which an enemy might come, and by landing a force above the town, capture the archives of government before a possibility of this removal.

Immediately on the disorganization of the colonial system, in May, 1776, the convention of Virginia at Williamsburg entered upon the formation of a new government. But short time was taken in perfecting a constitution, which was adopted with unseemly haste, in June. Mr. Jefferson was at this time a delegate in Congress at Philadelphia. He had long foreseen the result of the contest between the people and the royal government, and had devoted much time to the formation of a plan of government to take its place. When this was completed he forwarded it to the convention at Williamsburg by an express. Action had already been taken on the constitution first proposed, but the convention unanimously adopted the preamble prepared by Mr. Jefferson. It was thought best, as the members were wearied by protracted sessions, to adhere to the plan adopted, which would answer for the time being, although it was acknowledged on all hands to be imperfect.

During the summer of this year Mr. Jefferson was called to his home by matters demanding his personal attention. In his absence he was

appointed by Congress, in conjunction with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Deane, a commissioner to France, for the purpose of forming treaties of alliance and commerce. He was at this time suffering ill health, and that, together with other matters, including the embarrassed condition of the country, caused him to decline the appointment, in a letter to Congress, dated October 11th.

Early in the legislative session of 1776, Mr. Jefferson presented a bill for the general revision of the laws, which was passed October 24th. On the 5th of November a committee, consisting of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Pendleton, Mr. Wythe, George Mason, and Thomas L. Lee, was appointed to make such revision. On the 13th of January the committee met at Fredericksburg, to decide on a plan of operations, and a division of the work. Mr. Mason soon after resigned, and Mr. Lee died, leaving the remaining three members of the committee to proceed with the work. To Mr. Jefferson was assigned the common law and statutes to the time separate legislatures were established. The British statutes from that date to the change from colonial to state government, and the Virginia laws were assigned to Mr. Pendleton. In this division of labor Mr. Jefferson had charge of the preparation of the law of descents and criminal law. The final judgment of the committee was that the law of primogeniture be abolished, and that real estate be subject to division among all heirs. On the subject of the criminal law all were agreed that the death penalty should be abolished, except for treason and murder; for other felonies hard labor on public works was substituted. The committee entered with spirit into the work, which was not completed until 1779, when a meeting was had and every section read, sentence by sentence, amended, and revised. Copies were then made and the drafts presented to the general assembly June 18, 1779. A total of one hundred and twenty-six bills was presented. Certain of these bills were taken up from time to time, but the majority were not acted upon until 1785, after the termination of the war. By request of the other members of the committee, Mr. Jefferson was given charge of the acts of assembly concerning the college of William and Mary, which were included in the portion of the work assigned to Mr. Pendleton. Mr. Jefferson had given much attention to the subject of education, and his appointment to this portion of the work of revision, was peculiarly appropriate. He prepared three bills for the revisal, proposing three distinct grades of education: elementary schools for all children, rich and poor alike; colleges, affording a degree of education adapted to the common purposes of life; and a grade for teaching the sciences generally in the highest degree. But a portion of this bill, that relating to elementary education, was acted upon, and this was so amended as to leave each county to determine for itself when the act should take effect. One provision of the bill was, that all should be taxed alike to support the public school system. This would throw the greater burden on the rich, who cared nothing for these schools, they mak-

ing other provision for the education of their children. As a consequence the bill became inoperative, those who were to decide when it should go into effect entirely ignoring it.

The bill on the subject of slavery was a digest of existing laws, it being thought best to insert nothing looking toward emancipation, but leave that subject to be provided for by amendment to the bill when it should be brought up for adoption. Mr. Jefferson was an original abolitionist, or if not strictly an abolitionist, an earnest believer in the self-evident truth that all men are born equal and universally entitled to freedom. In discussing this bill he said: "But it was found that the public mind would not yet bear the proposition [that is, a plan for a future and general emancipation], nor will they bear it at this day [1821]. Yet the day is not distant when they must bear and adopt it, or worse will follow. Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate, than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government. Nature, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation and deportation, peaceably and in such slow degree, as that the evil will wear off insensibly, and their place be *pari passu*, filled up by free white laborers. If, on the contrary, it is left to force itself on, human nature must shudder at the prospect held up. We should in vain look for an example in the Spanish deportation or delation of the Moors. This precedent would fall far short of our case."

Touching laws regulating the officers of the state, he says he "considered four of these bills, passed or reported, as forming a system by which every fibre would be eradicted of ancient or future aristocracy; and a foundation laid for a government purely republican. The repeal of the laws of entail would prevent the accumulation and perpetuation of wealth, in select families, and preserve the soil of the country from being daily more and more absorbed in mortmain. The abolition of primogeniture, and equal partition of inheritance, removed the feudal and unnatural distinction, which made one member of every family rich, and all the rest poor, substituting equal partition, the best of all agrarian laws. The restoration of the rights of conscience relieved the people from the taxation for the support of a religion not theirs; for the establishment was truly of the religion of the rich, the dissenting sects being entirely composed of the less wealthy people; and these, by the bill for a general education, would be qualified to understand their rights, to maintain them, and to exercise with intelligence their parts in self government; and all this would be effected, without the violation of a single natural right of any one individual citizen. To these, too, might be added, as a further security, the introduction of a trial by jury, into the chancery courts, which have already ingulfed, and continue to ingulf, so great a proportion of the jurisdiction over our property."

The surrender of the army under General Burgoyne, at Saratoga, October 17, 1777, resulted in the capture of a large number of prisoners of war, many of them being the Hessian troops under General de Riedesel. A portion of these were removed to Albemarle county, in 1779, and were detained near the residence of Mr. Jefferson, who won the hearty good will of both officers and men, by the many acts of kindness shown them. The officers were frequently guests at his table, and on their release testified their appreciation of his kindness.

CHAPTER III.

ELECTED GOVERNOR—AGAIN IN CONGRESS—ACCEPTS A FOREIGN MISSION.

ON the 1st of June, 1779, the term of Patrick Henry, the first governor of Virginia after the formation of the confederation, expired. Mr. Jefferson was elected to succeed him in that office, and resigned his seat in the legislature, where he had done invaluable work for the state in framing the most beneficial changes in her code of laws. He was also about this time elected one of the visitors to the college of William and Mary, and during his residence in Williamsburg that year, was instrumental in effecting a change in the organization of the institution, abolishing the grammar school, and doing away with two professorships, those of divinity and oriental languages, and substituting in their stead the chairs of law and police, anatomy, medicine, and chemistry, and modern languages. Additions were made to the duties of the professor of moral philosophy, requiring him to teach the law of nature and nations, and the fine arts; to the duties of the professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, was added instruction in natural history.

At this time the duties of the executive were arduous and difficult. The British government had inflicted great barbarities on prisoners who were so unfortunate as to fall into its hands. A system of retaliation was inaugurated by Mr. Jefferson, which, for the time, had the effect of increasing the rigorous treatment, particularly against the troops of Virginia. Persistence in this course taught the British government a lesson in humanity that they had failed to appreciate and had the effect to ameliorate the condition of the American prisoners in their hands. They were thereafter constrained to follow more closely the laws of civilized warfare.

In the spring of 1780 Virginia became the scene of actual hostilities. Heretofore she had escaped much of the terror and devastation of war. The bold Tarleton invaded the southern part of the state, committing many atrocities, burning and pillaging the country, and forcing the inhabitants to

flee to the mountains for refuge. Following him came the main army under Lord Cornwallis. The state was in poor condition for defense, but troops were raised, munitions of war provided, lines of communication established, and every possible effort made to drive him back. Mr. Jefferson had no military training, but as governor of the state the legislature conferred on him extraordinary powers commensurate with the occasion. Troops were speedily sent to resist Cornwallis. At the same time a new danger menaced the commonwealth. The traitor Arnold, knowing the defenseless condition of the sea coast and borders of Virginia, planned an invasion from that direction. He set sail from New York with sixteen hundred men and several armed vessels, ascended the James river and debarked fifteen miles below Richmond. The state militia had already been called out and placed under command of General Nelson, at Williamsburgh. The capital was entirely defenseless. All available troops and arms had been sent to resist Cornwallis. About two hundred men were collected, armed with such weapons as could be hastily gathered, and placed under command of Baron Steuben, who was instructed to delay the enemy until the public records be removed to a place of safety. Mr. Jefferson superintended this work until the enemy had nearly surrounded the place and had actually entered the lower part of town. The governor believed that Arnold might be captured by the exercise of strategy and skill, and found men of nerve and daring to make the attempt, but he was careful to avoid exposing his person and all efforts to effect his capture by this plan failed. A bolder move was then decided upon. Mr. Jefferson communicated with General Washington and the French fleet, and received from both the promise of active co-operation. It was believed that vessels from the fleet could blockade the mouth of the river and cut off his escape by sea, at the same time that a large body of troops prevented his retreat across the country. On the 8th of March Mr. Jefferson wrote to Washington regarding this plan: "We have made on our part every preparation which we were able to make. The militia proposed to operate will be upwards of four thousand from this state, and one thousand or twelve hundred from Carolina, said to be under General Gregory. The enemy are at this time, in a great measure blockaded by land, there being a force on the east side of Elizabeth river. They suffer for provisions, as they are afraid to venture far, lest the French squadron should be in the neighborhood and come upon them. Were it possible to block up the river a little time would suffice to reduce them by want and desertions; and would be more sure in its event than any attempt by storm." These plans were defeated, however, by the inopportune arrival at the Chesapeake of a British force equal to if not the superior of the French fleet, by which the latter were driven back and Arnold made his way in safety to the sea.

Disasters, however, were not yet at an end. Arnold had no sooner escaped than Cornwallis entered the state on the south. The sole depen-

dence to repel him consisted of the militia, and they were not fully equipped, there being great scarcity of arms, ammunition, and camp necessaries. Every means at his command was utilized by the governor. There was, in the state, a number of regular officers, who had been deprived of their commands by the consolidation of Continental regiments, caused by lack of men. These he called upon, at the same time making a draft of all the able-bodied men available. With the addition of some few old soldiers, whose term of service had expired, the militia, under experienced leaders, soon made a respectable appearance. Most of the drafted men were placed in the regular regiments, and, with considerable numbers of the militia, were sent to the south. A considerable force of cavalry was mounted through an expedient of Mr. Jefferson. He communicated with some influential person, usually a member of the legislature, in each county, soliciting his aid in purchasing horses, using for that purpose the paper money of the state. By this means enough animals were secured to mount a larger force than was deemed necessary for the emergency, and the residue was dispatched to the aid of the Carolinas. Virginia was, by this time, menaced on every side, and utterly unable to keep back the forces of the enemy.

On the 2d of June, 1781, the term for which Mr. Jefferson was elected governor expired, and he retired to his home at Monticello. Two days after his arrival, the British raider, Tarleton, suddenly left the main army and directed his course to Charlottesville for the purpose of capturing the legislature, in session at that place. Information of his movements was brought in time to allow the members to escape, and at the same time a messenger was dispatched to Monticello, but a short distance away, to inform Mr. Jefferson. His family was breakfasting with some friends, but finished the meal without undue haste, entered the carriage, which had been ordered, and was conveyed to the house of a friend. Mr. Jefferson remained some time longer, to secure valuable papers from destruction. While he was attending to this matter a neighbor rode rapidly up and informed him that a body of horsemen was at that moment ascending the hill. He soon mounted his horse, and, taking a course through the woods, made his way to the place where his family was, and remained until danger was past. Had not Tarleton's men spent valuable time in wanton acts of destruction, they must surely have captured the entire state legislature, as well as the ex governor. As it was, their cupidity prevented the accomplishment of the object sought.

The legislature next met at Staunton, where several new members were received. Among them was Mr. George Nicholas, who had not been present at Richmond at the time of Arnold's invasion, and was unacquainted with the measures taken by Governor Jefferson to protect the public property. In his view the governor had been remiss in his duties; he accordingly called for an investigation into his conduct on that occasion. To this

neither Mr. Jefferson nor his friends interposed any objection. The subject was postponed until the next session of the legislature, before the meeting of which the member from Mr. Jefferson's county resigned, and he was unanimously elected to the vacant seat. When the subject of investigation was brought up, however, Mr. Nicholas promptly arose in his seat, and stated that he had been misinformed in regard to Mr. Jefferson's conduct at the time referred to, and declined to proceed in the case. Mr. Jefferson then arose and made a complete statement of the subject, recapitulating the charges, and completely exonerating himself from blame. On the conclusion of his remarks the house unanimously adopted the following resolution:

"*Resolved*, That the sincere thanks of the general assembly be given to our former governor, Thomas Jefferson, for his impartial, upright, and attentive administration whilst in office. The assembly wish in the strongest manner to declare the high opinion they entertain of Mr. Jefferson's ability, rectitude, and integrity, as chief magistrate of this commonwealth, and mean by thus publicly avowing their opinion, to obviate and remove all unmerited censure."

On the last day of September, 1776, Mr. Jefferson was appointed, in conjunction with Dr. Franklin, an ambassador to France, to negotiate treaties of alliance and commerce with that government. Silas Deane was at that time agent of the colonies for the purchase of military stores, and was added to the commission. At the time the family of Mr. Jefferson was so situated that he could not well leave it, his wife being an invalid, with two small children to care for. He also felt that his services were needed in forming the new government and getting it settled into satisfactory working order. He therefore declined the mission, and Mr. Lee was appointed in his stead.

Again, on the 15th of June, 1781, he was appointed, with Mr. Adams, Dr. Franklin, Mr. Jay, and Mr. Laurens, minister plenipotentiary for negotiating peace through the mediation of the Empress of Russia. The same reasons as before, prevented his becoming a member of this commission, which finally accomplished nothing. In the fall of 1782 the appointment was renewed, Congress having assurances that peace could be obtained. Mrs. Jefferson had died during the summer, and his home being thus disrupted, he accepted the appointment, and on the 19th of December left Monticello for Philadelphia, to make preparations for the journey. The French minister offered him the frigate Romulus, which was at that time lying in the river below Baltimore, locked in by ice. He therefore remained in Philadelphia a month, awaiting her release, in the meantime consulting state papers. He then departed for Baltimore, where another month was passed awaiting the breaking up of the river. At this time news was received that a provisional treaty of peace had been signed,

which would become operative upon the conclusion of a treaty between France and England. Considering that his services would not be required on this mission he returned to Philadelphia, and Congress excusing him from the office of commissioner, he departed for Monticello, where he arrived May 15th.

On the 6th of June, 1783, he was elected by the legislature delegate to the Congress, which met in November at Trenton. In that body he took his seat on the 4th, and Congress immediately adjourned to meet at Annapolis the 26th. The number of delegates had now become very small, many being so remiss in their duties that it was frequently impossible to secure a quorum, and it was not until the 13th of December that the business of legislation began.

The definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain was signed at Paris, in September, 1783, and forwarded to Congress for ratification. But seven states were represented at the time of its receipt, and the vote of nine being required for ratification, nothing could be done until the dilatory members assembled. December 23d an urgent request was sent to the governors of all the states, making known the terms of the treaty, and requesting the immediate attendance of members. On the 26th of the same month Mr. Jefferson moved that the agent of marine, Robert Morris, be instructed to have three vessels in readiness to convey copies of the ratification with all speed to the French court, as soon as the treaty should be affirmed. Some members were of opinion that seven states could ratify the treaty, and the motion was postponed. Immediate discussion of the proposition was entered upon, and was continued for many days. A vessel was to sail from Annapolis, on the 5th of January, and the Congress passed a resolution instructing its presiding officer to write to the ministers that but seven states were yet assembled, and these unanimously ratified the treaty. On the 14th of January the delegates from Connecticut and South Carolina presented themselves, the treaty was signed without dissent, and three copies were made, one to be conveyed by Colonel Harmer, one by Colonel Franks, and the third to be forwarded by Mr. Morris, on the first opportunity presented.

In January, 1784, Congress had turned its attention to the devising a system of finance, and had directed the financier, Robert Morris, to prepare a table containing the ratio of value of foreign coin. His secretary, Gouverneur Morris, prepared the requisite statement, at the same time submitting a plan for adoption of a monetary unit for a universal system to be accepted by all the states. His plan was to adopt a decimal system, founded on a unit, representing a penny, which would be a common measure for every state, without leaving a fraction. This common unit he found to be 1-1440th of a dollar, or 1-1600th of the crown sterling. This would make the dollar consist of 1440 units, and the crown 1600; each unit containing a

quarter grain of silver. The proposal of the financier was submitted to Congress, and, after lying over until the following year, was referred to a committee, of which Mr. Jefferson was a member. He made some notes on the subject, and submitted them to Mr. Morris, who replied, agreeing to enlarge the unit so that a dollar should be 14 40-100th, and the crown 16 units. Mr. Jefferson then caused his note to be printed, together with Mr. Morris' reply, and circulated among the members of Congress. The committee agreed to report Mr. Jefferson's principle, which had for its basis the Spanish dollar, its multiples, and sub-divisions. His proposition was to strike four coins, one of gold, two of silver, and one of copper: the ten dollar piece, of gold, the dollar and dime of silver, and the penny of copper. Congress adopted this system the ensuing year, and it has well stood the test of time, being that now in use; the most comprehensive and best system of coin in the world.

Congress next proceeded to discuss the subject of foreign relations. Treaties of commerce had already been made with France, the Netherlands, and Sweden, and it was important that others be concluded with England, Hamburg, Saxony, Prussia, Denmark, Russia, Austria, Rome, Venice, Naples, Tuscany, Sardinia, Genoa, Spain, Portugal, the Porte, Algiers, Tripoli, Tunis, and Morocco. Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams were ministers plenipotentiary respectively at Paris and the Hague, with extraordinary general powers for entering into treaties of amity and commerce. It was determined to add another member, and on May 7th Mr. Jefferson was chosen by Congress to this office. Making hasty preparations, four days later he left Annapolis for Philadelphia, where was at that time his eldest daughter, and proceeded to Boston to secure passage. On the 5th of July they sailed, in the *Ceres*, a merchant ship belonging to Nathaniel Tracy, who was himself a passenger, and arrived in Cowes on the 26th. The illness of his daughter detained Mr. Jefferson a few days at that port, and the 30th he left for Havre, where he arrived the following day. On the 3d of August he reached Paris, and immediately called upon Dr. Franklin. A message was at once sent to Mr. Adams, requesting him to join them at Paris. On his arrival a general form was devised, to be presented to such nations as were desirous of treaty relations with the new government. Negotiations were soon entered into with Prussia, Denmark, and Tuscany. Other powers were indifferent to making treaties, and it was not deemed expedient to press the matter. The negotiations were protracted, foreign countries knowing little of the products or resources of America, her commerce having been heretofore monopolized by England.

Mr. Adams was assigned as minister to England in June, 1785, and in July Dr. Franklin returned to America, Mr. Jefferson being appointed his successor. In February, 1786, Mr. Adams sent an urgent request to Mr. Jefferson, the bearer being Colonel Smith, his secretary, that he come

immediately to London, as it was his opinion that a more advantageous treaty might be negotiated. On the 1st of March Mr. Jefferson left Paris, and soon after his arrival in London was presented to the king and queen. His reception was not by any means cordial, and left an unpleasant impression on his mind that no favors were to be expected from that quarter. After some seven weeks Mr. Jefferson returned to Paris, where he arrived April 30th. While in London negotiations for a treaty of commerce were entered into with the ambassador of Portugal, but the demands of his government proving unreasonable the matter was for the time abandoned.

Pirates from the Barbary coast having captured and despoiled two American merchantmen, Mr. Jefferson proposed a joint attack against them by all naval powers, and to that end suggested a convention, the object of which should be "to compel the piratical states to perpetual peace, without price, and to guarantee that peace to each other." Certain of the powers were favorable to such mode of procedure, but others were not prepared to act, and the proposal fell through.

The remissness of members of Congress in attending to their duties, was a subject of uneasiness. The sessions had become almost permanent in form, so much so that legislatures had in some cases remonstrated, and recommended intermissions. The entire government of a vigorous and growing nation was vested in them, and during their vacations there was no head to the general government to take action in an emergency, to superintend the executive department, and communicate with ministers and foreign powers. As a temporary expedient in April, 1783, Mr. Jefferson proposed that Congress be divided into two departments, one legislative, the other executive, and that a committee consisting of one member from each state should constitute the executive; this committee should remain in session during the intermission of Congress, "receive and communicate with foreign ministers and nations, and assemble Congress on sudden and extraordinary emergencies." This plan was agreed to, and a committee appointed, which, however, was soon split by dissensions, the members abandoned their posts, and the government was left with no executive head until the re-assembling of Congress. Things remained in this chaotic condition, each state legislature a law unto itself, and internal dissensions sprang up regarding duties on articles produced in one state and shipped to another, causing great uneasiness and bickering. The good sense of the people would not long tolerate this condition of affairs, and a general agreement prevailed between the states for a convention to harmonize differences. Deputies were chosen by the various legislatures to meet and agree on such a constitution as "would insure peace, justice, liberty, the common defense and general welfare." This convention met at Philadelphia, May 25, 1787, and sat with closed doors until September 17th, its proceedings being held inviolate by the delegates until their labors were ended, when the results were published.

Six of the articles proposed were accepted without change, and in seven, amendments were proposed, after which all were adopted. Mr. Jefferson early received a copy of the draft, and though in several of the articles he found matters of grave concern, yet as a whole he considered the work of the convention satisfactory. Those articles to which he particularly objected were: that the absolute freedom of the press, freedom in religion, and freedom of the person were not guaranteed under the protection of the *habeas corpus;* and trial by jury in both civil and criminal cases; the re-eligibility of the President to office he quite disapproved. It were better, perhaps, to give his views of these questions in his own words. Some years later he says:

"My first idea was, that the nine states first acting, should accept it unconditionally, and thus secure what in it was good, and that the four last should accept it on the previous condition, that certain amendments should be agreed to; but a better course was devised, of accepting the whole, and trusting that the good sense and honest intentions of our citizens, would make the alterations which should be deemed necessary. Accordingly, all were accepted, six without objection, and seven with recommendations of specified amendments. Those respecting the press, religion, and juries, with several others, of great value, were accordingly made; but the *habeas corpus* was left to the discretion of Congress, and the amendment against the re-eligibility of the President was not proposed. My fears of that feature were founded on the importance of the office, on the fierce contentions it might excite among ourselves, if continuable for life, and the dangers of interference, either with money or arms, by foreign nations, to whom the choice of an American President might become interesting. Examples of this abounded in history; in the case of the Roman emperors, for instance; of the Popes, while of any significance; of the German emperors; the kings of Poland, and the deys of Barbary. I had observed, too, in the feudal history, and in the recent instance, particularly, of the stadtholder of Holland, how easily offices, or tenures for life, slide into inheritances. My wish, therefore, was, that the President should be elected for seven years, and be ineligible afterwards. This term I thought sufficient to enable him, with the concurrence of the legislature, to carry through and establish any system of improvement he should propose for the general good. But the practice adopted, I think, is better, allowing his continuance for eight years, with a liability to be dropped at half way of the term, making that a period of probation. That his continuance should be restrained to seven years, was the opinion of the convention at an earlier stage of its session, when it voted that term, by a majority of eight against two, and by a simple majority that he should be ineligible a second term. This opinion was confirmed by the house so late as July 26th, referred to the committee of detail, reported favorably by them, and changed to the present form by final vote, on the last day but one only of their session. Of this change,

three states expressed their disapprobation; New York, by recommending an amendment, that the President should not be eligible a third time, and Virginia and North Carolina that he should not be capable of serving more than eight in any term of sixteen years; and though this amendment has not been made in form, yet practice seems to have established it. The example of four Presidents voluntarily retiring at the end of their eighth year, and the progress of public opinion, that the principle is salutary, have given it in practice the force of precedent and usage; inasmuch that, should a President consent to be a candidate for a third election, I trust he would be rejected, on this demonstration of ambitious views."

Another article in the Constitution, that relating to the judiciary, seems at the time to have been overlooked, although at a later day Mr. Jefferson saw in it a grave defect. It provided that no judge should be removed from office for any cause, except by a two-thirds vote in the House, which unless in very extraordinary occasions, could not be obtained. He believed that judges whose erroneous biases menace dissolution, should be withdrawn from the bench, the first and supreme duty being to preserve the republic.

While on the continent Mr. Jefferson, by an accident, sustained a dislocation of the right wrist, which being improperly set, caused him much trouble, and in a measure impaired his health. He was recommended to try the effect of the mineral waters of Aix, in Provence. This gave him an opportunity to view another section of France. He left Paris February 28, 1786, and after a trial of the waters experienced no benefit. On his return he visited the rice plantations of Piedmont, to determine if anything could be done in the way of improvement in the rice culture of Carolina, arriving at Paris June 10th. In the latter part of July his second daughter, Maria, arrived in Paris, having come by way of London. The youngest daughter had died a short time previously, in Virginia. He had before this established a household in Paris, where he was associated with the great thinkers of the day, and breathed an element suited to his tastes and disposition. His early association with his college tutor, Dr. Small, had inspired in him a desire to pursue the study of science and philosophy. In Paris he was surrounded by men of letters, and immediately took a foremost place in the scientific discussions of the day. He had been able in the intervals of public service, to pursue, to a limited degree, such subjects as particularly interested him. His early knowledge of the French language had led him to procure such treatises on mathematics and kindred sciences as were published in France, and he had acquired a valuable library, to which he made constant additions.

Before leaving America, in 1781, M. de Marbois, a learned gentleman connected with the French legation, had requested Mr. Jefferson to furnish such information regarding the different states of the Union as might be in his possession. As he had always taken a deep interest in matters per-

taining to the growth and prosperity of the nation, and had committed his observations to writing, probably no one person in America was better qualified to make a candid and intelligent estimate of the resources and possibilities of America than he. His notes were on loose slips, not at all arranged; he had prepared them at some length for the accommodation of the gentleman requesting the information, and proposed to publish a few copies for presentation to friends who were interested in the subject, but the terms of publication were so exorbitant he was deterred from so doing. After he had become settled in Paris he ascertained that the work could be done there at about one-fourth the price demanded in America. He therefore revised and extended the original matter and caused two hundred copies to be printed under the title of Notes on Virginia. These were given to friends in Europe and America. A book dealer chanced to obtain a copy, which he caused to be translated into French, and submitted to Mr. Jefferson for revision. It was filled with glaring errors, but not having time to thoroughly revise it, the proof was returned to the publisher, who issued the volume. A London publisher secured a copy and requested permission to print an English edition. This permission Mr. Jefferson readily granted, thinking it best to have an accurate work published to counteract the false impressions that might arise from the French work.

The articles of confederation were hastily and indefinitely drawn, and when the immediate necessities of war had passed away, and peace was assured to the country, each state became more independent of the others. True, a semblance of general government was kept up by the election of delegates to Congress, but the states did not provide such adequate means for the sustentation of home and foreign relations as was necessary for the establishment of treaties of commerce and the maintaining diplomatic relations abroad. Some contributed small amounts and some none at all. These latter furnished an excuse for others, and finally the wheels of government became almost blocked. This state of things existed until the adoption of a constitution drew the states into more intimate relations, which were further strengthened by the election of a President and a Vice President. The election of Mr. Adams, late minister to England, to the second place in the government, closely followed his return to his native country. He had been appointed minister to England while associated with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Jefferson, in a commission for the formation of treaties with such foreign powers as were disposed to establish commercial relations with the United States. His place of residence had been at the Hague, and he had not taken leave of that government before proceeding to London. During his residence at the Hague he had a general authority to procure loans of such sums as were necessary to the maintenance of diplomatic relations, and to meet the interest on the public debt.

A limited sum had been deposited with Mr. Grand, the banker, of Paris, for the accommodation of the commissioners there, but this had been overdrawn, and the banker refused to make further advances until a deposit had been made. A company which had made a small loan to the United States was pressing for payment of its claim; the bankers in Amsterdam were becoming anxious regarding the large sums they had provided, the interest on which would become due in June; failure in the payment of these demands would impair the credit of the government and prevent the future negotiation of bonds. Application had been made to the financial agent for remittances covering the sums demanded, and had produced a candid statement that no funds could be depended on until the new government should become settled and in full working order. Mr. Adams, before leaving London, had notified the bankers to present their claims to Mr. Jefferson in the future. The latter had no authority to issue bonds, no familiarity with the financial affairs of the United States in Europe, and was totally without resources to provide for the contingency. In this state of affairs it was imperative that he confer with Mr. Adams, and this determined him to journey to the Hague. Mr. Adams saw the necessity for immediate action. The financial matters of the Republic were of paramount importance. Mr. Jefferson prepared an estimate of the sum required. He found there was necessity that provision be made for the years 1788, 1789, and 1790, before the government would be in condition to meet its obligations. There would be required for this purpose 1,544,017–10 florins. There was available a sum amounting to 622,687–2–8 florins, leaving to be supplied 921,049–7–4. It was proposed to issue bonds for 1,000,000 florins, which would realize 920,000, after deducting the expense of negotiation. This would still leave a small deficiency of 1,049–7–4 florins, which could stand unpaid until further provision was made. Bonds were accordingly issued by Mr. Adams, in sums of 1,000 florins each, and placed in the hands of the bankers, with instructions not to put them on the market until the loan had been sanctioned by Congress. Mr. Jefferson then returned to Paris, eased in mind, and with the satisfaction that the credit of the nation was safe, for the time, at least, and he relieved from the importunities of its creditors.

In 1784 Dr. Franklin had agreed upon certain articles in a consular convention with the French government, entirely at variance with the spirit of the laws of several states of the Union, which Congress refused to ratify, and returned to Mr. Jefferson with instructions to have them expunged, or modified to conform to our laws. The concessions were made after much discussion, and the articles signed on the 14th of November, 1788.

The connection of Mr. Jefferson with the revolt of the colonies and the securing of their independence from the domination of Great Britain, caused him to make careful study of the events which preceded and led to the French revolution. From his earliest acquaintance with the Marquis

de Lafayette he had recognized in him the principles of republicanism, and his own life in France brought him in contact with the leading spirits in the intellectual agitation which preceded and produced the revolution. While in strong sympathy with the movement, Mr. Jefferson maintained in the strictest sense the policy of non-intervention, recognizing the fact that he was the accredited representative of a nation at peace and holding friendly relations with the court of France. He was once requested to attend and assist in the deliberations of a convention formed to frame a constitution supplementary to a declaration of rights, but excused himself on the ground that his duties were limited to the concerns of his own country. The consistency he showed in maintaining the position he had taken, caused him to be trusted by both patriots and royalists. The minister of state was his friend and personally requested that he assist at such conferences as were aimed toward a reformation.

The excesses of the revolution did not begin until several years after these events, and Mr. Jefferson was not in France at the time of their occurrence. For more than a year he had been awaiting an opportunity to return home, with a view to placing his daughters under the care of friends, and in the midst of American society, but the changes in the government and the many affairs to be carefully attended to before it would become settled on a stable foundation, had prevented Congress granting him leave of absence. It was not until near the last of August that matters had been placed in such shape that he could leave. His arrangements for temporary absence completed, on the 29th of September, 1789, he left Paris for Havre, where he was detained until the 8th of October. On the 9th he arrived at Cowes, where he had made arrangements to take passage in the ship *Clermont*. A delay of some ten days ensued, caused by contrary winds, and during this interval he visited objects of interest on the Isle of Wight, particularly Carisbrooke castle, the refuge of Charles the First in 1648. Resuming the journey, he reached Norfolk November 23d. Traveling homeward from that port, he passed several days with friends in Eppington, and while there received a letter from General, then President, Washington, inviting him to a seat in his cabinet. The letter of the President was as follows:

"New York, October 13, 1789.

"Sir: In the selection of characters to fill the important offices of government, in the United States, I was naturally led to contemplate the talents and dispositions which I knew you to possess and entertain for the service of your country; and without being able to consult your inclination, or to derive any knowledge of your intention from your letters, either to myself, or to any other of your friends, I was determined, as well by motives of private regard, as a conviction of public propriety, to nominate you for the department of state, which, under its present organization, involves

many of the most interesting objects of the executive authority. But grateful as your acceptance of this commission would be to me, I am, at the same time, desirous to accommodate your wishes, and I have, therefore, forborne to nominate your successor at the court of Versailles, until I should be informed of your determination.

"Being on the eve of a journey through the eastern states, with a view to observe the situation of the country, and in a hope of perfectly re-establishing my health, which a series of indispositions has much impaired, I have deemed it proper to make this communication of your appointment, in order that you might lose no time, should it be your *wish* to visit Virginia during the recess of Congress, which will probably be the most convenient season, both as it may respect your private concerns and the public service.

"Unwilling, as I am, to interfere in the direction of your choice of assistants, I shall only take the liberty of observing to you, that from warm recommendations which I have received in behalf of Roger Aldin, Esq., assistant secretary of the late Congress, I have placed all the papers thereunto belonging, under his care. These papers, which more properly appertain to the office of foreign affairs, are under the superintendence of Mr. Jay, who has been so obliging as to continue his good offices, and they are in the immediate charge of Mr. Remsen.

"With sentiments of very great esteem and regard, I have the honor to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

GEORGE WASHINGTON.

"The Hon. Thomas Jefferson."

November 30th President Washington addressed another communication to Mr. Jefferson, of the same tenor as the above, requesting the communication of his decision in the matter.

The receipt of the letter from the President requesting him to accept an appointment to his cabinet, filled Mr. Jefferson with conflicting emotions. He had left Paris with the intention of soon returning; he had found there men of advanced views in scientific and political subjects; the revolution in public sentiment had just begun, and he confidently expected to see its close within a year. Inclination prompted his return to France; obedience to the wish of the executive decided him to accept the appointment.

CHAPTER IV.

SERVICE IN THE CABINET OF PRESIDENT WASHINGTON.

MR. JEFFERSON arrived in New York the 21st of March, 1790, and entered upon an epoch of his life that continued for nineteen years, until his retirement from public service in 1809. The duties of secretary of state are perhaps the most exacting of any in the administration of the government, and require exceptional abilities for their proper performance. All questions of public concern must be appreciated by him; since both home and foreign affairs are under his immediate supervision. To this office Mr. Jefferson brought rare qualifications of mind and experience. The President received his minister with cordiality, while all parties extended the hand of welcome. He found here a different sentiment from that to which he had lately been accustomed. The society that was attracted to the President's levees had an aristocratic tendency. The President was himself descended from an old and aristocratic family, and by education and association was quite exclusive. He allowed no one to approach him with undue familiarity; even his most intimate friends scarcely dared attempt to penetrate the reserve with which he surrounded himself. Alexander Hamilton, his secretary of the treasury, though with no inherited aristocratic tendency, by virtue of the position he occupied was a leader and advocate of extreme court etiquette, beside being essentially in favor of a monarchial form of government. His extreme views regarding the establishment of a certain courtly form in addressing the President, and in conducting the affairs connected with the government, met with strong disapproval from Mr. Jefferson, whose early acquired republican principles had been strengthened by association with the young republicans of France. When it was proposed in the Senate to address the President as "His Highness George Washington, President of the United States and Protector of their Liberties," although he had no voice in deciding the title to be adopted, he unqualifiedly dissented from such form. The wife of the President was also

of aristocratic tendency, and took delight in the little court that surrounded her. It frequently happened that at dinner parties nearly all present were of the court party, and Mr. Jefferson the only person present entertaining opposite views, unless it so happened that a republican member of the Senate or House was present. Jefferson's doctrine of simplicity in government was not the feeling of a moment, but was adhered to throughout his life. So strongly implanted was it, that when he became President of the United States his cards bore the simple inscription, "Thomas Jefferson."

On his advent into the cabinet, Mr. Jefferson found diversity of opinion among the members of Congress respecting the funding schemes proposed by the secretary of the treasury. Previous to and during the war of the revolution the several states had pledged large sums of money, a part of which had been applied to home protection and the remainder turned into the general fund. The amount thus contributed varied in the different states. Some of these had provided for the payment of their individual debt, and had it nearly cancelled, while others had done nothing toward meeting their indebtedness. Those nearly free from obligations objected to being taxed to pay the debt of their neighbors. It was a difficult question to decide. The heavier burdens of the war had been borne by the eastern and middle states, while those more to the south had, in great measure, escaped. Before this question was settled came another of some importance—the permanent establishment of the capital. Various places, from the Delaware to the Potomac, were advocated as possessing superior advantages. The question at issue was definitely settled by the states assuming the public debt, now amounting to $54,124,464.56; the temporary location of the capital for a period of ten years at Philadelphia, and its permanent establishment on the Potomac, at or near Georgetown.

Congress adjourned August 12th, and, after a week spent in a pleasure jaunt with members of the cabinet and others, Mr. Jefferson returned to his home at Monticello, where he remained, quietly attending to business that had for some time been neglected, until the opening of the next session, in December, again called him to Philadelphia. During this year the navigation of the Mississippi river became a subject of importance. There was probability of a rupture between England and France, and such an event might also involve Spain in war. A free outlet to the sea for the products of the growing west was an imperative necessity. After some delay, arrangements were made for the use of the river as far as New Orleans, but it was not until some ten years later that the government was able to acquire peaceable possession of the territory adjacent to the river, and control of the same to its mouth.

At this time the United States had no treaty of commerce with Great Britain. The mother country had heretofore appeared indifferent to such treaty. There was now an informal agent in New York, who proposed an

exchange of ministers. This the United States agreed to, but England did not respond, leaving all her affairs to an unaccredited agent. Mr. Jefferson informed Gouverneur Morris, an informal agent of the United States in England, that regarding a treaty of commerce and alliance "we wish to be neutral, and will be so, if they [England] will execute the treaty fairly and attempt no conquests adjoining us." This had reference to the acquirement of a portion or all the Spanish possessions in America. It was his desire that no change of neighbors be made, that the United States might retain the balance of power on this continent.

Among other duties this year, Mr. Jefferson prepared a report on a standard of coinage, and weights and measures. The former was virtually adopted, and is the system now in use. The system of weights and measures had become so familiar, and habit so confirmed, that a change was not deemed advisable.

The British government would not enter into commercial treaty with the United States until misunderstandings were settled regarding the terms of peace. The importation of all articles from America that could be obtained elsewhere was debarred, except that in time of scarcity of grain it was allowed to enter duty free. Commerce with England was limited to a few articles not readily procured elsewhere. Trade with the West Indies was included in this category. Mr. Jefferson advocated retaliatory measures, and the granting of special privileges to other countries friendly to us. Hamilton was opposed to such measures, and his influence is believed to have defeated their passage. In principle Jefferson believed in "perfect and universal free trade as one of the natural rights of man, and as the only sound policy." He modified this somewhat by saying instead: "Free trade with any nation that will reciprocate."

The duties of the first secretary of state were multifarious, including many now foreign to that office. Jefferson was for a time postmaster-general, and seriously contemplated a fast mail service, not connected with steam-power, iron rails, and portable palaces for its conveyance, but by means of relays of post-horses traveling at the rate of *one hundred miles* a day. Under his control, also, was the patent system. An Englishman solicited the privilege of coining the currency of the country; this brought the subject of the establishment of a government mint before Congress, and it, also, was referred to him. He decided as to the legality of land grants. There being no other "general utility" man possessed of such broad and comprehensive scope, on him devolved the laying out of the District of Columbia and planning the erection of public buildings.

The chartering of the United States bank was an act Mr. Jefferson strongly condemned, and which Mr. Hamilton as cordially approved. Much discussion ensued in Congress over the measure, many deeming it opposed to the spirit and intent of the Constitution, but the bill finally

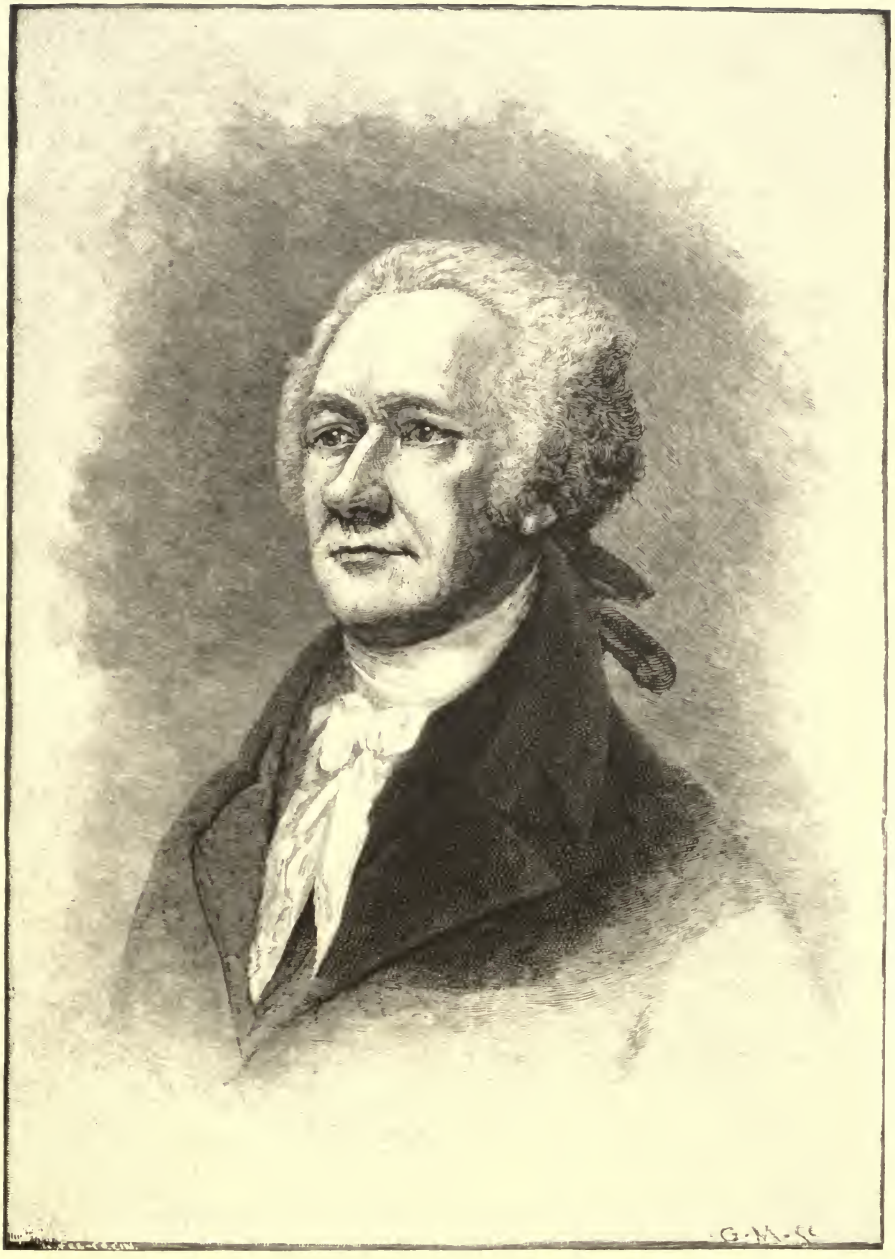
passed. The stock of the bank was subscribed within a very few days after books were opened, and could have been increased to an almost indefinite sum. Everything began to assume the form of prosperity, but a spirit of stock gambling was developed, which was dangerous to the permanence of institutions. Government securities rose to twenty-five per cent. above par, and the people were ready to take hold of any enterprise, however hazardous, which promised sudden wealth. Fortunes were made by men who held the appreciated securities, and vessels were tied up at their wharves, legitimate commerce being too slow a course to follow in the pursuit of the golden god. Members of Congress were not above ambition in the accumulation of wealth, and previous to the passage of the act many purchased the depreciated paper of government, and realized large profits from its sudden rise. Mr. Jefferson's opposition to a bank controlled by government, Hamilton deemed opposition to himself and his plans. He said: "Mr. Jefferson not only delivered an opinion in writing against its constitutionality, but he did it in a style and manner which I felt as partaking of asperity and ill humor toward *me*." Again: "In France," continues Hamilton, "he saw government only on the side of its abuses. He drank deeply of the French philosophy, in religion, in science, in politics. He came from France in the moment of a fermentation which he had a share in exciting, and in the passions and feelings of which he shared, both from temperament and situation. He came here, probably, with a too partial idea of his own powers, and with the expectation of a greater share in the direction of our councils than he has in reality enjoyed. I am not sure that he had not marked out for himself the department of the finances. He came electrified *plus* with attachment to France, and with the project of knitting together the two countries in the closest political bands. Mr. Madison had always entertained an exalted opinion of the talents, knowledge, and virtues of Mr. Jefferson. The sentiment was probably reciprocal. A close correspondence subsisted between them during the time of Mr. Jefferson's absence from this country. A close intimacy arose on his return. . . . Mr. Jefferson was indiscreetly open in his approbation of Mr. Madison's principles on first coming to the seat of government. I say indiscreetly, because a gentleman in one department ought not to have taken sides against another in another department."

Hamilton was jealous of his rights as secretary of the treasury, and was disposed to asperse the character of others who honestly differed from him. He seemed to think plans for the increase of the power and emoluments of his department should not be condemned by those who saw things in a different light. He had his way in the funding measures, the United States bank, and others, and the opposition he had overcome increased his egotism. While on all hands he was, and is at the present day, acknowledged a man of great financial ability, yet his disposition to override and

disparage the work of others, his peers, did much to lower him in the estimation of men whose good opinion was worth having.

When, in 1790, the seat of government was removed to Philadelphia, the translating clerk in the department of state declined to follow. To oblige his friends, James Madison and Henry Lee, Mr. Jefferson appointed to the office Captain Philip Frenau, who was somewhat of a poet, and quite a man of genius. Frenau was at the time general utility man on the New York Commercial Advertiser. The salary of clerk in the department of state was small,—but two hundred and fifty dollars per year. However, Mr. Madison and Governor Henry Lee, of Virginia, had in contemplation the establishment of a paper to represent the republican party, as Hamilton had an organ, the Gazette of the United States. Less than a year after Frenau's appointment, appeared the first number of the National Gazette. The course followed by the National Gazette in combatting the principles of federalism, and condemning Mr. Hamilton's schemes, inflamed the ire of that gentleman, who became still more embittered against Mr. Jefferson, believing him the instigator and abettor of the attacks against the United States bank, and other measures. The only connection Mr. Jefferson had with the National Gazette, if connection it can be called, was in loaning its editor the foreign newspapers received by the department. Mr. Jefferson plainly said: "I never did, by myself or any other, or indirectly, say a syllable, nor attempt any kind of influence, ... nor write, dictate, or procure, any one sentence to be inserted in Frenau's, or any other gazette, to which my name was not affixed, or that of my office." Undoubtedly Mr. Jefferson's sympathies were with the paper representing his political views, as were those of Mr. Hamilton with the paper representing the federal party.

Two natures radically antagonistic can hardly be reconciled. This was the case with Jefferson and Hamilton. Their first mutual impressions were those of antagonism—the one a republican, in sympathy with a republican form of government, the other a federalist, with strong predilections to a monarchical government, surrounded by the restrictions of court etiquette, and a titled nobility. While each treated the other with courtesy and respect, there was nothing in common between them. Hamilton planned for a life of power. Jefferson desired relief from the cares of state, and opportunity for following the pursuits that were best suited to his nature. The differences between these great men were never reconciled, and never ended until Hamilton fell, bathed in his own blood, under the fatal bullet of Burr. Jefferson dreaded Hamilton's ambition and designs. His extravagant praise of Julius Cæsar, whom he pronounced the greatest man that ever lived, brought to mind a declaration of Cicero, that Cæsar used frequently a verse from Euripides "which expressed the image of his soul," that "if right and justice were ever to be violated, they were to be violated for the sake of



ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

reigning." Jefferson believed he had ambitious designs, and "suspected what Gouverneur Morris suspected, that Hamilton contemplated in some crisis resorting to the sword."

In 1791 begun a long discussion of differences between the United States and Great Britain, in which the cause of the United States was represented and ably defended by Mr. Jefferson, that of England being supported by Mr. Hammond, who had been accredited minister to the United States in August of that year. The government had received notice that an Englishman, named Bowles, was endeavoring to incite the Creek Indians to declare war against the United States. This being brought to the attention of Mr. Hammond, he denounced Bowles as an imposter in representing himself an agent of Great Britain. Mr. Jefferson replied that "the promptitude of the disavowal of what their candor had forbidden him to credit was a new proof of their friendly dispositions, and a fresh incitement to both parties to cherish corresponding sentiments."

Weightier matters soon came before the two ministers. The government claimed that British fortified posts within the United States had not been delivered up, as contemplated in the treaty of peace; that many negroes had been carried off in contravention of the same article; that the river St. Croix, the boundary between the United States and Canada, is not the river contemplated in the treaty, there being two rivers of that name. Mr. Hammond declared that the United States had violated sections of the same treaty, and adduced an article stipulating that creditors of either nation should have no legal impediments thrown in the way of recovering debts; that Congress should recommend the several state legislatures to make restitution of property of British subjects confiscated during the war; there should be no future confiscations, nor prosecutions of persons for having borne arms in the war. The discussion of these questions extended into the following year, and was conducted with consummate ability on both sides, but nothing definite was agreed upon during Mr. Jefferson's administration of the department of state.

The declaration of war between England and France, in the winter of 1793, gave rise to many conflicting feelings in America. France, who had been an ally in the war of independence, was now assailed because she was in a weakened condition. What course should be taken in the coming struggle? The sympathy and cordial co-operation of a great majority of the people could be depended on for France. But how would America's position in the great sisterhood of nations be affected? A very few days of delay and every American vessel capable of carrying a half-dozen guns, would be fitted out, manned, and dispatched to capture British merchant vessels. The President was at Mt. Vernon when a letter from Mr. Jefferson reached him, informing him of what had occurred. He immediately started by the fastest post, for Philadelphia, and on his arrival called a meeting of his

cabinet to discuss the grave question before them. The representative of France was at that time crossing the Atlantic on a peaceful mission. Should he be received and recognized? Jefferson and Randolph at once answered in the affirmative. Hamilton and Knox saw no other course open to them, and were obliged reluctantly to acquiesce. By the treaties of 1798—one of "amity and commerce," the other of "alliance"—French privateers might enter our ports with their prizes, while British war vessels were denied the privilege; the United States also guaranteed the French their possessions in America. The king of France had signed these treaties, but the revolutionists had beheaded him. Was a treaty, signed by the king of France, valid, now that he was murdered, and the government republican in form? Mr. Hamilton favored giving the new representative, M. Genet, a qualified reception, by declaring the question as to the validity of existing treaties reserved. He said: "It was from Louis XVI. that the United States received those succors which were so important in the establishment of our independence and liberty. It was with his heirs and successors that they contracted their engagements, by which they obtained those precious succors."

Mr. Jefferson replied at length to the arguments of Mr. Hamilton. He said: "If I do not subscribe to the soundness of the secretary of the treasury's reasoning, I do most fully to its ingenuity. . . . I consider the people who constitute a society or nation as the source of all authority in that nation; as free to transact their common concerns by any agents they think proper; to change these agents individually, or the organization of them in form or function, whenever they please; that all the acts done by these agents, under the authority of the nation, are the acts of the nation, are obligatory on them, and inure to their use, and can, in no wise, be annulled or affected by any change in the form of the government or of the persons administering it. Consequently, the treaties between the United States and France were not treaties between the United States and Louis Capet, but between the two nations of America and France; and the nations remaining in existence, though both of them have since changed their forms of government, the treaties are not annulled by these changes." The President decided that Genet be received without qualification.

On the 8th of April the frigate *L' Embuscade*, carrying forty guns and three hundred men, arrived in Charleston harbor, having on board the ambassador, M. Genet. Following her came a British prize, captured during the passage, showing what rich pickings might be taken by privateers. And this was not all. Two prizes had been taken, the brig *Little Sarah*, and a valuable merchantman, the *Grange*. A few days later arrived the French frigate, *Citizen Genet*, also with two prizes. Charleston at this time contained many wealthy French merchants, all of whom welcomed the ambassador with delight, and many requested commissions to engage in

privateering. Two vessels were fitted out and engaged in this lucrative business The progress of Genet to Philadelphia was an ovation. He was received with enthusiasm at every point. Delegations of citizens met him and delivered flattering speeches. His self-importance was largely exalted, and led him into acts which were not consistent in the representative of a country nominally at peace with a power hostile to France. The brig *Little Sarah* was equipped and fitted out as a privateer, after being christened the *Little Democrat*. Promise was made by Genet that she would not depart until questions regarding her status were decided. A few days later she dropped down the river and was gone. Then was promulgated by Mr. Jefferson the doctrine that was followed years later in the case of the rebel vessel *Alabama*. He informed M. Genet that the United States would assume the responsibility for the compensation of owners of any prizes taken by the *Little Democrat*, "the indemnification to be reimbursed by the French government."

Genet continued his efforts to inflame the passions of the people against Great Britain, and engaged in fitting out other privateers at Philadelphia and New York. He also attempted to organize an expedition against the Spanish possessions at New Orleans. The west had long been anticipating an attack in this quarter in order to gain free navigation of the Mississippi. Fortunately, no overt act was committed, else the country might have become embroiled in a costly and disastrous war with Spain. The President finally decided to request the recall of M. Genet. This took considerable time, all of which was employed by the latter in the manner he deemed best for his interests and the interests of his government. In due time he was recalled, and the French government disavowed his proceedings. On the revocation of his commission, M. Genet, who was at the time in New York, married a daughter of Governor George Clinton, and ever after remained a citizen of that state, dying at Jamaica, Long island, in 1834.

In February, 1792, at a conference with the President regarding the post-office, Mr. Jefferson expressed his intention to resign from the cabinet and retire to the quiet of his home at Monticello, where he would be free to follow those pursuits most congenial to his mind. President Washington had determined to withdraw from the cares of office at the close of his term, but urgently requested Mr. Jefferson to reconsider his determination to resign, saying he felt the state department to be the most important under the government, and that his services were imperatively needed for some time to come. Mr. Jefferson finally decided that he would remain for the time, though he was determined on retirement at no distant day. The salary paid the secretary of state was inadequate to his support, and he had a debt of thirteen thousand dollars hanging over his head, which had in a manner been paid long before. This debt related to the estate derived by Mrs. Jefferson from her father, and was due an English gentleman. Mr. Jef-

ferson, with the intention of discharging this obligation, had sold a valuable tract of land just before the beginning of hostilities, but had used the coin procured for that purpose in the equipment of soldiers for the war, the state of Virginia agreeing to pay the debt after peace should be declared. This it repudiated, and instead paid Mr. Jefferson dollar for dollar in the almost valueless paper money of the time, which had become so depreciated that the sum he received barely paid for an overcoat. The raid of Cornwallis and Tarleton destroyed property aggregating more than the debt, but he felt in honor bound to its payment in full. Thus he had valid reasons for resigning.

Though he had long contemplated retirement from the cabinet, his friendship for the President and a desire to give him all the aid in his power, caused him to forego his own convenience until near the close of Washington's first term. A second time, in August, he subdued his inclinations and remained at his post. Finally, December 31st, he addressed the President a note inclosing his resignation. He had arrived at the point where he could no longer sacrifice his private interests even to those of his country. For a period during the troublous times following the declaration of war between England and France, he had suffered contumely and neglect because of his supposed sympathy with the people of France, the interest of the moneyed aristocracy being centered in the British trade. But the publication of a pamphlet by the government giving in full the course pursued by him in the discussion of international questions with Edmund Genet, the French minister, and George Hammond, the representative of England, placed these questions in a new light. Besides, the ability he had previously shown and the influence he continually exerted for his country's good, could not be effaced from the public mind. He retired from office covered with honor, his character for integrity unimpeached, and the prejudice of his opponents dissipated.

CHAPTER V.

ELECTED VICE PRESIDENT.

DURING a period of more than twenty-five years, Mr. Jefferson had served the country faithfully, both at home and abroad. His visits to Monticello had been few and brief, his opportunities for overseeing his farms, and the occasions afforded for the enjoyment of his daughters' society, limited. He now returned to find much of the cultivated portion of his estate in very bad condition. The management of overseers had nearly wrought ruin. Crops had been raised year after year until the soil was exhausted, when the cultivated portion was allowed to grow up to a wilderness of evergreens and bushes, and a new tract was cleared for cultivation. The growth of tobacco for many years in succession had so reduced the fertile bottoms that they were incapable of producing one fourth of a crop of corn or wheat. He still had a large quantity of unbroken land. Of his estate of more than ten thousand acres, but about two thousand were under cultivation. He immediately instituted measures of reform in the system of cultivation, and himself took the burden of management. The manor-house was incomplete, and he extended and added to it until it approached his ideal of a home. He had studied the theory of beautifying the landscape, and his years of foreign travel and residence had brought to his notice the principles of art as applied to adornment. The ideas his observing mind had retained were incorporated into the development of the artistic in the surroundings of Monticello. The result obtained was the combination of art and nature in such a manner that it was almost impossible to decide where the one began and the other ended.

To say that he was not ambitious would ill accord with his course after retirement from the cabinet. For several years Monticello was headquarters of the republican party. Its owner was intimate with members of Congress from Virginia, Kentucky, and other southern states. Among his

most frequent guests and highly esteemed friends were Mr. Madison, Mr. Monroe, and Mr. Giles. Here was continued the opposition to the federalist policy that had marked his course in the cabinet, and here were developed plans for the advancement of the republican party. From here were directed the attacks of the opposition journals, and from the pen of Jefferson emanated many of the bills and resolutions introduced into Congress. The term of Washington as President was nearly ended. The republican party took decisive steps in announcing their candidate for the succession, and that candidate was Thomas Jefferson. Whether he was opposed to this plan can not now be known, but he at least silently acquiesced in the movement. Washington declined re-election to a third term, and the contest lay between Jefferson and Adams. Washington had been the popular candidate of all classes, and no element of politics had entered into his election. But the time for a change had arrived. The terms federalist and republican had been bestowed upon the two diverse organizations. During this period of political excitement Mr. Jefferson remained quietly at his home, superintending his farm; it is to be presumed doing much in the councils of his party, though writing but one political letter—to Mr. Madison—during the campaign. The mode of deciding the Presidential election was different from that followed at the present time. The candidates were John Adams and Thomas Pinckney, on the part of the federalists; Thomas Jefferson and Aaron Burr, on that of the republicans. The vote in the electoral college of 1796 stood for Mr. Adams, seventy-one; for Mr. Jefferson, sixty-eight; for Mr. Pinckney, fifty-nine; for Mr. Burr, thirty; for Samuel Adams, fifteen; for Oliver Ellsworth, eleven; for John Jay, five; for George Clinton, seven; and ten scattering votes among five candidates. Mr. Adams receiving the greatest number of votes was declared President. Thomas Jefferson received the next largest number and was chosen Vice President. Mr. Adams received the entire vote of his state—Massachusetts—and Mr. Jefferson received the same compliment from Virginia. Jefferson's defeat was undoubtedly caused by some feeling engendered during his connection with the cabinet of Washington, in which many of his acts had received severe criticism.

It was believed by many, and ardently hoped by some, that he would decline the second place in the government. To prove to all that he would not refuse the honor conferred upon him, he undertook a winter journey to Philadelphia, for the purpose of presiding at the special session of the Senate, which was not likely to occupy more than one day. In a letter to his friend Mr. Madison, he particularly requested that he be made no part in a parade or ceremony. He arrived at Philadelphia the 2d of March, and notwithstanding his wishes for a quiet entrance, a body of militia was expecting him, and he was received with a thundering salute from artillery; the militia escorted him through the streets bearing a banner on

which were inscribed the familiar words, "Jefferson, the friend of the people." He made an early call upon the President-elect, at his lodgings, which was returned the following morning. During this interview Mr. Adams mentioned his desire to send an immediate mission to France, and that his mind had reverted to Mr. Jefferson as the most proper person to perform that mission, but he doubted if the Constitution would permit the sending of the Vice President on a foreign mission. He therefore proposed three others, Mr. Gerry, Mr. Madison, and Mr. Pinckney. Mr. Jefferson replied that his inclination would not permit of his again representing the government at a foreign court, and concurred in the view of Mr. Adams as to its impropriety in the present instance. In compliance with Mr. Adams' request, he conferred with Mr. Madison regarding his acceptance of the appointment, which was declined.

The oath of office as Vice President, and president of the Senate, was administered by William Bingham, president *pro tempore* of that body, Saturday, March 4, 1797, and immediately Mr. Jefferson addressed the members thereof. He then conducted the Senate to the hall of the House of Representatives, where the ceremony of inducting the President into office was to take place. The retiring President, George Washington, was received with cheers, which were repeated when Mr. Adams entered. After the inaugural address had been delivered, the chief justice administered the oath of office to Mr. Adams in clear tones, which were repeated with emphasis. The President then took his seat, but soon arose and left the hall, bowing to the assembly as he did so. Washington and Jefferson arose at the same moment, and the Vice President awaited the retirement of the chief, but Washington declined to take precedence, and followed Jefferson, the cheers of the multitude attending them.

The following Monday both dined with General Washington; both departed from his house at the same moment, and together they walked down the street toward their respective residences. During the walk Mr Jefferson informed the President of the declension by Mr. Madison, of the office of commissioner to the court of France. Mr. Adams evinced some embarrassment when the matter was broached, and stammered excuses regarding the appointment of Mr. Madison, until the point was reached where their ways diverged, when he bade his companion a hasty adieu. The thing that troubled him was made plain. He had attended a meeting of his cabinet that day, and had there met the followers of Hamilton, who were ready to determine that no member of the republican party should be allowed an important office under the new government, threatening to resign in case the President did not accede to their wishes. Mr. Adams weakly yielded, doing, however, that which was in accord with the principles and wishes of the great majority of his party. He never afterward consulted the Vice President in any measures connected with his 'ministra-

tion, although they exchanged the civilities which their ancient friendship and present situation demanded.

Mr. Jefferson returned to Monticello, leaving Philadelphia March 12th, and reaching home the 20th of the same month. On the 25th the President called an extra session of Congress to meet May 15th, and take under advisement the policy to be pursued in intercourse with France. That government had refused to receive the American commissioners. Mr. Pinckney and Mr. Monroe had called on the minister of foreign affairs, who informed them that the directory had instructed him to say "that it would no longer recognize nor receive a minister plenipotentiary from the United States, until after a reparation of the grievances demanded of the American government, and which the French republic had a right to expect." The President, in his speech, recommended preparations for war, the creation of a navy, erection of fortifications, fitting out of privateers, and reorganization of the militia. The grievance complained of by France was that England had secured greater commercial privileges than had been accorded our ally of the war of the Revolution. The subject was fully discussed in Congress, and finally moderate measures were adopted. The victories of Bonaparte over the combined armies of Europe, intelligence of which was received during the session of Congress, had much to do in influencing this vote. Jefferson had entirely disapproved of this course, declaring "everything pacific could have been done without Congress, and he hoped nothing was contemplated which was not pacific." On the 6th of July Mr. Jefferson yielded the chair to Mr. Bradford, of Rhode Island, who became president *pro tempore* of the Senate, according to custom; he left Philadelphia the same day and reached home the 11th, adjournment not taking place until the 12th.

The declension by Mr. Madison of the appointment as one of the ministers plenipotentiary to France resulted in the appointment of Elbridge Gerry, of Massachusetts, in conjunction with C. C. Pinckney and John Marshall. Gerry was a member of the republican party; Pinckney and Marshall were federalists. On their arrival in Paris, the two latter were refused letters of hospitality, and Gerry was requested to remain, which he was constrained to do in an unofficial capacity. He was informed that his retirement in the present state of affairs would result in a declaration of war. Mr. Gerry remained, although he was well aware that his private business would suffer during his absence, as it did, resulting in his financial ruin. He had been warmly urged by Mr. Jefferson to accept the mission. The latter wrote him: "If we engage in a war during our present passions, and our present weakness in some quarters, our union runs the greatest risk of not coming out of that war in the shape in which it enters it. My reliance for our preservation is in your acceptance of this mission. I know the tender circumstances which will oppose themselves to it. But its



AARON BURR.

duration will be short, and its reward long. You have it in your power, by accepting and determining the character of the mission, to secure the present peace and eternal union of your country. If you decline on motives of private pain, a substitute may be named who has enlisted his passions in the present contest, and, by the preponderance of his vote in the mission, may entail on us calamities, your share in which as your feelings, will outweigh whatever pain a temporary absence from your family could give you."

Alexander Hamilton was jealous of place and power. He believed himself the greatest political leader in America, and could he precipitate war with France he would also be the greatest military leader. His efforts were not directed to the consideration of peace propositions, but rather to the fomenting of discord. He must, in the nature of attendant circumstances, be very circumspect, and outwardly assume to desire peace, while he was slyly intriguing for war. At the very time Gerry, Pinckney, and Marshall were endeavoring to come to terms with France, he was plotting with a South American, one Miranda, who was in correspondence with the British minister, Pitt, with the design of securing possession of Florida, and the Spanish colonies in South America. The refusal of France to receive the commissioners was sufficient to arouse President Adams, and engage him in preparations for defense. These actions did not escape the far-seeing mind of Jefferson from his seat in the Vice President's chair. He endeavored to enlighten the public on the questions at issue, at at the same time he restrained the impetuous and over-anxious. Madison was solicited to write articles for the press, on the side of peace. Some prominent and influential men of the southern states thought the time had come to cut loose from the Union, but this did not at all accord with the pronounced views of Jefferson, who saw in the Union the great element of strength and prosperity. The message of the President, delivered to Congress in March, 1798, inflamed that body, and there was for a time grave doubt that peace would be maintained. The republican party was in a small minority and the federalists were triumphant. Jefferson never swerved from the course he had followed for years,—the course demanded if he would see the United States remain a compact body, gaining strength with each year of its existence. To him, and others of like view, is due the preservation of peace at that time. A great amount of correspondence was carried on between the United States and France, concerning the complications that had arisen. President Adams finally became convinced that the directory of France was desirous for peace between the two nations. In fact, it immediately took measures to prevent its naval vessels from doing any further act on the high seas that would be liable to precipitate war. The return of Elbridge Gerry from the French capital, the 1st of October, 1798, put a new face on the matter. He had been detained at Havre until the directory had furnished him a copy of an order to the naval

commander in the waters of the West Indies restraining the detention and spoliation of American merchantmen. Mr. Gerry's report, together with subsequent communications through official channels, led to the appointment of a commission which executed a treaty that has secured peace from that time to this.

In the month of October, 1800, the seat of government was removed to Washington, then a city on paper with little more than the incomplete public buildings to promise that it would be anything other. Members of Congress were obliged to take up their quarters at Georgetown, three miles distant, over roads as nearly impassable during portions of the year as it is possible to conceive, or live in half finished buildings, perhaps with neither windows nor doors. One house of entertainment was situated some forty rods from the capital. Gouverneur Morris aptly describes the embryo city to a lady acquaintance in Europe. He says: "We want nothing here but houses, cellars, kitchens, well-informed men, amiable women, and other little trifles of this kind to make our city perfect; for we can walk here as if in the fields and woods, and, considering the hard frost, the air of the city is very pure. I enjoy more of it than anyone else, for my room is filled with smoke whenever the door is shut. If, then, you are desirous of coming to live at Washington, in order to confirm you in so fine a prospect, I hasten to assure you, that freestone is very abundant here; that excellent bricks can be burned here; that there is no want of sites for magnificent hotels; that contemplated canals can bring a vast commerce to this place; that the wealth, which is its natural consequence, must attract the fine arts hither; in short, that it is the very best city in the world for a future residence.

CHAPTER VI.

SUCCEEDS JOHN ADAMS AS PRESIDENT.

DURING the last session of the sixth Congress, caucuses were held by both parties for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice President. Hamilton was soured by disappointment caused by the failure of his schemes against France in attacking the Spanish possessions in South America, and refused to support Adams for the Presidency. He first attempted to draw Washington into his net, but this proving impossible he endeavored to elect General C. C. Pinckney, who was nominated to the second place on the federal ticket, Adams being accorded the first. The result was a division in the party that could but be disastrous. If Hamilton could secure the state of New York to the federalist party his plan was assured, for the south could be expected to furnish enough votes to elect Mr. Pinckney President, leaving for Mr. Adams the second place. The state election in New York was held in April, but a month elapsed before the result was known. It proved an overwhelming defeat to Hamilton, and also put a damper on the expectations of Mr. Adams.

The candidates of the republican party were Thomas Jefferson for President, and Aaron Burr for Vice President. A change had taken place in the two parties. During the excitement consequent on probable war with France the republican party had dwindled to insignificant proportions. The signing of a treaty of peace reinforced its ranks until it became stronger than ever before. The result of the election in New York inspired hope of ultimate success to the party. Burr, the candidate for Vice President, was an unscrupulous schemer who would stop at nothing for the accomplishment of his ends. The defeat of the federal party in New York was partly to be attributed to his efforts in causing the names of Brockholst Livingston and George Clinton to be placed on the republican ticket, thus securing the votes and influence of these powerful families and their adherents to the party, though they were personally inimical to himself. When the result of

the vote was known to be against the federalists, Burr sought by intrigue to secure a majority of the electoral college, which would elect himself to the first place on the ticket, and compel Jefferson to accept the second place, or decline to serve.

The election of 1800 was closely contested, and not until the ballots were cast did people breathe freely. Then ensued a few weeks of comparative quiet. On the 11th of February, 1801, the two houses of Congress met for the purpose of opening the electoral certificates. It was found that Thomas Jefferson had seventy-three; Aaron Burr seventy-three; John Adams sixty-five; Charles C. Pinckney sixty-four; John Jay one vote This threw the election into the House of Representatives, which withdrew to its hall, and organized. It was resolved that no motion for adjournment be in order until the result could be announced. On the first ballot, eight states voted for Jefferson, six for Burr, and two were equally divided. Seven ballots were taken with like result, when the House took a recess. Balloting was continued from day to day until the 17th, when the thirty-sixth ballot decided the contest, ten states voting for Thomas Jefferson, and four for Aaron Burr. Delaware and South Carolina voted blanks, as did Maryland, which state had previously voted for Burr. The vote was thus made unanimous—Jefferson for President, and Burr for Vice President. That Mr. Burr was much chagrined at the result of his schemes is evident from his future course. It is believed his disappointment in the election was the cause of his treasonable attempts of a few years later.

On the 4th of March, 1801, Thomas Jefferson entered the Senate chamber to take the oath of office as President of the United States. Aaron Burr had already entered upon the duties of Vice President, and taken his seat as presiding officer of the Senate. With the entrance of Mr. Jefferson Mr. Burr gave up the chair and took a seat at the right. The chief justice occupied the seat on the left. Mr. Jefferson delivered his inaugural address,—a very moderate and carefully worded paper, which surprised many, both of his friends and enemies. He was disposed to conciliate as far as possible, at the same time that he relinquished not one iota of the republican principles for which he had so long labored. After the delivery of the address the oath of office was administered by the chief justice. A noticeable and deliberate slight was thrown upon the incoming President in the absence of ex-President Adams and the speaker of the House of Representatives. Mr. Adams had ungraciously taken his departure from the city in the early morning; the cause of absence of the speaker is unknown. After the close of the exercises connected with the inauguration, many persons of both parties called upon the President and Vice President.

March 5th, the President sent to the Senate the names of persons he had selected to serve as members of his cabinet. They were: James Mad-

ison, of Virginia, secretary of state; Henry Dearborn, of Massachusetts, secretary of war; and Levi Lincoln, of Massachusetts, attorney-general, all of whom were confirmed by the Senate on the same day. May 14th he sent in the names of Albert Gallatin, of Pennsylvania, for the office of secretary of the treasury. Samuel Smith, of Maryland, served as secretary of the navy from the 1st to the 15th of April, when his brother, Robert Smith, succeeded him in that office. Gideon Granger, of Connecticut, was confirmed as postmaster-general, the 26th of January, 1802. Rufus King was accredited minister to England, and Robert R. Livingston to France.

Many strictures have been made regarding the action of President Jefferson in writing a letter to Thomas Paine, then in France, allowing him to return to the United States in a government vessel. Paine's pronounced atheistical views had particularly embittered the New England clergy, and from their pulpits and by means of pamphlets they attacked both the man and his principles. Jefferson was not omitted in their denunciations. They overlooked the great services of Paine to the country in opposing British aggressions, and in signing the declaration of independence, and looked only at his infidelity. There was just ground for the course pursued by the President. Paine was a citizen of the United States, alone in a foreign country. By birth a subject of Great Britain, what was more likely than that he would be impressed into the British service by any armed vessel prosecuting the search, then claimed by that nation? Justice to the man who had so nobly stood by the colonies in the struggle for freedom demanded that he be accorded the full protection afforded by the flag he had been in no small measure instrumental in unfurling to the sisterhood of nations.

Among the most weighty problems to be solved by President Jefferson was that of the removal of officers connected with the federalist party. The principle enunciated at a later day by William L. Marcy, that "to the victors belong the spoils," had not been established. Men fitted to fill the offices they held were generally retained, and not removed to give place to the supporters of the incoming President. But there was good reason for the removal of some of the later appointees under the preceding administration. President Adams had made appointments as late as nine o'clock of the night on which his term as President would expire, with the undoubted intention of defrauding Mr. Jefferson of his choice in the matter. It was at once decided that these appointments should not be recognized; and Congress passed a law abolishing the offices. It seemed perfectly proper that the President should select his own advisers, and this was conceded by the opposition. Several persons in office must be dismissed for cause, and further, a balance should be made between federal and republican officers. Heretofore none but members of the party in power had held office, except in one or two cases, in the higher grades. Even these

changes called forth much vituperation and abuse from the federalists, while the members of his own party were greatly incensed that all federalists were not removed. Jefferson aimed at establishing principles, and his course seems the best that could have been followed under the circumstances.

Another important measure in the early part of his administration was directed to the punishment of the Barbary powers for their piratical acts committed upon American vessels and the holding of captives in slavery until ransomed by the payment of large sums of money. He dispatched Commodore Dale, with four of the six naval vessels retained in commission, to check and punish these aggressions. One of the war vessels of Tripoli engaged the smaller of these vessels, a sloop under command of Lieutenant Sterrett, and was captured without the loss of a man. Having no authority to bring the captured vessel into port, she was allowed to go, being completely disabled from further service. This was the beginning of retributive measures that, followed up by Decatur, Bainbridge, Barron, Truxton, and others, brought the corsairs to terms. The result could have been attained years before had decisive action been taken, thus preventing much suffering endured by captives, and the expenditure of large sums of money for their ransom. Previous to this time tribute money had been paid annually to these powers to insure their non-interference with American vessels.

State ceremony was effectually done away with at the beginning of the new administration. A new order of things was instituted. The President's levees were a thing of the past; instead of the ceremony of marching to the capitol to deliver his annual message, a messenger was dispatched to Congress; the reply was received in the same unostentatious manner, instead of observing the formality of Congress marching to the President's house for its delivery; the diplomatic establishment in Europe was reduced to three ministers; the army was reorganized and the navy reduced; all superfluous offices were abolished. Some ladies and gentlemen in Washington, who desired a continuance of the levees, formed a plan to that end. They gathered at the Presidential mansion in full dress, at the usual time for the reception. Mr. Jefferson happened to be riding on their arrival, and on his return, being informed of what had occurred, entered the reception room in his riding dress, top boots, spurs, riding whip, and garments soiled with mud. He expressed much pleasure at meeting so many of his friends, cordially shook hands and conversed with them, and allowed none to go without pressing them to remain longer. Those present acknowledged themselves outwitted, and never repeated the experiment.

Congress met, as usual, on the 7th of December. Mr. Macon was chosen speaker, and Mr. Buckley clerk of the House. The President did not, as had been the custom, open Congress with a formal speech, but instead transmitted to the Vice President, as president of that body, his annual message, accompanying it with a communication explanatory of his

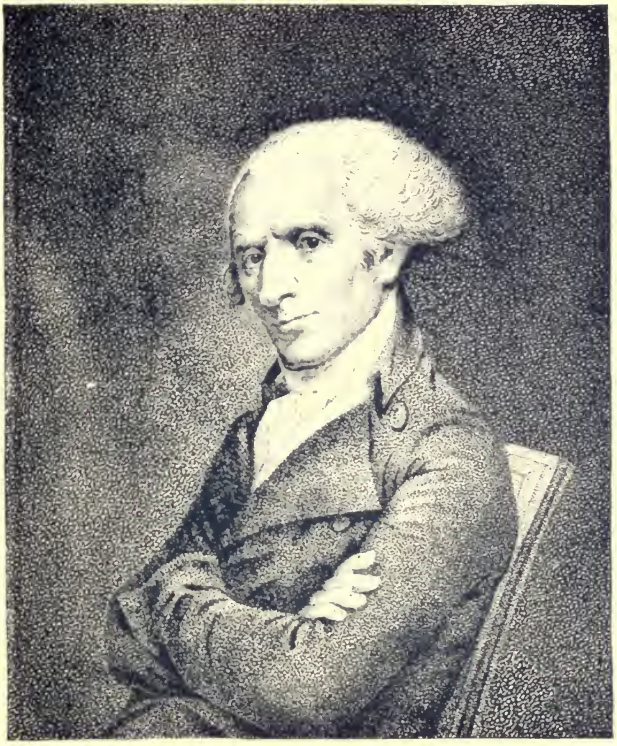
reason for so doing. It is worthy of insertion in this connection. It reads: "SIR,—The circumstances under which we find ourselves at this place rendering inconvenient the mode heretofore practiced of making, by personal address, the first communications between the legislative and executive branches, I have adopted that by message, as used on all subsequent occasions through the session. In doing this I have had principal regard to the convenience of the legislature, to the economy of their time, to their relief from the embarrassment of immediate answers on subjects not yet fully before them, and to the benefits thence resulting to the public affairs. Trusting that a procedure, founded on these motives, will meet their approbation, I beg leave, through you, sir, to communicate the enclosed copy, with the documents accompanying it, to the honorable body the Senate, and pray you to accept for yourself and them, the homage of my high regard and consideration."

In his message the President recommended several important measures, most of which received due consideration and attention. The judiciary act passed during the preceding session was repealed, by one majority in the Senate, and by a vote of fifty nine to thirty two in the House. The census of 1800 showed the aggregate population of the United States to be five million three hundred and five thousand nine hundred and twenty-five. Accordingly a new apportionment bill was passed, fixing the ratio of congressional representation at one member for each thirty thousand population. This gave the House one hundred and forty-one members. An act was passed establishing the army on a peace footing, consisting of one regiment of artillery and two regiments of infantry. The naval establishment was limited to six vessels. Internal taxes on stills, domestic distilled spirits, refined sugars, licenses to retailers, sales at auction, carriages for the conveyance of persons, stamped vellum, parchment, paper, etc., were abolished. The naturalization laws were reconstructed, placing them on the old footing —five years residence and three years previous oath of intention to become a permanent resident before papers were issued; provision was made for the redemption of the whole of the United States debt; and laws provided to regulate trade and preserve peace with the Indian tribes on the frontier. Other important acts were passed which it is impracticable to mention here.

The right of the United States to unimpeded navigation of the Mississippi river to New Orleans, was refused by Spain in the autumn of 1802. Great indignation was expressed by the people of the western settlements over this action; in fact the entire country was aroused. Soon thereafter the government received intimation that Spain was about transferring her right of possession in Louisiana to France. A change of this nature was manifestly to the disadvantage of the United States. As long as Spain remained in possession no danger was to be feared, but should France secure

this vast territory and be enabled to successfully colonize it, the outlet to the Mississippi would be practically closed to our commerce. The only course to be followed in such case, would be its purchase from France, or an alliance, offensive and defensive, with England. France did secure Louisiana. Bonaparte perfected plans to colonize the territory. President Jefferson instructed Mr. Livingston to purchase the country for two million dollars, if it could be done without compromising our relations with England. Efforts to this end were made, and for a long time repelled, but eventually the first consul found it would be impracticable to hold the country; besides, France would run great danger of losing her West India possessions. Mr. Monroe was dispatched to Paris to assist Mr. Livingston, and fully empowered to make the purchase. France was on the eve of war with England, and no time was to be lost if she expected to receive any compensation in the transaction. A convention was called and definite treaty arrangements entered into by which Louisiana was ceded to the United States, on the payment of a gross sum amounting to about fifteen million dollars. The United States was to pay certain claims of its citizens against France, for property seized and destroyed on the high seas, amounting in all to some three million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars. The ports of Louisiana were to be open to French vessels for a term of twelve years, on paying the same duties as were required of American vessels. The ceded country was to be admitted into the Union as soon as the Constitution permitted. More than one million square miles and a population of ninety thousand souls, including slaves, were thus secured to the United States on the most reasonable terms. The purchase of Louisiana received anything but favorable consideration from the federalists, of whom but one member in the Senate voted for the treaty. It was claimed no evidence existed of a treaty of cession from Spain to France, and therefore we had no legal title to the territory. Some claimed its acquisition would prove a curse to us; others that fifteen million dollars was an enormous price to pay, but time proven the purchase to be of great advantage to the country.

Recognizing the importance of thorough and accurate knowledge of the vast extent of country acquired by the United States with their independence, Mr. Jefferson, while minister to France, suggested to Ledyard, the traveler, an exploration of western North America. Nothing came of it, however. In 1792 he made a similar proposition to the American Philosophical society; and Michaux, the celebrated traveler and botanist, proceeded as far as Kentucky, when he was recalled by the French minister. In January, 1803, in a confidential message to Congress, the President recommended an appropriation for this purpose. It was granted, and he appointed Captain Meriwether Lewis, who had been his private secretary nearly two years, to the command of an expedition, with Captain Jonathan Clark, brother of General George Rogers Clark, as his second officer. Their



ELBRIDGE GERRY.

travels extended to the Pacific ocean on the west, and the Columbia river on the north, and the reports they sent in from time to time gave a more definite idea of our natural resources in this hitherto unexplored region than had ever been known. It was Mr. Jefferson also, who set on foot the expedition of Lieutenant Zebulon M. Pike, the discoverer of Pike's Peak, and the explorer of the upper waters of the Mississippi.

During the session of the Congress of 1804 a republican caucus was held to nominate candidates for President and Vice President. Aaron Burr, who had served the term with Jefferson, had lost the confidence of the party that elected him, and was not to be thought of for continuance in office. The ticket was formed with Thomas Jefferson for President, and George Clinton for Vice President. The latter had been the revolutionary governor of New York, and stood high with all classes. The federalist party put in nomination Charles C. Pinckney, who had been their nominee for the second place on the ticket at the preceding election, and Rufus King. An amendment to the Constitution had been adopted some time previously, providing that the President and Vice President be separately voted for to prevent the order of office being changed in case of an election by the House being again required. The result was decided in the electoral college, which gave Thomas Jefferson one hundred and sixty-two votes for President, against fourteen cast for Charles C. Pinckney. George Clinton was elected Vice President by a like vote. The federalists had fought with the rage of despair, and as a power in the nation they were henceforth to be almost a nullity. The second inauguration of Mr. Jefferson as President took place March 4, 1805, he being at the time in the sixty-second year of his age. Some changes took place in the cabinet. Mr. Lincoln, the attorney-general, resigned, and was eventually succeeded by John Breckenridge, of Kentucky.

CHAPTER VII.

SECOND TERM AS PRESIDENT—BURR'S CONSPIRACY.

MANY important measures were carried into effect during the first year of Mr. Jefferson's second administration which it is not possible in this connection even to mention. Suffice it to say that the war with Tripoli and Algiers was brought to a successful issue, not, however, without the loss of many brave men. Friendly relations were established with France, and England began to show signs of hostility, which, however, did not culminate until the declaration of war in 1812. By his refusal to appoint John Randolph, of Roanoke, minister to England, an office for which that gentleman's ungovernable temper and lack of self-control particularly unfitted him, Jefferson incurred Randolph's future opposition and undying hatred. The President's recommendation to Congress that two million dollars be appropriated for the purpose, if practicable, of purchasing from Spain the territory of Florida, received its concurrence, and that sum was voted. Miranda, who had schemed in England and France with the intent to invade the Spanish possessions in South America, had failed in his object but with no interference from the government had enlisted the sympathies of two gentlemen of New York, William J. Smith and Samuel J. Ogden, who fitted out a vessel for the purpose of such expedition, which not proving a success Miranda made another attempt in 1812, was captured and carried to Spain, where he died some four years later. Measures were instituted for the trial of Ogden and Smith for violation of the neutrality laws, but it appearing they had been given the tacit countenance of leading men in the government, the matter was dropped.

In the autumn of 1805 was developed the conspiracy of Aaron Burr to take forcible possession of the territory of Louisiana, and found a western empire. He had lost the confidence of his party, was under indictment in the states of New York and New Jersey for murder in the killing of Alexander Hamilton in a duel, and was rendered desperate by failure in the

gratification of his ambition and by the loss of his fortune. He attempted to enlist Generals Wilkinson and Eaton, Commodore Truxton, and all persons he thought had grievances against the administration, in the enterprise. Burr continued his preparations with all secrecy possible during 1806, and in January, 1807, proceeded to Mississippi and encamped with about one hundred men a few miles above Natchez. The governor of the territory made preparations for his arrest, but he was allowed his freedom upon giving recognizance to appear before the territorial court. The grand jury called to examine the case found no evidence of any overt act being committed, and he was allowed to go free. In February he was arrested by officers of General Wilkinson's command, while attempting to escape through Alabama. He was taken to Richmond, where he arrived March 26th; was handed over to the civil authorities, and after examination before Judge Marshall, was charged with misdemeanor; the charge of high treason not being sustained. Burr was admitted to bail in the sum of ten thousand dollars. On trial he was declared not guilty as against the state of Virginia, but was ordered committed on the same charge preferred by the state of Ohio. Bail was fixed at three thousand dollars. This being secured he was released, but forfeited his recognizance and fled to England. He was finally ordered to leave that country, and afterwards spent some time in Sweden, Germany and France, at times on the verge of starvation. Not until 1811 was he allowed to leave France. Finally he embarked for America, but the vessel was captured and he was taken to England, where he remained, reduced to sore straits, until March, 1812; he was then able to raise money to pay his passage to Boston, where he arrived in disguise. Finding the government ignored him, he opened a law office in New York, making a bare subsistence. The last two years of his life he was helpless from paralysis, and subsisted on the bounty of friends until his death, on the 14th of September, 1836.

On the 22d of June, 1807, occurred an act of British insolence that roused the nation to the point of war. In the morning of that day the frigate *Chesapeake* left her moorings at Hampton Roads, bound on a cruise to the Mediterranean. The British frigate *Leopard* lifted her anchor at the same time and stood out ahead of the *Chesapeake*. In the afternoon the *Leopard* signaled her wish to communicate with the *Chesapeake*. She claimed the right, under orders of the vice-admiral, to search the American frigate for deserters. This was promptly refused, although the *Chesapeake* was not prepared for action, her decks being encumbered and her munitions unprepared. The *Leopard* opened fire and soon disabled the frigate, which struck her colors, firing one gun as the flag touched the taffrail. Four sailors were taken from the crew, one of whom was afterwards hanged and the remainder pressed into British service. When information of this outrage was received, resolutions were passed in many seaports to hold

no further intercourse with British vessels until some action should be taken by the government. Public indignation was aroused from end to end of the country, and demand made for an immediate declaration of war. President Jefferson dispatched to England a vessel, bearing instructions to our minister to demand reparation for the insult we had received. On the 2d of July he issued a proclamation forbidding British vessels entrance to any harbor of the United States unless in distress or bearing dispatches. Preparations for defense were made at New York, Charleston, and New Orleans. British ships in the Chesapeake were cut off from all communication with the shore. Commodore Decatur was ordered to attack the British fleet, should they attempt to enter the Elizabeth river, and Commodore Rodgers received similar orders at New York. In the late autumn an embargo act was passed in the Senate, prohibiting the sailing of any vessel from any port of the United States, for any foreign port, except such vessels as were already laden; and that coasting vessels be required to give bond that they would trade only with ports in the United States. This measure met with determined opposition from the federalists, who claimed it was done in the interest of France in her war with England. On the 13th of January, 1808, Mr. Rose, a special minister from the British government, to adjust the difficulties arising from the *Chesapeake* and *Leopard* affair, arrived in Washington. His proposals were such as could not be entertained by this country, and he returned during the latter part of March. The legislatures of eleven states and territories endorsed the embargo act, as did many political organizations and religious bodies. The act remained in force until the 1st of March, 1809, when it was repealed. General measures were taken for defense, provision was made for raising an army, and the naval forces were strengthened. The war feeling gradually increased, until it was finally gratified by the beginning of hostilities in the war of 1812.

Much difficulty being experienced in the northern part of the country in enforcing the embargo act, particularly in intercourse with Canada, an enforcement act was passed December 22, 1807. Mr. Quincy, of Massachusetts, a prominent federalist, called in question certain acts of the President in continuing in office persons who had resigned or declined to serve in the enforcement of the embargo. In a note in his Life of Thomas Jefferson, Mr. Randolph gives full particulars of Mr. Quincy's efforts to impeach the President. He says: "On the 26th of January, Mr. Quincy had risen 'to perform a great duty.' It was a 'painful' duty, but the occasion called for it!' Every member 'who had reason to believe a high crime or misdemeanor had been committed, was bound to state that opinion to the House, and move such an inquiry as the nature of the supposed offense demanded.' He then stated that 'Benjamin Lincoln, Esq.,' collector of the port of Boston, offered his resignation to the President at the end of 1806, and again in 1807; assigning at both times his utter inabil-

ity from age and infirmity to perform the duties of the office; that on the first occasion the President promised to appoint a successor, and on the second made no answer; that consequently the incumbent held the place a year longer; that the office had been 'thus kept in effect vacant for more than two years,' to reserve it for 'a favorite of the Executive, Henry Dearborn, secretary of war.' As a preliminary to impeachment, he offered two resolutions, asking the President to lay his correspondence with Mr. Lincoln before the House, and to appoint a committee to inquire into the facts. The House by a vote of ninety-three to twenty-four agreed to consider the resolutions. Mr. Quincy made a speech. He thought it a high offense that the United States had been kept paying an individual five thousand dollars against his own wishes.

"This 'Benjamin Lincoln, Esq.,' was one of the oldest, if not the oldest, surviving major-general of the revolutionary army. He had been appointed to the command of the southern department in 1778; had commanded at the fall of Charleston; had led the central division at Yorktown; had served as secretary of war, and had subsequently held several civic and diplomatic appointments. He had always been a decided federalist; and had been made collector of Boston in 1789, after being defeated for a re-election as lieutenant-governor by Samuel Adams. He never had actually sent in his resignation, until after the passage of the enforcing law. The cruelty and criminality of retaining him two years longer in a lucrative office of which he could perform the duties by deputy—and doing this for such a purpose, when any number of young and well qualified republicans could have been found willing to take the place, though but for that short period—gave great diversion to many of the members. Others possessing less humor, treated Mr. Quincy and his proposed impeachment with anything but sportiveness. At length the important vote drew on. The yeas and nays were called on the resolutions. The yeas stood one (Mr. Quincy)—the nays one hundred and seventeen."

The close of Jefferson's second term was approaching. During the session of Congress in the winter of 1808, January 19th, a caucus was called for the nomination of candidates to be voted for at the fall election. The legislatures of Massachusetts, Vermont, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey, and North Carolina had solicited Mr. Jefferson's continuance in office. To each he made the same reply, expressing the opinion that no person should occupy the President's chair longer than two terms. His answer is well worth preserving in these pages:

"That I should lay down my charge at a proper period, is as much a duty as to have borne it faithfully. If some termination to the services of the chief magistrate be not fixed by the constitution, or supplied by practice, his office, nominally for years, will, in fact, become for life; and history shows how easily that degenerates into an inheritance. Believing that

a representative government, responsible at short periods of election, is that which produces the greatest sum of happiness to mankind, I feel it a duty to do no act which shall essentially impair that principle; and I should unwillingly be the person who, disregarding the sound precedent set by an illustrious predecessor, should furnish the first example of prolongation beyond the second term of office. Truth, also, requires me to add, that I am sensible of that decline which advancing years bring on; and feeling their physical, I ought not to doubt their mental effect. Happy if I am the first to perceive and to obey this admonition of nature, and to solicit a retreat from cares too great for the wearied faculties of age."

There were two strong candidates before the caucus, both warm personal and political friends of Mr. Jefferson—James Madison and James Monroe. Both were well fitted by education and attainments for the responsible office; but Monroe's time had not yet come. It was a predetermined fact that he would not receive a majority of the votes in caucus, and many of his friends purposely remained away. James Madison received eighty-three votes for President; George Clinton three, and Monroe three. For Vice-President George Clinton received seventy-nine votes, John Langdon five, General Dearborn three, and John Quincy Adams one. The federalists put in nomination for President Charles C. Pinckney; for Vice-President Rufus King. Considerable latent opposition to the embargo act had strengthened that party, and it worked with energy. The republican party was divided against itself, though two of its candidates ostensibly withdrew from the caucus. The result was, Mr. Pinckney and Mr. King each received forty-seven votes in the electoral college. The republicans elected James Madison President, by one hundred and twenty-two votes; and George Clinton Vice-President, by one hundred and thirteen votes.

Addresses of confidence and acknowledgment of the debt of gratitude the country owed its retiring President, poured in upon Mr. Jefferson. They came from legislatures, conventions—state, county, and town,—from political, ecclesiastical, military, and other associations. They were such as must have touched the heart of the pure and patriotic man, who had through life preferred his country's good to his own immediate advantage. In June, 1808, months before the election, General Armstrong wrote the President, from France, strongly advising the immediate occupation of Florida. This called from Mr. Jefferson the enunciation of the sentiment which was the germ of the Monroe doctrine. He wrote the governor of Louisiana, under date of October 28th, 1808: "The patriots of Spain have no warmer friends than the administration of the United States, but it is our duty to say nothing and to do nothing for or against either. If they succeed, we shall be well satisfied to see Cuba and Mexico remain in their present dependence; but very unwilling to see them in that of either France or England, politically or commercially. We consider their interests and

ours as the same, and that the object of both must be to exclude all European influence from this hemisphere. We wish to avoid the necessity of going to war, till our revenue shall be entirely liberated from debt. Then it will suffice for war without creating new debt or taxes."

The administration of Thomas Jefferson closed March 4, 1809. On the same day he witnessed the inauguration of his successor, James Madison. Soon afterward he retired to the quiet and peaceful home life he had so long desired, from which neither party turmoils nor necessity ever recalled him.

Near the close of President Madison's first term, a faction in the republican party became dissatisfied with the conduct of the war, and in consulting upon an available successor, who would prosecute hostilities to a speedy termination, agreed upon Mr. Jefferson. He was approached upon the subject, but adhered to his original idea as to the term of service of any President. The results to be apprehended, should no restraint be put upon ambition, he feared would prove disastrous to a republican form of government. He cordially commended Mr. Madison to the undivided support of his party, and expressed confidence in his ability and good judgment in directing affairs to a successful issue. A little later another proposition was made him,—that he become secretary of state in the cabinet of Mr. Madison, in place of Mr. Monroe, who would then succeed Mr. Eustis in the war department. In a letter to Colonel Duane, dated October 1st, he gave reasons why he could not serve the country in any capacity. He said "he possessed so much of the Roman principle, as to deem it honorable for the general of yesterday to act as corporal to day, if his services could be useful to his country; holding that to be false pride which postponed the public good to any private or personal considerations. . . . The hand of age was upon him, and the decay of bodily faculties apprised him that those of the mind could not be unimpaired, had he not better proofs." Mr. Madison himself followed this proposal with another to the same effect, but Mr. Jefferson could not be induced again to enter public life.

Albemarle academy was established at Charlottesville in 1803, and led a precarious existence until 1814, when an effort was made to revive it. Mr. Jefferson was invited to assist in its reorganization, and proposed its incorporation as a college. The central counties of Virginia entered heartily into the proposal, and raised the sum of sixty thousand dollars to forward the work. A board of visitors was appointed, consisting of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, Mr. Monroe, and several other distinguished gentlemen. They were clothed with power to erect necessary buildings, and in February, 1816, the institution was incorporated as Central college. The college, supported and strengthened by the names and influence of its president visitors, rapidly grew in popularity. It was then that Mr. Jefferson renewed his suggestion of a comprehensive plan of education. A few days after its

incorporation the directors of the college were instructed by the legislature of the state to report upon a system for a university, and such colleges, academies, and schools as were advisable to secure a general course of education for the people of the state. The ensuing year a bill was passed appropriating the sum of forty-five thousand dollars annually for the support of an university, to be called the University of Virginia, which soon absorbed the Central college, and was located on its site. In January, 1819, the law was passed organizing the university, but the institution was not in perfect operation until 1825. During these six years Mr. Jefferson had much of the care of the erection of buildings for its use. To this enterprise he devoted himself with unwearied assiduity, and upon his own shoulders bore the burden of its supervision. The inception of the university was due to him. He subscribed one thousand dollars to the cause, and through his personal influence secured the names of nine other gentlemen who subscribed like sums—George Divers, John Harris, Reuben Lindsay, Sr., James Monroe, Wilson C. Nicholas, and John Patterson, of Albemarle; John H. Cocke, of Fluvana; Joseph C. Cabell, of Nelson, and James Madison, of Orange. In February, 1819, the first board of visitors of the University of Virginia was chosen. It consisted of Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Chapman Johnson, James Breckenridge, Robert B. Taylor, John H. Cocke, and Joseph C. Cabell. The board elected Mr. Jefferson rector of the university, which office he held until the close of his life.

In the selection of professors for the university Mr. Jefferson was guided solely by fitness. He was much censured for his preference for educated men from foreign countries, those condemning him being of the opinion that suitably educated men could be found in the United States. The appointment of Dr. Cooper, a reputed Unitarian, to a professorship, called down on Mr. Jefferson the opposition of the clergy of the state, who believed the doctor unorthodox, and unfit for service in the University of Virginia. The legislature took up the matter, and, contrary to his wishes, Mr. Jefferson was induced to cancel the engagement with Dr. Cooper. It is unlikely that Mr. Jefferson was influenced in the remotest degree by the religious opinions of any of the gentlemen called to take professorships in the university. His appointment of Dr. Robert Dunglison, George Tucker, Mr. Long, Mr. Bonnycastle, Mr. Key, and Dr. Emmet, who were Episcopalians; and of Dr. Blaetterman, a Lutheran, sufficiently refutes the idea that religion or non-religion had any influence.

Much of the time during the erection of the university buildings, Mr. Jefferson was suffering from debility and exhaustion, but when the weather was favorable, he daily rode to the town of Charlottesville, a distance going and returning of eight miles. He placed a telescope on one of the terraces near his house, and when the weather or his state of health forbade riding to the town, took frequent observations of the progress of the work. In the



BENJAMIN LINCOLN.

construction of the buildings he sacrificed much of utility to architectural symmetry. Everything was conformed to his studied regard for the principles of architectural design, and the result was a magnificent pile. The buildings were erected on three sides of a square, two sides being devoted to houses for the professors and apartments for the students, the other to the rotunda and structures for the general uses of the college.

The attendance upon the university gradually increased, until, at the breaking out of the war of the rebellion, it averaged six hundred and fifty. During the war it was still kept open, and only once did the sound of combat approach it. In March, 1865, General Sheridan occupied the town with a body of cavalry, and placed a guard over the property for its preservation. Soon after the war the cause of education received a stimulus, and the number of students reached five hundred, but in 1872 had declined to three hundred and sixty-five. Since that time a larger endowment has been made, and the university is now in a flourishing condition.

CHAPTER VIII

MARRIAGE—FAMILY—HOME AT MONTICELLO

WHILE yet a student of law in Williamsburg, and not arrived at manhood's estate, Mr. Jefferson was first smitten by the blind god of love. He formed an attachment for Miss Rebecca Burwell, a famed beauty of the town, but his dreams were rudely broken by her sudden marriage to another. The obscuring of his bright visions caused more intense application to his books. During the years of study preceding and following this episode, were laid the foundations of that broad and liberal culture that in after life so distinguished the man. His thirst for knowledge was insatiable; in conversation he led the way to the subject with which his companion was most familiar, and by skilful questions and adroit reference obtained information to be treasured and retained for future use. Following this course he became well versed in almost every subject; could discuss mechanics with an engineer, medicine with a physician, law with a lawyer, religion with a clergyman, with a definiteness and comprehension that led each to believe him a member of the same profession. Perhaps no man was more strongly attached to home, or took greater delight in the society of friends. Between himself and his elder sister, Jane, there was much in common. Both were possessed of intellectual abilities far above the common, and each found in the other's society mental stimulus. Both were devoted to music, and spent many evenings in the singing of hymns. The death of the sister, in the fall of 1765, at the age of twenty-eight, fell heavily upon Jefferson, who ever cherished her memory, frequently in after life speaking to his grand-children with affection, of her early influence in the formation of his character.

His second affair of the heart resulted far differently from the first. He made the acquaintance of Mrs. Martha Skelton, the young widow of Bathurst Skelton, and daughter of John Wayles, a lawyer of extensive practice but of ordinary abilities. Mrs. Skelton was but twenty-three years

of age, beautiful in character as she was in personal appearance, surrounded by suitors for her hand and her not inconsiderable fortune. With a cultivated talent for music, her charms were irresistible to Jefferson, and she was no less attracted by the noble manhood of her suitor, coupled with his intellectual attainments. Their marriage took place January 1, 1772, and after the festivities that followed, the young couple set out upon the long and tedious journey to Monticello.

Less than a year after marriage their eldest daughter, Martha, was born, and two years later Jane, who died when eighteen months of age. Then followed four others, of whom Maria only survived. The health of Mrs. Jefferson had been visibly declining previous to the birth of her last child, and caused Mr. Jefferson much anxiety. This it was that prevented his acceptance of a mission to France in the early part of the war of the revolution. Mrs. Jefferson died September 6, 1782, leaving three children, one an infant, to the care of her husband. Mr. Jefferson was prostrated with grief, and it was weeks before he regained his self-control. Two years later, during his absence in Europe, occurred the death of his infant child, Lucy, After the death of his wife he devoted much care and attention to the education of his daughters, with whom he constantly corresponded during his frequent absences from home. These letters are filled with fatherly solicitude and love, and were written to encourage them in study and improvement. When at home he made them his daily companions, and while entering into their childish joys and sorrows, led them to habits of thought that tended to the development of their mental capacities, and the acquirement of knowledge that proved a source of enjoyment during life.

In the fall of 1780 Mr. Jefferson returned from his mission to France, and was called to President Washington's cabinet. He spent a few weeks at Monticello, and while there had the pleasure to see his eldest daughter, Martha, married to Thomas Mann Randolph, a son of Randolph of Tuckahoe, and a young man of ability, possessed of an exceptionally good education, obtained at the University of Edinburg. He was a man of wealth, fine figure and commanding appearance, and afterward served in the legislature and as governor of the state. Maria Jefferson was married on the 13th of October, 1797, to John Wayles Eppes, her second cousin. She became the mother of several children, and died April 17, 1804. Her death was a severe affliction to her father.

In his habits Mr. Jefferson was methodical. He was always an early riser, and seldom, indeed, was any one who called to see him on business obliged to await his coming. In his connection of nearly twenty years as overseer, Captain Edmund Bacon says he but twice saw him idle in his room, and on both these occasions he was suffering from illness. He was a close and indefatigable student. Seldom was he without a book or pen in his hand when in his room. His daughter, Mrs. Randolph, was very

like him. These two would sit for hours, he engaged in reading and study; she at her work. In temper he was quiet and evenly balanced. A careful watch was always kept over himself, and when anything went amiss it was taken as a matter that was unavoidable and not worth worrying over. His domestic relations were particularly pleasant. The early death of his wife, whom he almost idolized, was a great shock to him. On her death-bed she was much disquieted over the thought that another might take her place who would not be a *mother* to her children. Mr. Jefferson clasped her hand in his own, and solemnly promised never again to marry. This promise he sacredly kept, though he might at any time have married well.

The home at Shadwell was destroyed by fire February 1, 1770, his small but cherished library being consumed at the time, the servants setting greater value on his fiddle, which was carefully preserved. Although much interested in music, his books were treasures he could ill spare, and no time was lost in replacing them. Some time previously he had begun building at Monticello, and fortunately the house was in condition for occupancy at the time Shadwell was burned.

Monticello, the home of Thomas Jefferson, is situated on the summit of a little mountain, forming part of the southwest range of the Alleghanies, and commands an extensive view of the country, except to the northeast and southwest, this being the direction of the range. Twenty miles distant to the south is seen the Blue ridge, the course being visible many miles to the northeast, until it seems to terminate in the distance. The mountain on which is situated the residence, is in the form of a sugar-loaf. A road winds around its side to the summit. On the very top the forest trees were removed, and ten acres of ground leveled, the remainder being left in its rugged state, except on the south, where a spot was cleared for a kitchen garden. The house is a long building of moderate height, with a Grecian portico in front and an octagonal tower. The preparation of ground for a garden was attended with much labor. It was arranged in terraces, the rock being blasted for the walls, and then covered with soil. In this garden were grown many and choice varieties of vegetables and fruit. Mr. Jefferson took much pride in his farm and garden. While in Washington, each season he procured plants, cuttings, and seeds from the greenhouse of Mr. Maine, besides receiving many from foreign countries. Professor Tucker, in his Life of Jefferson, says: "The entrance from the portico was into a saloon decorated on either side with horns of elk, moose, and deer, Mexican antiquities, Indian dresses, weapons, and ornaments, together with three or four pieces of statuary. At the farther end of this hall were glass folding doors, which opened into an octagonal drawing-room, and through the windows at the farther or west end was seen a lawn of about two acres, skirted with forest trees, both native and

exotic. It had a neat *parquet* floor, the work of slaves, and the walls were covered with paintings, a great proportion of which were portraits of eminent statesmen and philosophers. To the right were the dining-room and other apartments; to the left a suite of rooms appropriated to his own use. These consisted of a library, bed-room, dressing-room, and a small apartment containing a work bench, and a large assortment of tools, where he used to seek exercise for his body and recreation for his mind. In his library one saw in every direction philosophical and mathematical instruments, mineralogical specimens, and the like, which indicated the varied intellectual tastes and pursuits of the proprietor."

Under the house and terraces were the cisterns, cellar, kitchen, ice houses, and rooms for other purposes. The servants' rooms were on one side. No slave quarters were placed in the rear of the mansion, as was usually the case on such plantations. Everything was arranged with the same system as that employed in his house, and in his political and other pursuits. The surroundings of Monticello were in keeping with the tastes of its master, nothing incongruous or out of place.

CHAPTER IX.

HIS VIEWS ON SLAVERY—PECUNIARY TROUBLES—ILLNESS AND DEATH.

IN the President's message, on the assembling of Congress, the 1st of December, 1806, he called attention to the clause in the Constitution relative to the slave trade, which provided that no prohibitory measures should go into effect previous to 1808. He recommended that action be taken looking to the prohibition of the slave trade to American citizens, although the time to elapse before such law could take effect would be two years, and suggested that early action would prevent the organization of expeditions for the capture of slaves just previous to the expiration of the constitutional limitation.

Abstractly, and in its moral effect on the country at large, he believed slavery was an evil. The system had been forced on the colonies while they were yet weak, and the need of labor was pressing in every branch of industry. The people had become accustomed to the institution, and its abolishment would in great measure curtail the comforts of life. They had come to believe that the same right of ownership existed in human beings as in the lower animals, and they were regarded as so much stock capable of adding to ease and wealth. England had early refused to restrict the slave trade, which had brought fortunes to many of her subjects, and when the colonies had gained their independence, the constitution that was adopted prevented any interference with the traffic until the year 1808. Mr. Jefferson was opposed to slavery on all grounds, and desired its abolition. In his early life, soon after he entered the legislature of Virginia, he introduced a resolution providing for the emancipation of slaves. Most of his associates were owners of human chattels, and were not possessed of his belief in the equal rights of man, and as a natural consequence the resolution was lost. Notwithstanding this, he asserted that the time would yet come when slavery would cease to exist; it might be after many years, and it might be through great convulsions. Gradual emancipation was the

course he thought advisable; emancipation of all persons born in slavery after a certain date. This to be followed by a certain degree of education, which being attained, the freedmen should be colonized, not in this country, but where they would not come into association or conflict with Americans. He believed the two races could never live in peace under the same government. The island of St. Domingo he thought a suitable place for their colonization, as in that island were many of their own color; this being inexpedient, he favored Liberia in preference to any portion of the South American continent, where they would be brought into closer relationship with us. He was opposed to the agitation of the slave question in other than slave states, believing the people would see the evil of the institution and provide for its ultimate abolition; that outside agitation was opposed to the spirit and intent of the Constitution. In all things he believed in the sovereignty of individual states, and that to each belonged the regulation of all internal matters. When the ordinance of 1794 was adopted, he caused the insertion of a section prohibiting the holding of slaves in the Northwest Territory, then, or at any time in the future. His reasons for this, given afterward, were that to recognize slaves as property in the territory northwest of the Ohio, would result in an immense increase in the African slave trade, which was not yet prohibited, thus increasing the aggregate number of slaves in the United States.

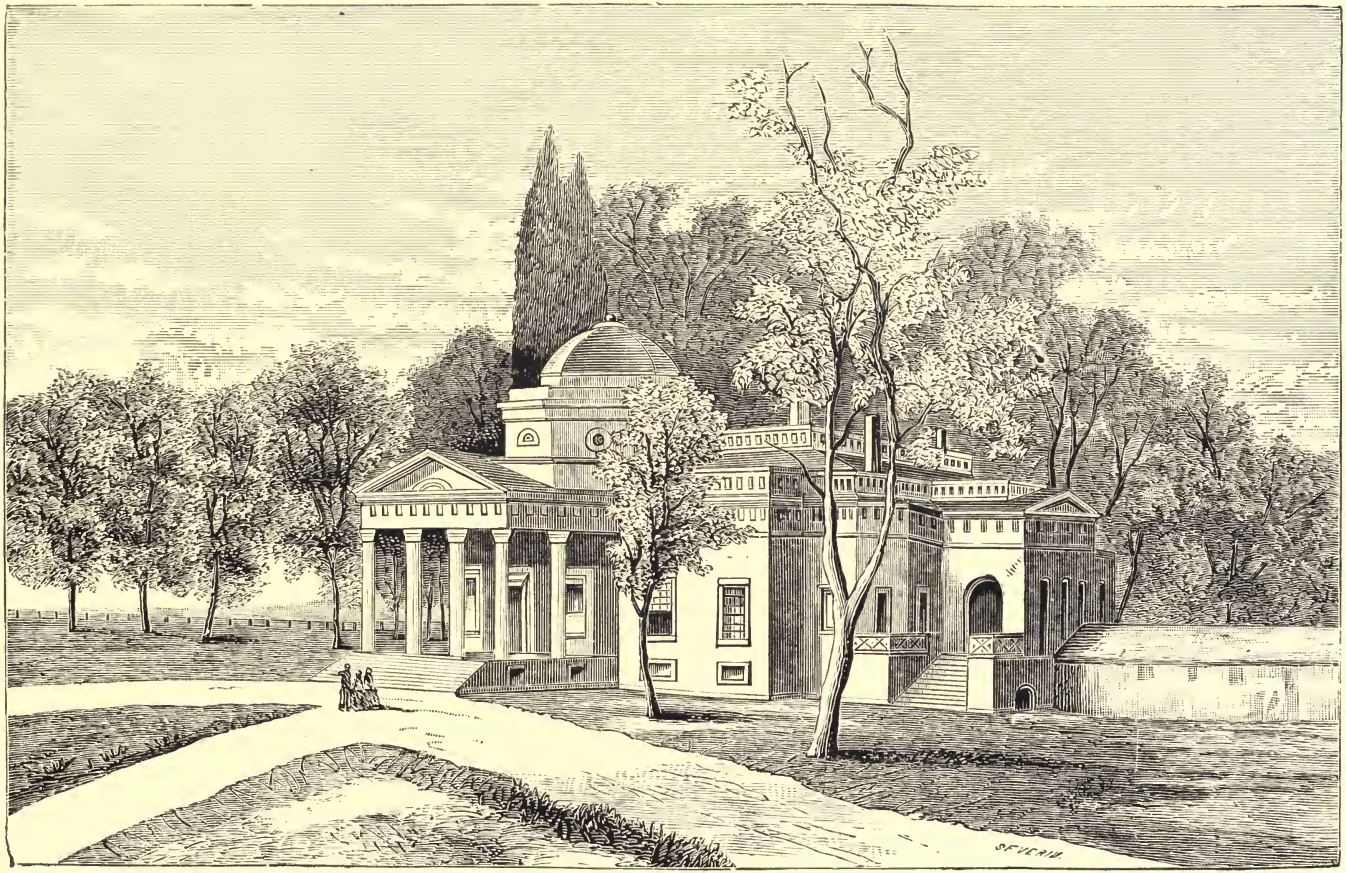
The Missouri Compromise met his unqualified disapproval. How almost prophetic of the conflict that was to begin between the North and South in 1861, was his letter to William Short, under date April 13, 1820: "But the coincidence of a marked principle, moral and political, with a geographical line, once conceived, I feared would never more be obliterated from the mind; that it would be recurring on every occasion and renewing irritations, until it would kindle such mutual and mortal hatred, as to render separation preferable to eternal discord. I have been among the most sanguine in believing that our union would be of long duration. I now doubt it much, and see the event at no great distance, and the direct consequence of this question; not by the line which has been so confidenty counted on—the laws of nature control this—but by the Potomac, Ohio, Missouri, or more probably the Mississippi upwards to our northern boundary." It would appear that while he favored the emancipation and expatriation of slaves, even to him the path was not clear; with his close and careful study of the question for years, he was no nearer its solution than in the beginning. It remained for the solid argument of war to determine the equal rights of all men to freedom and impartial justice.

It would seem almost an anomaly that Mr. Jefferson, who had so early in life formed opinions so decidedly against the continuation of slavery, and who in his later life still held to his early principles, did not at his death manumit all slaves held by him. By a codicil to his will he provided

for the freedom of two of his faithful body servants, to go into effect one year after his decease; to them he gave the services of two others until they should reach the age of twenty-one years, when they, too, should be free. It is probable that the embarrassments under which he labored for several years, caused him to harden his heart and leave the remainder of his slaves the property of his daughter and grand-children, and to provide for the payment of his debts. Under the laws of Virginia, the debts must needs be satisfied before any property could be reserved by will, and slaves being held as property, were included in the estate. As the estate did not sell for enough to pay his debts within forty thousand dollars, the slaves were sacrificed with other personal property and real estate.

The life of Mr. Jefferson, after his retirement from public service, was was that of a quiet country gentleman. The greater portion of each day was passed in superintending affairs connected with his estate. After dinner he conversed with his friends, and the evening was generally occupied with reading. During the early morning he was usually to be found in his study, reading and writing. His correspondence occupied much time, embraced many and varied subjects, and extended to many persons in foreign countries, besides prominent persons in his own country. Up to this time his life had been so filled with political matters, and subjects connected with the growth, development, and perpetuation of the republic, as to forbid any attention to the subjects that had engrossed his mind to a great extent in his earlier years. He had been unable to keep pace with the growth and development of the sciences that had attracted his attention, and when at last he was relieved from public duties and had time to devote to their pursuit, the fascination they once had was vanished. He devoted much time, however, to the study of classic literature. In his youth he had loved poetry, but in his later years his taste for it declined. He always delighted in the poetry of Homer, and never tired of the Athenian tragedies. He read the works of Euripides, Sophocles, Æschuylus, Dante, Virgil, Corneille, and others, in the original languages. The reviews of the day he always found time to read, especially the Edinburgh Review, and kept himself informed of contemporary literature and events occurring in the world he had left. His acquaintance with Greek and Latin literature was extensive, his library containing all the more important works.

Soon after his retirement he engaged in building a residence on his Poplar Forest estate, in Bedford county, near the city of Lynchburg, some seventy miles distant from Monticello. This was a brick building of one story front and, owing to the descending nature of the ground, two in the rear, and was designed as a retreat from the influx of visitors constantly coming and going at Monticello. Here he would sometimes spend several weeks, always accompanied by two or more of his grandchildren, who



MONTICELLO—THE RESIDENCE OF THOMAS JEFFERSON.

enjoyed, as much as he himself did, these excursions and the quiet that followed. Here he enjoyed social intercourse different from that at his more pretentious home. At this place he, to a great degree, escaped the restraints that the concourse imposed upon him. He interested himself in the things that interested his young companions, took long walks and rides, and occasionally accompanied them to the not far distant city, gratifying their youthful tastes in the purchase of small articles at the shops and stores. In his Poplar Forest home he had arranged four book-cases, containing the library he had used in Washington; the volumes selected being compact in form, the whole containing what was almost a complete library of classic, ancient, and modern literature. Life without books would have been an impossibility to a man possessed of his cast of mind. The reading and study of good books were at once his work, his pastime, and his rest. Whatever may have been his religious views, he was a constant and diligent reader of the Bible. By his enemies he was frequently accused of being an atheist. His letters and conversation at various times do not lead to this conclusion, however. In a letter to Dr. Vine Utley, dated at Monticello, March 21, 1819, occurs the following passage: "I never go to bed without an hour or half an hour's previous reading of something moral, whereon to ruminate in the intervals of sleep."

At a date several years earlier he gives more light on the moral reading of this hour previous to retiring. He writes to his revolutionary friend, Charles Thompson, under date January 9, 1816: "I, too, have made a wee-little book from the same materials (referring to the reception by him of Mr. Thompson's Harmony of the Four Gospels), which I call the Philosophy of Jesus; it is a paradigma of his doctrines, made by cutting the texts out of the book, and arranging them on the pages of a blank book, in a certain order of time or subject. A more beautiful or precious morsel of ethics I have never seen; it is a document in proof that *I* am a *real Christian*, that is to say, a disciple of the doctrines of Jesus, very different from the Platonists, who call *me* infidel and *themselves* Christians and preachers of the Gospel, while they draw all their characteristic dogmas from what its author never said, nor saw. They have compounded from the heathen mysteries a system beyond the comprehension of man, of which the great reformer of the vicious ethics and deism of the Jews, were he to return on earth, would not recognize one feature. If I had time, I would add to my little book the Greek, Latin, and French texts, in columns, side by side." It appears that he soon after took time to make the arrangement of texts he proposed, which were placed in a beautiful morocco-bound volume, and labeled on the back, Morals of Jesus. In his collections for the Indians, designed to be incorporated into a text book, unembarrassed by questions beyond their comprehension, he arranged comparative texts from the Gospels in chronological order, from the birth to the death of Christ. It is believed

this presentation of the belief of Mr. Jefferson should forever set at rest the prevalent idea that he was an atheist, or an infidel, in his religious views. The original arrangement of these texts is at the present time in the possession of the descendants of Mr. Jefferson in his own handwriting, unless they have been deposited in a safer place of keeping. Accurate copies may be found in the Appendix to Randall's Life of Jefferson, obtained by the author of that work, from the originals.

Soon after his retirement to Monticello friends, relatives, and acquaintances began their visits, which were sometimes prolonged to days, weeks, months, and frequently to nearly a year's duration. Open-handed hospitality was the rule in Virginia in those days, and to this same free-handed practice, in great measure, were due the financial embarrassments that threw a cloud over the later years of Mr. Jefferson's life. Perhaps the beginning of this trouble should not be ascribed wholly to this cause. For several years unfavorable weather and other causes reduced the quantity of the annual crop to a minimum; the embargo act which he had urged and promoted in the interest of the whole country, bore with greater force on the planters of the Old Dominion than on any other class of people, and prices of all commodities that were produced were ruinously low, while the cost of all articles to be purchased was as extravagantly high. Bountiful crops were gathered during the season of 1812, but the ninety-days embargo and the blockade of the Chesapeake gave no opportunity for exportation, and the produce from which so much was expected was of little value. The crop of wheat was unusually large, but there being no market for it it was fed to stock and otherwise used. At the same time the money market was in a deplorable state, credit was destroyed, and landed property worth next to nothing. The Bank of the United States was chartered in 1816, and the country was soon flooded with its issue of paper. Another era of wild speculation set in. Everything bore fictitious values in the currency of the times. By 1819 and 1820 the climax was reached; no gold or silver was to be had. The only recourse for the bank was to sell the property of its debtors. Nearly all the sales of property were made by officers of the court, and the purchasers were the bank, or creditors who had been hoarding specie. Colonel Benton, in his Thirty Years' View, says there existed "no medium of exchange but depreciated paper; no change even, but little bits of foul paper, marked as so many cents, and signed by some tradesman, barkeeper, or innkeeper; exchange deranged to the extent of fifty or one hundred per cent. Distress the universal cry of the people; relief the universal demand thundered at the doors of all legislatures, state and federal."

The years following the retirement of Mr. Jefferson, to the time of his death, called for retrenchment in all things. To one who had lived almost a lifetime subject to the freehanded custom of Virginians, this was almost an impossibility. The salary provided the President of the United States

is not calculated to do more than support the necessary expenses of his establishment, and few cases are on record where the chief magistrate has lived within his income. Mr. Jefferson was no exception to this rule. Although provisions of all kinds were received from his estate during his residence in Washington, the close of his term as President found him in debt in the sum of twenty thousand dollars. He then owned more than ten thousand acres of land, besides some city lots. He had a valuable residence and an extensive library. His slaves numbered two hundred; and altogether he was estimated to own property to the value of not far from two hundred thousand dollars. He was accustomed to a good style in living, which he found impossible to change when he again became plain Mr. Jefferson. The expense of maintaining so large an establishment was enormous. Of his servants, it is safe to estimate that not more than one-fourth produced even means for their own subsistence. There were children, the sick, aged, and infirm to provide for, thus reducing the working force to perhaps fifty or sixty. Expense was as inevitable in hard times as in good. He had, besides this, to contend against the incubus of the debt remaining on the estate brought him by his wife. It is no wonder, then, he found himself crippled in his resources. He made strong and determined efforts to overcome these adverse influences, and would undoubtedly have succeeded had he been what he was not, a man to turn the cold shoulder to a poor relation. A man who enjoyed the pleasures of refined home life, he delighted in giving others less favorably situated all such advantages as he possessed. He enjoyed the society of the learned of all nations, and seldom a week passed that such persons were not receiving the hospitality of his mansion. In one case a friend from abroad, with a family of six persons, remained at Monticello ten months, and at another time enjoyed his hospitality six months. Not always were his visitors of a class congenial to himself or his family. People possessed of a morbid curiosity to gaze upon the face of a great man, were frequent callers at his house, and made themselves free of his grounds and garden, much as they would with a public park or picnic ground. They ranged themselves along both sides of the entrance hall, frequently consulting their timepieces, anxiously awaiting the hour when he would pass through on his way to the dining room. They gathered about the piazza where he was accustomed to sit after dinner, engaged in conversation with friends; and it is said one woman had the impertinence to punch her parasol through a window in order to obtain a better view of him. To these things he submitted, though they caused him great annoyance.

The mode of travel was then in carriages or on horseback. The stables at Monticello would accommodate many horses, and every night in the summer found them filled; carriages that could not be gotten into the carriage houses were placed under the shelter of large trees in the vicinity of

the stables. It consumed all the provender that could be raised on his Monticello estate to provide for his own animals and those belonging to the flood of visitors that came. The house was commodious, as many as fifty beds being occupied at one time. In providing food for all these a large drain was made on the Bedford estate. It is a melancholy fact that Mr. Jefferson was made poor by entertaining his friends. He would not, however, allow these things to trouble him, his peculiarly sunny temperament causing him to look on the bright side of life.

His plantations were not very profitable. Much of the soil was of an inferior character, and did not compare with the farms belonging to some of his neighbors. Nor was he always careful as a manager. His taste was discriminating, and he sacrificed much in making his surroundings pleasant. Foreign trees and plants adorned the grounds—everything that could lend beauty to the eye and harmonize with his conception of the beautiful. His servants were many, and the expense connected with keeping up a large establishment was enormous. He imported sheep, swine, and other animals, not so much for his own profit as for the good of Virginia, which he had always in view. His neighbors believed a flouring-mill would be of advantage, and he at once began the construction of one on a large scale. The mill was four stories in height, built of stone, with four run of buhrs. A dam was built three-fourths of a mile above, and a canal dug to convey the water to the mill. For this it was necessary to blast the rock most of the way, which was done at an enormous outlay. Soon after the mill was completed and in running order, came a great freshet that washed out the dam. It was immediately rebuilt, but the mill never was profitable. In addition to this he had a nail factory, in which ten men were sometimes employed under an experienced overseer. Nearly everything used on his estate was made by his servants, from a hand-rake to the fine carriage in which he rode.

During the year 1814 the British troops captured Washington city, and wantonly destroyed valuable papers belonging to the government, among other things burning the extensive library of Congress, which it would be impossible to replace. On hearing of this act of vandalism, Mr. Jefferson wrote, under date of September 21, 1814, to Mr. Samuel H. Smith, offering Congress his library, the accumulation of more than fifty years, to replace the one destroyed. This offer was made partly for the relief it would bring him, but principally through patriotic motives. His idea was to have the books appraised by a committee, and allow them the privilege of purchase on their own terms. It had always been his intention to leave his books in such condition that Congress could acquire them at a nominal sum in the event of his death, but the urgency of the case induced him to make an earlier offer. He desired the privilege of retaining a portion of the books,—one set of encyclopedias and a few classical works,—during his life.

The joint library committee of Congress was authorized to contract for the purchase of the library. The subject was brought before the Senate in October, and much discussion ensued, the final vote on its purchase not being taken until January 26, 1815. Several of Mr. Jefferson's personal friends voted against the purchase, for the reason that they deemed the sum required beyond the means of government, the expenses caused by the war being at the time quite large. It was, however, carried by a vote of eighty-one to seventy-one, the price fixed being twenty-three thousand nine hundred and fifty dollars. The price was placed at that low figure in accordance with the wishes of Mr. Jefferson, although the actual cost of the library was more than twice that sum.

As the years dragged along, the means of Mr. Jefferson became more limited. It was not until some time in 1825, however, that a crisis in his worldly affairs became imminent. He had previously endorsed a note for an intimate friend, who was somewhat embarrassed, but who had no doubt he should be able to meet his obligations. Mr. Jefferson shared this belief, and allowed the use of his name, a thing entirely foreign to the habit of a lifetime. The result was, he had to pay the sum of twenty thousand dollars, in addition to his own debts. It produced a serious embarrassment, which he was fain to tide over by recourse to what in this day would be deemed a questionable mode of procedure. He requested of the legislature permission to dispose of a portion of his estate by means of a lottery, and in a communication to that body suggested that "the end justifies the means." Such cases were on record, there having been not less than twenty between the years 1782 and 1820. The bill was passed by a large majority. When it became known that Mr. Jefferson was compelled by pecuniary distress to sell his home, public feeling was aroused throughout the Union. The mayor of New York raised eight thousand five hundred dollars for his relief. Other cities were not far behind. Philadelphia gave five thousand dollars and Baltimore three thousand dollars. The lottery scheme was abandoned. Mr. Jefferson was much gratified by this testimonial of the affection and esteem of the people he had so long and faithfully served. Had the matter been presented in a different light; had the money been procured by a tax assessed upon the people, he would never have accepted it. Coming as it did, as a spontaneous burst of affection for him,—as a voluntary offering,—he accepted it with thanks. The sum thus secured provided for the remainder of his life peace and comfort, undisturbed by fears of leaving his family in debt and distress at his death.

Until within three weeks of his death Mr. Jefferson followed his usual habit of taking a short ride in pleasant weather. In the latter part of 1822 he met with an accident, caused by the breaking away of a decayed step, precipitating him violently to the ground. His left arm was broken by this accident, and caused him much trouble, his right hand being

already almost useless, by reason of a dislocation of the wrist when in France. Notwithstanding these infirmities, he would allow no one to accompany him on his rides. On one occasion, in crossing a small stream, his horse became mired in descending the bank, and threw his rider over his head. A close grasp of the bridle rein only saved him from drowning. The horse, in its efforts to free itself from the mire, dragged him to the land, and his life was saved. In February, 1826, he was much prostrated by a chronic diarrhœa, but concealed his weakness from his family as far as possible. He was conscious that his end was approaching, and while his bodily powers were fast giving way, his mental faculties still remained, though at times memory failed him. In March he wrote his last will, and not until then did he let any member of his family know that he believed death was near. The last letter he wrote was dated June 24, 1826, and was the declination of a request that he be present at the anniversary of the declaration of independence, to be celebrated in Washington, July 4th. His strength rapidly failed from this time forward, and he expressed a hope that he might be permitted to live until the anniversary of independence. He had never wished the attendance of his family in his room, but during the last few weeks of his life reconciled himself to their care and attention. His daughter passed much of the daytime in his room, and his grandson, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, was with him during the night, assisted by several valued servants. Several times during the second and third days of July he anxiously inquired if it were yet the 4th. The end came at 12:50 meridian, of July 4, 1826, with his family surrounding his bedside. The morning of the same day his compatriot and friend, John Adams, lay on the bed of death many hundred miles distant. Awaiting dissolution he said to those attending him: "Thomas Jefferson still survives." In a few hours he too had passed away. Jefferson had ceased to breathe ere Mr. Adams uttered the words inscribed above. True it is, Thomas Jefferson still survives in the life of the great republic he helped form, and to which he gave the best years of his life.

After the death of Mr. Jefferson the incentive to pay his debts by voluntary subscriptions ceased. The sum of money that had been received was greatly over-estimated, and, while it afforded temporary relief, was inadequate to the payment of the liabilities against his estate and the support of his family. His executor attempted to dispose of the property by means of the lottery scheme already alluded to; but the burden would fall upon his friends alone, who could not make such subscriptions as would insure its disposal at a fair price. He therefore took the only course, and during the three succeeding years disposed of the entire estate, though for less than the amount needed to pay the debts. When the truth reached the public that the proceeds of the sale were absorbed, leaving no provision for his family, patriotic feeling was again aroused. The legislature of

South Carolina voted the sum of ten thousand dollars, and Louisiana devoted the same amount to this purpose. But there the feeling died out, and no further amounts were received.

In a private drawer in Mr. Jefferson's desk were found several souvenirs of his dead wife and children, and beside these a rough draft of a monument for himself, accompanied by an epitaph, relating the acts of his life in which he took the greatest satisfaction. The epitaph reads:

Here was Buried

THOMAS JEFFERSON,

author of the

DECLARATION OF AMERICAN INDEPENDENCE,

of

THE STATUTES OF VIRGINIA FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM,

and father of

THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA.

"Jefferson was among the most fortunate of men," writes James Parton, in his able summary of the character of the author of the Declaration of Independence. "It was Jefferson's happiness to derive from his progenitors the maximum of help, with the minimum of hindrance. . . . His father, too, though not a scholar, was a man of sound intelligence and practical ability, who honored learning by word and deed, and marked out for his boy a liberal career. The political part of Thomas Jefferson's career in America was the application and development of the ancient Whig principles which his father loved and lived. . . . He was an indomitable student always, and a man of better sustained activity than almost any other of his time. There was not an idle bone in his body. In his public life the same good fortune attended him. He was usually in the thick of events when his presence was of the utmost advantage to himself; but on several occasions he enjoyed those happy absences from the scene of difficulty which have often sufficed to give a public man ascendency over his rivals. These absences were never contrived, and their advantage never could have been foreseen. During that buoyant and inspiring period when all hearts were in unison, from the Stamp act to the Declaration of Independence, circumstances and inclination united to keep him in the van of affairs, and to assign him the kind of work in doing which nature had formed him to excel. Thus, by an exercise of his talents, which we may call slight and accidental, his name was forever associated with the act that began the National life of America. Virginia then summoned him imperatively away to adjust her laws and institutions to the declaration which he had penned. When at last

his good fortune seemed to forsake him and the storm of war broke over Virginia, so long exempt, and swept away civil government and civil governor, then the triumph of Yorktown consigned his mishaps to prompt oblivion, and all men saw in the light of that triumph that he had done whatever was possible by civil methods.

"After the war," continues Mr. Parton, "during all that anxious and dividing period when the thirteen states lacked the hoop to the barrel, he was honorably absent in France; and again, during the frenzied time of American politics, from 1797 to 1800, he was safe and snug at home, while friend and foe conspired to give prominence and fascination to his name. In the closing years of his life, his peace was disturbed by the decline in the value of his estate, and by apprehension for the future of his descendants. But he died without knowing the worst, and the timely generosity of two grateful states saved his daughter from painful embarrassment. . . . Jefferson needed the happy accidents of life to atone for his deficiencies as a public man. He was shy; he shrank from publicity; he was not combative; he was no orator; he could not have controlled a public assembly, nor handled a mass meeting. Nature had not fitted him for an executive office; and if he had lived in peaceful times and been born subject to the ordinary conditions, he never would have made his way into politics at all. Whether he would have been an artist or a man of science would have depended upon the place and time of his birth; but he would have pursued either of those careers with that blending of passion and plod which distinguishes the man who is doing the precise thing nature meant him to do. But having been called into politics, and kept in politics by the exigencies of his country and by the proprieties of the place he held in it, he bore himself wonderfully well. He represented the best side of his country in a foreign land, remaining proof against all the seductions of his place to take part with the graceful and picturesque oppressor, instead of the homely, helpless, ill-favored oppressed."

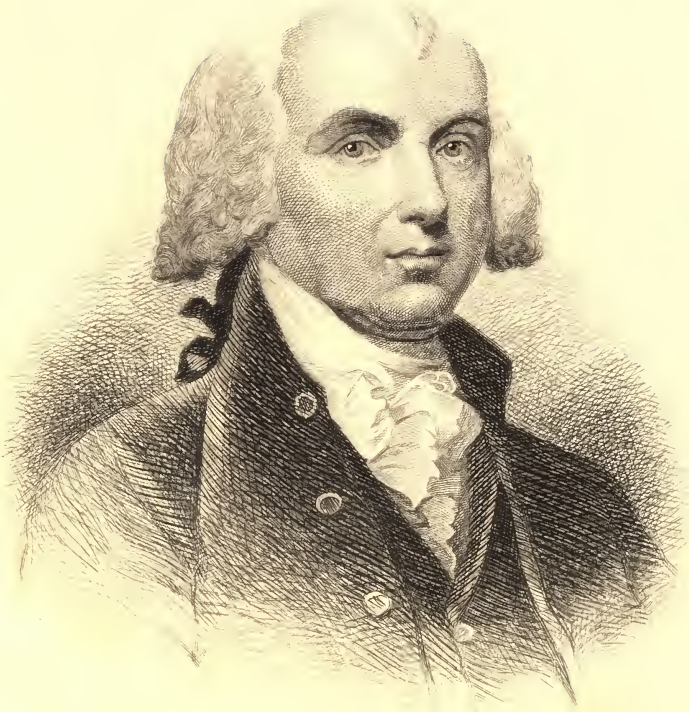
The distinguished author from whom the above reflections have been culled, still finds that good fortune which he has described, pursuing the subject of this memoir after he has passed by various gradations of trust, to the occupancy of the highest office in the land. "A general peace promptly followed his inauguration; and when that peace was broken (an event that brought woe upon the rest of Christendom), it enabled *him* to add to his country the most valuable acquisition which it was possible for it to receive. While Europe shuddered to hear the muttering of the coming storm, three gentlemen in Paris quietly arranged the terms on which the United States were to possess the mouth of the Mississippi and an empire which the Mississippi drained. But I venture again to affirm that, much as he was favored by fortune, his merit was

equal to his fortune. He rose to every opportunity, and improved to the very uttermost all his chances. Since civil government was founded, never was a government administered with such strict, single-hearted, such noble-minded, such wise fidelity." Touching upon another point over which controversy has been at times suggested rather than held, the same writer has said: "I cannot agree with those who think he ought, being an abolitionist, to have emancipated his slaves. There are virtuous and heroic acts, which, when they are done, are passionately admired, but which, at the same time, we have no right to demand or expect. Few persons acquainted with the history and character of John Brown could avoid having some sense of the real sublimity of his conduct; but who pretend that human affairs admit of being generally conducted on the John Brown principle? If Jefferson, on coming to a clear sense of the iniquity of slavery and the impossibility of inducing Virginia to abolish it, had set his slaves free and led them forth . . . and conducted them to a free territory, and established them as freemen and freeholders, standing by them until they were able to take care of themselves, he would have done one of those high, heroic deeds which contemporaries call Quixotic and posterity sublime. And if, while the young patriarch was on the march, a mob of white trash had set upon him and killed him, contemporaries might have said it served him right, and centuries hence his name might serve as the pretext for a new religion, and nations contend for the possession of his tomb. But no one has a right to censure him for not having done this, except a person who has given proof that, in similar circumstances, *he* would have done it. Such individuals—and there are a few such in each generation—seldom censure anyone."

The estimates of others as to Jefferson's life and character take a wider and higher range than that so carefully enunciated in the above. In discussing it, during the new relation of things evolved from the recent civil war, one eminent writer has said: "Jefferson's public life is divided into three distinct periods—that preceding and during the early stages of the Revolution, his residence abroad, and that after his return. The approaching separation from Great Britain was heralded in the Old Dominion by perhaps the most remarkable change, its manner and rapidity considered, that ever took place in a political body—that from an aristocratic to a democratic form of government. Jefferson's entrance into political life was identified with this powerful revolution; his subsequent course was deeply affected by it. So far as the work of organization went, he had a greater right than any other to look upon the regenerated commonwealth as the work of his hands, and in return he was ever the darling of her heart. Apart from other considerations, such a relationship could not fail to produce on him the most favorable impressions

regarding the state governments in general. In addition to this, in trying the first experiment of Union, the Confederate congress was hardly more than a committee to give expression to public sentiment, and still it had borne with success the highest strain to which any government can be subjected—that of carrying on war.

"With these things in mind, Jefferson assumed the embassy to France. . . . Coming with a great reputation from a country which was the fashion at the moment, the doors of society were thrown open and he was received into intimate association with the first minds of the French capital at one of the most exhilarating periods in the history of the world. . . . But the deepest impression on his mind was not the result of association with learned or courtly circles. The cottages and workshops and the daily life of the peasants and people were the chosen field of his studies; and in several extended journeys he acquired a knowledge of the condition of European society and of the actual working of the different governments equaled by few travelers. By this examination all his original ideas in favor of popular institutions were not only confirmed and expanded, but his mind was filled with a mingled feeling of indignation and horror at the misery he everywhere encountered. The institution of monarchy, the governing classes and the whole machinery of oppression became the objects of the intensest detestation. No words but his own can convey a notion of this feeling. He speaks habitually of the continental nations as composed of 'sheep and wolves,' and deliberately declares 'that it would be better that the race of man should be reduced to a single pair, like Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden, than to go on suffering what they endure from their governments.' His sympathies were, of course, warmly enlisted on the popular side in the opening scenes which he witnessed of the French Revolution, while his tastes and affections, touched and won as they might be still by the amenity and practiced kindness of the French, ever afterward pleaded strongly in their favor."



James Madison

JAMES MADISON

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH AND EARLY LIFE.

PROMINENT among the names in the annals of Virginia, is that of Madison; foremost in councils of state, in the church, and in the army. Diligent research made some years since by Conway Robinson, Esq., a member of the Historical society of Virginia, led to the finding in the state paper office in London, of a list of the Virginia colonists of 1623, in which occurs the name of Captain Isaac Madison. In the first accurate history of the colony of Virginia, written by its heroic defender, Captain John Smith, due praise is awarded Captain Madison for his brilliant achievements against the "salvages" in 1622. It is evident from the accounts given in early works, that the family were among the daring few who braved the terrors of a tedious voyage across an almost unknown sea, to meet the not less menacing dangers of the inhospitable coast. With what contending emotions must they have first set foot on land at Jamestown—joy, that they were delivered from the terrors of the deep; fear, that they might have escaped past dangers to meet those yet more terrible from the unseen inhabitants of the forests that reached almost to the water's edge. That these fears were not without foundation is proven in the pages of history, in the wars and bloodshed that ensued ere a permanent foothold was obtained. The colonists had been educated in a stern and unyielding school. They brought with them hearts of oak and constitutions of iron, and both were required before their work was done.

As early as 1635, a large tract of land lying between the North and York rivers, and contiguous to the Chesapeake bay, was acquired by patent, by John Madison, the progenitor of the branch of the family to which belonged James Madison, the fourth President of the United States. John Madison was the father of John, and he the father of Ambrose, the paternal grandfather of James Madison, Jr. During the four generations preceding the birth of the future President, the possessions of the family largely increased, and in 1651 the landed estate of James Madison, Sr., embraced several plantations in Orange, and in the counties adjoining. In the care and cultivation of these, as was the custom of the day, he employed many slaves, his property by the law of the land. His position as a landed proprietor gave him a prestige in the county of Orange, where was his manor-house, and, though he is not known to have taken any active part in political matters, during the revolutionary war he was a county lieutenant, the duties of which office he performed with diligence and zeal. He lived, with his family, at Montpelier, which had also been the home of his father, Ambrose Madison, and which descended in direct line to James Madison, Jr.

James Madison was born March 16, 1751, at the residence of his maternal grandmother, Mrs. Conway, on the northern bank of the Rappahannock river, in King George county, Virginia, where his mother was visiting when that interesting event occurred. Montpelier, the estate on which his parents resided, was situated some sixty miles distant. His birth took place in the near vicinity of the homes of several men who became illustrious. Of Eleanor Conway, the mother of James Madison, little is known. She was the mother of a large family of children, seven of whom —four sons and three daughters—arrived at years of maturity. The cares of maternity, together with the duty of overseeing a large establishment, early undermined her constitution; her eldest son, when absent from home in early life, pursuing a course of study planned by his father and in accordance with his own desires, in his frequent letters expressed the solicitude he felt regarding her health. And during the years of his public career, he never lacked in devotion to the one who bore him, caring for her until she peacefully passed into rest, not many years before his own death. No less was his father the object of his care and attention until his death, in 1801.

Appreciating his own disadvantages, the elder James Madison determined that his children should have the privileges which his position and the means at his command could furnish. While yet very young, the boy was placed in a school conducted by a learned Scotchman, Donald Robertson, who, besides teaching some branches of an elementary education, gave him instruction in the Greek, Latin, French, and Spanish languages. He had received some earlier instruction in the vicinity of his home, but at the school of Mr. Robertson was laid the foundation of an education that in after

years developed those qualities of understanding that so well fitted him for political leadership. For some time after leaving this school he remained at home, under the tuition of Rev. Thomas Martin, the rector of the parish, who, at that time, lived in the Madison family at Montpelier. Mr. Martin was a man of learning and piety, and to this instruction, added to that of his mother, is due the strong religious principles that throughout his life permeated the mind of Mr. Madison. These principles found frequent expression in letters written during early life, to his college intimates, and remained no less strong when in mature years he was surrounded by the cares of state.

At the age of seventeen he was prepared to enter college. Brought up in the communion of the Episcopal church, it might be expected he would attend the college of William and Mary, at Williamsburg, which was under the control of that denomination. At that time, however, the board of visitors and the faculty were not working in harmony in the management of the institution; beside, the president, Rev. Mr. Horrocks, was unpopular in his position, circumstances which had the effect of sending Madison to the popular and growing college of Princeton. This institution had one year before acquired a valuable aid in the person of Dr. Witherspoon, a gentleman then aged forty-six years, a profound student and deep thinker, who was the contemporary of such master minds as Smith, Hume, Reid, Kames, Robertson, and Blair, from whose companionship he had imbibed deeply of philosophical ideas; in contests with the church he had acquired principles of free thought and a liberty of opinion, that led him early to espouse the cause of liberty as manifested in the resistance of the colonies to the oppressions of the mother country. He stopped with no half way measures, but took an important part in the discussions that preceded the adoption of the declaration of independence, and hesitated not a moment in signing that document. Later he was prominent in forming the confederation of states, and in the Congress, from the beginning to the close of the war, took an active part.

Fortunate, indeed, were the youth of that day who were brought into intimate companionship with one of the superior mental endowments of Dr. Witherspoon. Mr. Madison remained under his instruction three years as an undergraduate, finally completing the prescribed course in 1771, receiving the degree of bachelor of arts. During the three years passed at Princeton, the curriculum of the college had been enlarged to correspond with the learning of its president, and embraced as additions a more comprehensive course in mathematics, physical science, moral philosophy, public law and politics, history, the art of literary composition, and criticism. To the course thus arranged the student brought habits of thought and research, rare in so young a man. That he assimilated the good found in such a system of study, is apparent in the results attested by the able and compre-

hensive state papers that were the labor of his mature life, and are yet regarded as models of their kind.

The grade of scholarship in Princeton was high, and to take no inferior position was the aim of the student. That close application was required is evident when it is known that such men as Mr. Henry, of Maryland, Brockholst Livingston, of New York, William Bradford, and Hugh H. Brackenridge, of Pennsylvania, Aaron Burr, Morgan Lewis, Aaron Ogden, and Henry Lee,—all of whom at some period in life occupied high places in state and nation,—were fellow-students of Madison in Princeton.

One result of the spirit of liberty infused into the young men of that day, was the formation of a society,—the American Whig society,—which survives to this time. Mr. Madison is reputed one of its founders. The close of his college course found Madison a devoted student. He determined on yet another year of study at his *alma mater*, under the private instruction of Dr. Witherspoon, for whom he had formed a strong friendship.

In 1772 Mr. Madison returned to Montpelier, where he proposed to devote himself still further to study. He was now twenty-one years of age, somewhat feeble in health, by reason of too close confinement and excessive study. Habit could not easily be broken, and he employed his time in an extensive course of reading for his own improvement, besides superintending the instruction of his younger brothers and sisters, and maintaining correspondence with young men of kindred tastes who had been his classmates and friends in college. His most intimate friend and associate had been William Bradford, of Pennsylvania, who became an officer in the revolutionary army, afterward judge of the supreme court of Pennsylvania, and attorney-general of the United States under President Washington. In their correspondence these young men discussed the leading political questions of the day. Their estimate of the course pursued by Great Britain in the impending conflict coincided. The attempt of the mother country to force the colonies to purchase tea shipped to America, aroused in them a spirit of indignation, and the action of Philadelphia, Boston, and other ports in refusing to receive it, met their unqualified approval.

Although nurtured in the bosom of the established church, Mr. Madison was strongly opposed to the course taken by the ecclesiastical authorities in the persecution of dissenters. Early in 1774 he wrote his friend Bradford in regard to the growing feeling against English oppression, in the following language: "I verily believe the frequent assaults that have been made on America (Boston especially,) will in the end prove of real advantage. If the church of England had been the established religion in all the northern colonies, as it has been among us here, and uninterrupted harmony had prevailed throughout the continent, it is clear to me that slavery and subjection might and would have been gradually insinuated among us.

Union in religious sentiment begets a surprising confidence, and ecclesiastical establishments tend to great ignorance and corruption, all of which facilitate the execution of mischievous projects." No form of tyranny is so revolting to human nature as that exercised over the mind; and no tyranny exercised over the mind of man is so abominable as that which seeks to enslave the conscience in matters of religion. That the persecution of other sects by the established church, under the sanction of law, roused the clear religious convictions of Mr. Madison, was in great part due to the principles he had developed in his college life—principles that stopped at nothing less than absolute freedom of mind, body, and estate.

When the legislature of Virginia met in May, 1774, and received news of the closing of the port of Boston and the removal of the custom house to Salem, in unison with the spirit pervading the entire country at the time, that body strongly condemned the retaliatory measures of the mother country, and passed resolutions setting apart the 1st of June as a day of fasting, humiliation, and prayer. As soon as these facts came to the ear of the royal governor, Lord Dunmore, he dissolved the house of burgesses. This act did not have the effect to intimidate the members, who soon reassembled in the "Apollo," the long private room of the Raleigh tavern, and there formed themselves into a voluntary association to "deliberate on those general measures which the united interests of America may, from time to time require." At a subsequent meeting a resolution was passed inviting the other colonies to a congress to be holden for consideration of the grave subjects then at issue. At the same time a convention was called, to meet at Williamsburg on the 1st of August following, to appoint delegates to the general congress. On the 5th of September the congress met at Philadelphia, and took steps that eventually led to the declaration of independence.

While the congress was yet in session the troops of Virginia, by a hard-fought battle at Point Pleasant, conquered the Indians who had for years been committing devastation on her borders. The campaign which had been so decisive in disposing of the lurking foe in the west, was concluded none too soon. The events that had already taken place had aroused in the people a demand for war, and the work of embodying and drilling additional troops was at once begun. In each county was raised one independent company of one hundred men, making the Virginia contingent to consist of six thousand troops, armed and equipped at their own expense. The burden of raising a company in the county of Orange fell on the elder Madison, as county lieutenant. There was no lack of enthusiasm, and difficulty was experienced in limiting the company to the prescribed number, men who had served as officers in previous Indian wars being eager to take place in the ranks. The committee of public safety in Orange was composed of such men as Madison, Taylor, Barbour Taliafero, James

Madison, Jr., was associated with these older members, in the consideration of measures for defense.

The 19th of April, 1775, will be ever memorable in the history of the country, in that on that day occurred at Lexington and Concord, the first conflict between the colonists and the soldiers of the king. This was the first overt act of hostility in a war that lasted nearly eight years, and assured the independence of the colonies. The day following the engagement at Concord and Lexington, April 20th, Lord Dunmore dispatched a small body of marines from the sloop-of war *Magdalen*, lying in the James river, to remove the powder from the store-house at Williamsburg. Under cover of night the object was accomplished without loss, and some fifteen or twenty barrels of powder were removed. This action of the royal governor roused the people, and kindled a flame of indignation that spread throughout the province. So soon as the news of this exploit was received at Fredericksburg, a meeting of the independent company was called, at which it was resolved that they hold themselves in readiness to march, as light-horse, to Williamsburg on the following Saturday, the 29th of April. At the same time the officers of the company drew up a letter addressed to independent companies in the neighborhood, and inviting their co-operation in the projected enterprise. Before the appointed day, fourteen companies, comprising upward of six hundred men, well mounted and equipped, assembled in Fredericksburg. As they were about to start on the expedition, a letter was received from the Hon. Peyton Randolph, late speaker of the house of burgesses, advising them to moderation, stating that the governor had given full assurance of satisfaction regarding the gunpowder. In deference to his wishes the expedition was temporarily abandoned; at the same time the assembled patriots were bold in the expression of their opinions as to the course to be pursued in the future; as they said: "Considering the just rights and liberty of America to be greatly endangered by the violent and hostile proceedings of an arbitrary ministry, and being firmly resolved to resist such attempts at the hazard of our lives and fortunes, we do now pledge ourselves to each other to be in readiness, at a moment's warning, to re-assemble, and by force of arms to defend the law, the liberty, and rights of this or any sister colony, from unjust and wicked invasion." Instead of the traditional formula used by the royal governor in concluding his proclamations—"God save the king"—they closed with the sounding words, "God save the liberties of America."

A few days later, Patrick Henry, captain of the Hanover independent company, becoming satisfied Lord Dunmore had no intention of making restitution of the powder, assembled his men with the purpose of "making reprisals upon the king's property sufficient to replace the gunpowder taken out of the magazine." A detachment was sent to the residence of the receiver-general, in King William county, he having control of the fiscal

affairs of the province, but not finding him at home it rejoined the company at Doncastle's ordinary, sixteen miles from Williamsburg. Here the party remained until the following morning, when the receiver-general sent Mr. Henry his bill of exchange for three hundred and thirty pounds sterling, the estimated value of the munitions removed from the magazine, for which the latter gave his receipt, and withdrew, with his command, to their homes.

The bold achievement of Patrick Henry and his company, received the cordial approval of patriots everywhere, and in no county were the manifestations of delight more enthusiastic than in Orange. The committee of that county, in the handwriting of James Madison, expressed its approbation of the course pursued by the Hanover militia, and formulated an address to "Captain Patrick Henry and the gentlemen independents of Hanover." The address was signed by James Madison, chairman; James Madison, Jr., James Taylor, Thomas Barbour, Lawrence Taliaferro, and sixty others. Not long after, the case of Rev. Mr. Wingate, charged with having in his possession various pamphlets calling in question the acts of Congress, which he refused to give to the committee upon their application, called for decided action. The papers were at length peremptorily demanded, and given up under protest. After examination they were found to be so inimical to the cause of the colonies that they were ordered burnt, which order was carried out in presence of the militia and a large concourse of people. The resolution condemning them was prepared and written by the younger Madison.

From the dissolution of the house of burgesses in May, 1774, the cause of the king had steadily declined in strength. The course pursued by the militia in regard to the seizure of the gunpowder, and other actions of the people condemnatory of his policy as governor, convinced Lord Dunmore that he was losing all hold in the colony. He thereupon issued a proclamation denouncing the rebellious practices of the king's subjects, and threatened them with the vengeance of offended majesty should they not immediately return to their former allegiance. On the occasion of some commotion in Williamsburg he proposed burning the town, and arming the slaves against their masters, should his will not be obeyed. The last session of the royal legislature was called to meet at Williamsburg, June 1, 1775, to consider the "conciliatory propositions" of Lord North. Soon after it convened the governor took refuge on the ship of war *Fowey*, then riding at anchor in the York river, being fearful the people might cause injury to himself or family. The legislature remained in session until the 24th of June, when it adjourned, to meet again the 12th day of October. Before that day arrived, the war of the revolution had broken all ties between king and people.

A convention of delegates, chosen by the people, assembled in Rich-

mond, on July 17, 1775, and among other things passed resolutions for the enlistment and arming of two regiments of regular soldiers, and sixteen battalions of militia, besides six companies of independent militia for service on the border. Patrick Henry was appointed colonel of the first regiment, and commander in chief of the forces in Virginia. A committee of safety was appointed, to which, owing to the hostile attitude of the royal governor, was confided, for the time being, the government of the province. At the same time they declared their allegiance to King George the Third, as their lawful sovereign. Even at this late date there were not wanting those who believed the king would himself take steps to counteract the oppressive measures instituted by his advisers, and that peace would again be assured under the powerful protection of the government themselves and their fathers had served for so many generations.

The second continental Congress had assembled at Philadelphia some months previous to this, and May 29, 1775, it passed resolutions for securing some effective mode of defense in the colonies; and at the same time, in obedience to the wishes of certain members, drew up a second petition to the king, which was presented to parliament, and by it denounced as a scheme to quiet the government until the provinces were fully prepared for the establishment of an independent empire in the west. On the 15th of June, Congress provided for the direction of the army by appointing George Washington commander in chief, with four major-generals, eight brigadiers, and an adjutant-general, as his subordinates; it also voted three millions of dollars for the arming and subsistence of the military forces of the colonies. Other action was taken, among the most important being a declaration setting forth the causes that led to the taking up of arms; that this had not been done with the design of separating from Great Britain and establishing independent states. This document was the joint production of Mr. Dickinson and Mr. Jefferson, and was read section by section and discussed by the full house previous to its adoption.

CHAPTER II.

CHOSEN DELEGATE IN VIRGINIA CONVENTION—ELECTED TO CONGRESS.

THE condition of his health had prevented Mr. Madison entering the army, much as he desired so to do on the breaking out of hostilities. Many of his college associates had obtained commissions in the service, as had his younger brother, Ambrose. Broken down and debilitated by excessive study, he was unable to endure the hardships and privations of the camp and field, and perforce denied himself the service which he would have esteemed a privilege. Connected, as he was, with the committee of his county, he manifested zeal and energy in the prosecution of the duties that lay near him, and the exercise required in the performance of these duties was of benefit to his health. His association with the people of the county had shown them the material of which he was made, and with united voice he was called to represent them as a delegate in the convention, called to meet at Williamsburg the 6th of May, 1776. He was then twenty-five years of age, and with perhaps one or two exceptions, the youngest delegate in the convention. His associates were the most prominent persons in the province—such men as Richard Bland, the Lees, Patrick Henry, George Mason, Pendleton, Nicholas, Wythe, and Cary. Edmund Pendleton was chosen presiding officer. Business was expedited during the first few days of the session, and on the 15th the convention resolved itself into committee of the whole on the state of the country. Mr. Cary, chairman of the committee of the whole, presented resolutions that are historical, in that by them Virginia took the initiative in declaring for independence from Great Britain. The concluding paragraph of the resolutions instructed the delegates in Congress "to propose to that body to declare the united colonies free and independent states, absolved from all allegiance to or dependence on the crown or parliament of Great Britain, and that they give the assent of this colony to such declaration, and to whatever measures may be thought proper and necessary by the congress for forming foreign alliances, and a

confederation of the colonies." In the absence of any proof to the contrary, it is believed the authorship of these resolutions rests with Edmund Pendleton, the chairman of the convention. The Virginia delegates in Congress presented these resolutions to that body the 7th of June; on the 8th and 10th they were discussed, and on the last named day a committee was appointed to prepare a declaration in accordance with the resolutions. This was subscribed by the members of Congress on the 4th of July, 1776.

Not less important and far reaching in its results was the subsequent work of the convention. On the day which witnessed the instruction to the delegates in Congress, was taken the first step in the formation of a new state government. A committee, consisting of twenty-eight members, was appointed to frame a "declaration of rights and such plan of government as will be most likely to maintain peace and order in this colony, and secure substantial and equal liberty to the people." This committee was composed of the ablest men of an exceptionally able convention, Cary, Nicholas, Henry, Bland, Lee, Blair, and others being among the more prominent. The day following its appointment, James Madison, who had come out from behind his veil of modesty, and been recognized by the convention as among the ablest of the younger members, was added to the committee; and the day after, George Mason, who was to become the great leader of the committee in its labors, was appointed and took his seat. On the 27th of May the select committee reported the declaration of rights to the convenion, which, on the 10th of June, resolved itself into committee of the whole, for discussion. Two days later it was adopted by the convention, after some slight verbal alterations, and has stood the test of time, not a word or letter having been altered, although since that time the state of Virginia has had three constitutions. Some of its leading features have been incorporated into the constitution of other states, and into amendments to the constitution of the United States. The name of George Mason deserves equal fame with that of Thomas Jefferson, as the author of one of the most important state papers of this continent. Among the verbal changes suggested was that relating to freedom of religious opinions. Mr. Madison objected to the use of the word "toleration" in the declaration: "All men should, therefore, enjoy the fullest toleration in the exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience, unpunished and unrestrained by the magistrate, unless, under color of religion any man disturb the peace, the happiness, or the safety of society." He had seen much of the intolerance of toleration, and had vowed within himself to do what lay in his power for the relief of the oppressed sectaries. Freedom he held, should imply liberty of conscience as well as liberty of action. Feeling, as he did, his presumption in differing from men so much older, and perhaps wiser than himself, the justice of his cause alone sustained him in presenting it to the convention. His amendment was, in substance, accepted by the convention,

and adopted in this form: "That religion, or the duty we owe to the Creator, and the manner of discharging it, can be directed only by reason and conviction, not by force or violence, and, therefore, all men are equally entitled to the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience."

Discussion of the constitution and plan of government was continued until the 27th of June, when it was adopted in full convention. In its construction it was by no means perfect, but as a constitution on which to rear the structure of a state, it answered the purpose for the time being. The constitution had but just been adopted, when was presented to the convention a plan prepared by Thomas Jefferson, and forwarded by special messenger, in the expectation that it would be received before definite action should be taken. Its late arrival prevented its consideration, but the preamble prepared by Mr. Jefferson was adopted.

Immediately after the adoption of the constitution, the convention proceeded to the election of a governor and council, upon whom should devolve administration of the affairs of the new state. Patrick Henry was chosen governor. Provision was then made for military defense, for the election of senators, and for the assembling of the legislative branch of government. The convention adjourned the 5th of July, to meet at Williamsburg in the following October, as a house of delegates, to serve with the senate as the general assembly of the commonwealth of Virginia.

On the 7th of October, 1776, convened the first general assembly of the state of Virginia. As a member of the convention which framed the constitution and put in motion the wheels of the new government, Mr. Madison took his seat in that body. Here he first met Thomas Jefferson, and formed that intimate acquaintance which continued without a break during the lives of both. Possessed of much the same views on the leading subjects before the assembly, and before the Congress of the colonies, they were not long strangers. In his autobiography Mr. Jefferson speaks of the young legislator in the following terms: "Mr. Madison came into the house in 1776, a new member and young; which circumstances, concurring with his extreme modesty, prevented his venturing himself in debate before his removal to the council of state in November, 1777. From thence he went to Congress, then consisting of few members. Trained in these successive schools, he acquired a habit of self possession, which placed at ready command the rich resources of his luminous and discriminating mind, and of his extensive information, and rendered him the first of every assembly afterwards of which he became a member. Never wandering from his subject into vain declamation, but pursuing it closely in language pure, classical, and copious, soothing always the feelings of his adversaries by civilities and softness of expression, he rose to the eminent station which he held in the great national convention of 1787; and in that of Virginia, which followed,

he sustained the new constitution in all its parts, bearing off the palm against the logic of George Mason and the fervid declamation of Mr. Henry. With these consummate powers was united a pure and spotless virtue, which no calumny has ever attempted to sully."

The legislature remained in session three months, and adjourned December 21st. At that time its meetings were semi-annual—in May and October. A new election of delegates took place in April, 1777. For years it had been the custom of candidates for office to mingle with the people and spend money freely in "treats." A candidate who refused to follow this custom was usually defeated. Mr. Madison was by nature diffident; beside, he was opposed to the perpetuation of such a system, and did not take the course calculated to continuance in office. As a consequence, he saw two men, of inferior abilities, elected to seats in the legislature, while he was left in private life. On the 13th of November the two houses elected him member of the council of state, in which office he was intimately associated with the governor and a number of the most influential men of the state. Here his duties were such that he was forced into overcoming his habitual diffidence, and was thus fitted for the more responsible stations that awaited him in the future. He acquired a habit of self-possession and ease in the presentation of his views, that was of great value to him in debate, and rendered him one of the most powerful of the able men then in the halls of legislation, both state and national. At that time the only one among the executive council familiar with foreign languages, he was an invaluable aid to Mr. Henry in meeting the many foreign officers then in the service of the country.

In the summer of 1779 was terminated the service of Mr. Henry as governor, he having occupied the chair of executive during the three years limited by the constitution. He was succeeded by Thomas Jefferson; Mr. Madison remained a member of the executive council a few months under his administration, when he was elected to a seat in Congress.

On the 14th of December, 1779, the general assembly of Virginia elected four delegates to the continental Congress. She had limited the number to five, and the term of service to three years. One member, Mr. Cyrus Griffin, retained his seat to fill an unexpired term. The persons elected in place of the retiring delegates were Joseph Jones, James Henry, John Walker, and James Madison. The time was one of discouragement for the American cause; the finances of the country were at a low ebb; it required forty dollars in the depreciated paper currency of the confederation to equal in value one dollar in silver; the time of service of many of the troops was about expiring, or had already expired, and no effective force could be brought forward to successfully cope with the lately victorious enemy. It was a perplexing question where to turn for ways and means of defense and offense, but the question must be met. To the subject of finance

Mr. Madison devoted much study, endeavoring to avoid the extremes which had wrecked other governments. His aim was to establish a governmental credit founded on the basis of moral and legal order, justice, and public faith. Congress awoke to the importance of renewed action, and measures were taken to increase the army to thirty-five thousand men; the states were called upon to raise by taxes the sum of six millions of dollars in silver or bills redeemable in specie. At the same time a letter was dispatched to the king of France soliciting a loan, and pledging the faith of the United States for its payment.

It was deemed important at this time to secure the active co-operation of Spain in an effort to drive British men-of-war from the coast, thereby greatly reducing the efficiency of their land forces. In the negotiations pending with Spain, the subject of the right of the United States to the unobstructed navigation of the Mississippi river became a subject of contention. Spain denied the right claimed by the United States, and a long correspondence followed. Congress passed resolutions instructing the commissioners who were conducting the negotiations to abate nothing of their claims, and at the same time appointed a committee consisting of Mr Madison, Mr. Sullivan, of New Hampshire, and Mr. Duane, of New York, to indite a letter to the ministers, embodying the spirit of the resolutions. On Mr. Madison fell the duty of preparing this letter, which has ever been considered among the ablest documents of its kind. In it he exhaustively considers the subject in all its bearings, and conclusively shows wherein it would be as impolitic as it is impossible that the United States should give up all right to this great artery for the transportation of her western produce to the sea, and thence to foreign markets.

The position assumed by the United States on this question was eventually modified, and left for future settlement. Not until near the close of the war was Spain induced to become a party to the conflict, and then her part was principally that of self-aggrandizement. Instead of directly aiding the United States, she was the means of diverting certain troops and munitions of war from America, by engaging with France in an attempt to conquer some portion of England's possessions in the Mediterranean. Spain having espoused the cause of France and the colonies as against Great Britain, Russia and Austria became fearful of a general European war, and proffered their services as mediators. Owing, however, to the non-conciliatory policy of England, no progress was made in these efforts. During the early winter of 1782, appeared a change in the tone of the British ministry, and a resolution "against the further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America," was carried in the house of commons, February 27th. Soon thereafter a bill was introduced "to enable his majesty to conclude a truce or peace with the revolted colonies of America." One of the most important provisions in the pre-

liminary articles was that relating to the fisheries, and to this subject Mr. Madison devoted much care and labor; to him in no small degree belongs credit for placing our fisheries on a par with those of the North American provinces of Great Britain. He was an active member of every committee appointed to report at various stages of the subject, and many, if not all the reports, emanated from his pen. The preliminaries for a general peace were signed at Paris, January 20th, 1783, but the news did not reach Congress until March 23d, and it was not until some time later that the treaty was ratified. In the many great public measures that were brought forward during the consideration of terms of peace, until the spring of 1783, Mr. Madison took an active part. In the formation of an efficient system of revenue and finance he was prominently engaged; in the settlement of terms by which Virginia ceded to the government the territory west of the Alleghanies and north of the Ohio, now forming five states, he was an active participant; in all matters of public weal he was among the foremost.

The laws of Virginia provided that a delegate should not serve in Congress more than three consecutive years, and should then be disqualified from holding the same office during a further period of three years. The original term for which Mr. Madison was elected expired in the autumn of 1782. In May of that year the legislature repealed the law in order that his invaluable services might be longer retained, and he was elected to serve one year more. In the fall of 1783 he necessarily retired, having, during his entire service of four years, rarely been absent from his post, and when such absence was necessary, for as short a time as possible. During the later years of the war, very many members of the Congress were much of the time absent from their duties, and there was the more need that he should remain at his post.

CHAPTER III.

A SECOND TERM OF SERVICE IN THE LEGISLATURE.

AFTER spending some weeks in Philadelphia, Mr. Madison returned to Montpelier. He had come to feel the need of an understanding of the law, and after renewing acquaintance with his neighbors, began reading legal works. This study he continued, with some interruptions, for several years. He was then thirty-two years of age, with settled habits, and a good degree of health. In intervals of his studies, which were pursued without a master, he carried on a friendly correspondence with the Marquis de Lafayette, and with Thomas Jefferson, who was his successor, as he had been his predecessor in Congress. His home in the county of Orange was but thirty miles distant from Monticello, near which place was also the residence of James Monroe, then a rising young man, a student at law with Mr. Jefferson. Never did Mr. Madison make professional use of his knowledge of law, but in the discussion of state and international questions in after life it proved invaluable.

In April, 1784, eight years after his first service in the legislature of his native state, he was again elected by his county, to a seat in the general assembly. Among his associates were Patrick Henry, the late governor of the state; Richard Henry Lee, who had retired from Congress in 1779; John Marshall, afterward chief justice of the United States; Spencer Roane, afterward president of the Virginia court of appeals; Henry Tazewell, William Grayson, John Taylor, and William Carey Nicholas, future senators of the United States; John Breckenridge, future attorney-general of the United States; Joseph Jones, late of the Congress; and Braxton, Tyler, Stuart, Ronald, Thruston, Corbin, and Page, mostly young men of unquestioned ability. Mr. Henry and Mr. Lee were the acknowledged leaders in the house, as they were the seniors of their fellow-members.

At the organization of the house he was placed on several important committees, being assigned the chairmanship of the committee of com-

merce in which he was instrumental in the passage of measures for the protection of the interests of the planters of Virginia. He favored the concentration of the export and import trade at one or two ports. The agents of British merchants had been accustomed to trade directly with producers along the rivers, purchasing products at a low price and charging exorbitant rates for all goods they sold. As England would not allow of free trade with her West India possessions it was considered desirable that her trade with the states be curtailed. With this end in view an act was finally passed restraining all foreign vessels from indiscriminate trading, and limiting them to certain ports. Strong efforts were made to concentrate all foreign trade at two ports, but in order to the passage of the act concession was made, allowing of five ports of entry—Norfolk, Alexandria, York, Tappahannock, and Bermuda Hundred. At subsequent sessions of the legislature efforts were made to repeal the act, which, though not successful, caused the addition of other ports of entry, thus dividing the trade of the country, and tending to reduce the value of its products. At this time, few vessels other than those sailing under the British flag, touched at Virginia ports, while in the leading ports of the country—Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore—vessels of all nations were constant traders. In the Philadelphia market, tobacco, the staple product of Virginia, commanded twenty cents more than at ports in the state wherein it was raised. The far-seeing Madison was strongly opposed by local considerations, and it was only by sustained effort that the measure remained on the statute book.

In connection with port regulation, came up the subject of the boundary between Virginia and Maryland. The charter to Lord Baltimore defined the boundary of his land as the southern shore of the Potomac river, and in the constitution of 1776, Virginia had released to Maryland all land comprised in her charter. This might lead to a conflict of interests in the enforcement of commercial restrictions. Mr. Madison early saw the result to be apprehended, and wrote Mr. Jefferson, then a delegate in Congress, to obtain an expression of the opinion of the Maryland delegates in reference to the subject. He claimed Virginia had not given exclusive control of the river to Maryland, but demanded the right of legislation over and occupancy of that half bordering her shore. By priority of title, under the original patent Virginia was entitled to control the entire river adjoining the northern neck. In order to definite action he introduced a resolution, on the 28th of June, providing for the appointment of four commissioners, to meet an equal number of commissioners to be appointed by the state of Maryland, and take into consideration such measures concerning the control of the river as would be advantageous to the two states, and make report thereon to the general assembly. This joint commission met at Mount Vernon, March 28, 1785, and prepared a report to be submitted to the respective state legislatures for the definite adjustment of jurisdiction over Chesapeake bay and

the Potomac river. The discussion of this subject brought up another—the system of duties on imports and exports, and uniform regulations in commerce and currency. A supplementary report was adopted in committee, recommending legislation to these ends. The recommendation was first acted upon by Maryland, and by her legislature was commended to the consideration of the general assemblies of Pennsylvania and Delaware.

Mr. Madison had been one of the commissioners on behalf of Virginia, and the action of the legislature of Maryland in the premises becoming known to him, he was encouraged in the belief that concert of action among the several states might, at that stage, be agreed upon. He had long desired to have Congress invested with more authority in the government of the confederation, and had previously made efforts to that end; in consequence, he was regarded in an unfavorable light by some members of the state legislature, when matters relating to the powers of Congress came before that body. To avoid this, having prepared a suitable resolution, he prevailed upon his colleague, Mr. Tyler, to present it to the house. Near the close of the session it was taken up, and was passed the 21st of January, 1786. The resolution provided for the appointment of delegates from each of the states, to meet at a time and place to be agreed upon, "in order to take into consideration the trade of the United States; to examine the relative situation and trade of the said states; to consider how far a uniform system in their commercial regulations may be necessary to their common interest and permanent harmony; and to report to the several states such an act, relative to this great object, as, when unanimously ratified by them, will enable the United States in Congress effectually to provide for the same." The commissioners first named were Edmund Randolph, Dr. Walter Jones, James Madison, St. George Tucker, and Meriwether Smith. The Senate added the names of Colonel Mason and David Ross. This movement eventually led to the holding of the convention that framed the Constitution.

Among the early measures taken by the legislature, was the appointment, in 1776, of a commission of five members, for the purpose of a complete revisal of the common law of the state. The labor of revision fell upon Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Pendleton, and Mr. Wythe, and resulted in the compilation of one hundred and twenty-six bills. Of these a few were brought before the house from time to time, and passed as the need for the regulation they covered became pressing; by far the greater portion was withheld for the time, owing to accumulation of other business. In the passage of these bills Mr. Madison took a leading part, and deeming it advisable that the people should understand their provisions, he introduced a resolution causing a limited number of copies to be printed and circulated in every county in the state. Further prosecution of the work was deferred until the next meeting of the legislature

During this session of the legislature numerous petitions were received alleging a decline in public morals, and soliciting a general system of taxation to provide for the settlement of religious teachers, all of which was in the interest of the Episcopal form of religion. Petitions were also received from dissenters—Baptists and Presbyterians, asking that "religious freedom be established upon the broad basis of perfect political equality;" the Episcopal church asked for the repeal of all laws which interfered with their power of self-government. The committee of religion reported, favoring the incorporation of the Episcopal and Presbyterian churches, and such other denominations as should apply for incorporation. However, a bill for the incorporation of the Episcopal church was the only one brought in, and it was left over until the ensuing session. In October it was again taken up and championed by Mr. Henry, who claimed that a direct tax for the support of religion should be paid by the people of the state, and a resolution of that import passed the House. Even the Presbyterian church, so long accustomed to Episcopal supremacy, favored the passage of a law for the support of religion. Mr. Madison stood almost alone in opposition; he had studied the effect of the bill in all its bearings, and had witnessed the oppression already practiced upon the less influential sects in some of the counties.

During the same legislative session a resolution had been passed by a large majority, in favor of the "incorporation of all societies of the Christian religion which may apply for the same." A bill was brought in for the incorporation of "the clergy of the Protestant Episcopal church." This was afterward amended to include the laity. Mr. Madison was opposed to it, but gave it his vote, deeming that the best manner in which to defeat the more objectionable measure proposed. On the day of its passage the bill "establishing a provision for teachers of the Christian religion," was considered in committee of the whole. After three days' discussion, further action was postponed until the fourth Thursday in the following November, which carried it one day beyond the limit of the current term of the legislature. The bill was ordered printed, and copies were sent to all parts of the commonwealth in order to obtain an expression of the opinion of the people. This was an opportunity which was improved by Mr. Madison with zeal and eloquence, and the copies were returned to the legislature with long lists of names registered in opposition. The bill was effectually disposed of, and taxation in support of religious societies was never again considered.

CHAPTER IV.

MEMBER OF CONGRESS AND OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.

THE earlier part of the legislative vacation in the spring and summer of 1785, was devoted by Mr. Madison to a continuation of his law studies, and later was relieved by a few weeks of travel in the North, during which he visited Philadelphia and New York. The preceding summer he had passed in the western woods; this year he had received a pressing invitation from Mr. Jefferson, to spend a few months with him in Paris, but various reasons prevented this, chief among which was the break it would produce in his law studies; besides, the time was too limited for such a trip as he would wish to take. During this year he received the compliment of the degree of doctor of laws from the college of William andMary—an honor as deserved as it was unsought. His correspondence with various friends was continued, and the proceedings in Congress were carefully noted.

The next session of the legislature convened the 17th of October, 1785. To Mr. Madison was again assigned the chairmanship of the commitee on courts of justice; but the regulation of commerce demanded immediate action. Petitions were received from various quarters soliciting relief; it was claimed that the course of England in permitting none but British vessels the privilege of trade with the West Indies, had done much to injure the American merchant marine; no vessels were building, and even the coastwise trade was in the hands of foreigners. The subject was discussed in committee of the whole, Mr. Madison leading in the debate, and delivering a speech of great power, in which he indicated what seemed to him the proper course to pursue. A resolution was adopted declaring that "an act ought to pass to authorize the delegates of this state in Congress to give the assent of the state to a general regulation of the commerce of the United States, under certain qualifications." A supplementary resolution was then adopted, instructing the delegates in Congress to propose such recommendations as would comply with the spirit of the foregoing resolution. After

discussion this was amended, limiting to a period of thirteen years such commercial restrictions as were deemed necessary. This destroyed the force of the resolution, and it was allowed to remain on the table.

The proposition for a general convention to frame a constitution and erect a permanent form of government, originated in New York in July, 1782, and was again proposed by Massachusetts in 1785; neither of these propositions, however, was productive of the effect sought. It fell to Virginia, and to her eminent statesman, James Madison, to take the initiative. This was done in the presentation of a resolution, through his friend Mr. Tyler, which was then furthered in a well considered speech by its author. A committee of seven was appointed, with Edmund Pendleton as chairman. The other members were Dr. Walter Jones, James Madison, St. George Tucker, Meriwether Smith, David Ross, and Mr. Ronald. The latter declined to serve, leaving the delegation to consist of six members. Of the states in the confederation, but nine appointed delegates; and of these, five only were represented in the convention that assembled in Annapolis, September 11, 1786. Delegates were present from Virginia, Delaware, Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey. Under these circumstances it was deemed inexpedient to proceed, and a resolution was adopted expressing the wish that "speedy measures may be taken to effect a general meeting of the states in a future convention for the same and such other purposes as the condition of public affairs may be found to require." It was suggested that delegates be again appointed, and that another general convention be held at Philadelphia in the following May.

On the 4th of December following, the Virginia legislature appointed a second committee, consisting of George Washington, Patrick Henry, Edmund Randolph, John Blair, James Madison, and George Wythe. Mr. Henry declined to serve, and Dr. James McClurg was appointed in his stead. The second convention having for its object a revisal of the articles of confederation, met in Philadelphia May 9, 1787. The obstacles to be overcome in accomplishing this work were many, and comprised chartered rights; state sovereignties; the rights of corporate companies; collisions of interests; differences regarding boundaries; beside many other points that occurred to delegates and were brought forward for discussion. It is doubtful if any other plan of union than that then existing, had at the time been entertained. When a change was first suggested in the convention, it was considered preposterous, the greater number of the delegates adhering to the original plan of a simple revision of the existing articles of confederation. Gradually the idea of a more definite and comprehensive union gained adherents, and before the close of the four months' deliberation, was definitely decided upon, and a rough draft of the articles was prepared. Report was then made before the convention, and a committee of five, of which Mr. Madison was one, was appointed to arrange and revise the

articles. This being concluded to the satisfaction of the convention, and the form thus prepared adopted, the committee was continued and instructed to prepare an address to the people.

Immediately following the acceptance of the Constitution by the convention, a resolution passed for laying it before Congress. Mr. Madison, who was a member of Congress as well as of the convention, arrived in New York September 24th, a few days after the proposed constitution had been delivered to that body. He found some of its articles had been criticized by Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, and Nathan Deane, of Massachusetts, who declared that the new constitution should not be submitted to the people by the body that had derived its existence from the present constitution of federation. Mr. Madison was equal to the occasion, and reminded Congress that it had recommended the convention as a proper means for obtaining "a firm, national government," and that it ill became members to propose captious objections to the carrying forward of a plan they had themselves endorsed. The difficulties encountered in the hall of Congress were overcome, and on the 28th the following resolution was adopted: "Congress having received the report of the convention lately assembled in Philadelphia, resolve unanimously that the said report, with the resolutions and letter accompanying the same, be transmitted to the several legislatures, in order to be submitted to a convention of delegates chosen in each state by the people thereof, in conformity to the resolves of the convention made and provided in that case." This result was undoubtedly due, in great measure, to the influence of Mr. Madison. The Constitution was then placed in the hands of the people, where its merits and demerits were fully and impartially discussed.

During the months that followed, Mr. Madison, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Jay contributed to the Federalist a series of essays explanatory of the principles of government, discussing every phase that could in any manner or by any possibility affect the Constitution, or be affected by it. The collection comprised eighty-five essays, of which number it is known Mr. Madison wrote twenty-nine, while Mr. Hamilton was the author of the greater part of the remainder.

On the 1st of October, 1787, the board of trustees and faculty of Princeton college conferred on Mr. Madison the degree of doctor of laws. In forwarding him the diploma a few weeks later, Dr. Witherspoon thus addressed him:

"SIR,—The diploma for the degree of doctor of laws, which the trustees and faculty of this college did themselves the honor of conferring on you last commencement, ought to have been sent long ago but, as there are no printed forms for the honorary degree, we often find it difficult to get them properly executed. This occasioned a little delay, which has been protracted to a very blamable length. It now accompanies this letter; and

I hope you will have no difficulty in believing that all concerned in this college were not barely willing, but proud of the opportunity of paying some attention to, and giving testimony of their approbation of, one of their own sons who has done them so much honor by his public conduct. And, as it has been my peculiar happiness to know, perhaps more than any of them, your usefulness in an important station, on that and some other accounts, there was none to whom it gave more satisfaction."

The legislature of Delaware was first to ratify the Constitution, which it did by an unanimous vote December 7, 1787. Pennsylvania, by a vote of forty-six to twenty-three, did the same on the 12th of December, and on the 18th New Jersey gave her assent without an opposing vote. On the 2d of January following, Georgia wheeled into line with unanimity, and one week later Connecticut subscribed to the Constitution by a vote of one hundred and twenty-eight to forty. Thus far no serious opposition had been encountered, but the assembling of the convention of Massachusetts January 9th, produced a check to further progress, and it required four weeks of discussion, followed by the adoption of a proposition for amendment to accompany the Constitution, before it was ratified, by a majority of but nineteen in a body of three hundred and forty-five members present. The New Hampshire convention next met, February 19th. So intense a degree of opposition was here met that the friends of the movement deemed it best to adjourn until the third Wednesday in June, in order to allow of further informing the people regarding the provisions of the Constitution. The convention of Maryland assembled April 21st, and seven days later voted for ratification, sixty-three votes being given in its favor as against eleven opposed. The South Carolina convention was in session twelve days, and ratified the Constitution by a vote of one hundred and forty ayes to seventy-three nays. Eight states had now signified their assent to the adoption of the Constitution, while the ratification of nine states was required before its establishment among the number thus acting.

Throughout this period Mr. Madison had kept up a continuous correspondence with leading men in each of the states, in which he had learned the probable amount of opposition that would be encountered, and had given advice and encouragement to pursue unflinchingly a consistent course in urging the adoption of the Constitution. Virginia was the ninth state in order, to consider the claims of the Constitution in convention, and from the information he possessed of the opposition to be there encountered, and the character and standing of its opponents, he felt that the issue was in doubt. Two of the delegates from Virginia, Colonel Mason and Governor Randolph, had refused to sign the Constitution in the general convention, while Richard Henry Lee had been prompt in his opposition in Congress. General Washington, who had served as presiding officer in the convention, and was himself in favor of the Constitution, had sent copies of it to Patrick

Henry, General Thomas Nelson, and Colonel Benjamin Harrison. Each responded with expressions of personal esteem, but of aversion to the proposed change.

Against this powerful opposition were arrayed General Washington, James Madison, Mr. Blair, George Wythe, Edmund Pendleton, and some others of less prominence. The general assembly met at Richmond, October 15, 1787, and during the session settled upon Monday, the 2d day of June, 1788, for the assembling of the convention. Throughout the session the subject of ratification of the Constitution was uppermost in the thoughts of all. Though absent in Congress, Mr. Madison was kept so fully informed of the condition of affairs as to be able to take a comprehensive view of the field of public opinion there as elsewhere. The following letter addressed to Mr. Jefferson, then in Paris, under date December 9, 1787, gives his view of the situation at that time:

"The Constitution proposed by the late convention engrosses almost the whole political attention of America. All the legislatures, except that of Rhode Island, which have been assembled, have agreed in submitting it to state conventions. Virginia has set the example of opening a door for amendments, if the convention should choose to propose them. Maryland has copied it. The states which preceded referred the Constitution, as recommended by the general convention, to be ratified or rejected as it stands. The body of the people in Virginia—particularly in the upper and lower country, and in the northern neck—are, as far as I can gather, much disposed to adopt the new Constitution. The middle country and the south side of James river are principally in the opposition to it. As yet a large majority of the people are under the first description; as also, are a majority of the assembly. What change may be produced by the united influence of Mr. Henry, Mr. Mason, and the governor, with some pretty able auxiliaries, is uncertain. My information leads me to suppose there must be three parties in Virginia. The *first*, for adopting, without attempting amendments. This includes General Washington, and the other deputies who signed the Constitution; Mr. Pendleton, Mr. Marshall, I believe; Mr. Nicholas, Mr. Corbin, Mr. Zachariah Johnson, Colonel Innes, Mr. Beverly Randolph, I understand; Mr. Harvie, Mr. Gabriel Jones, Dr. Walter Jones, etc. At the head of the *second* party, which urges amendments, are the governor and Mr. Mason. These do not object to the substance of the government, but contend for a few additional guards in favor of the rights of the states and the people. I am not able to enumerate the characters who fall in with their ideas, as distinguished from the *third* class, at the head of which is Mr. Henry. This class concurs, at present, with the patrons of amendments; but will contend for such as strike at the essence of the system, and must lead to an adherence to the principle of the existing confederation,—which most thinking men are convinced

is a visionary one,—or to a partition of the Union into several confederacies. Mr. Harrison, the late governor, is with Mr. Henry. The general and admiralty courts, with most of the bar, oppose the Constitution; but on what particular grounds I am unable to say. General Nelson, Mr. John Page, Colonel Bland, etc., are also opponents; but on what principles, or to what extent, I am equally at a loss to say. In general, I must note that I speak, with respect to many of them, from information that may not be accurate, and merely as I should do in a free and confidential conversation with you. Mr. Henry is the great adversary who will render the event precarious. He is, I find, with his usual address, working up every possible interest into a spirit of opposition.

"It is worthy of remark, that, whilst in Virginia and some of the other states in the middle and southern districts of the Union, the men of intelligence, patriotism, property, and independent circumstances are thus divided, all of this description, with a few exceptions, in the eastern states and most of the middle states, are zealously attached to the proposed Constitution. It is not less worthy of remark, that in Virginia, where the mass of the people have been so much accustomed to be guided by their rulers on all new and intricate questions, they should on the present, which certainly surpasses the judgment of the greater part of them, not only go before, but contrary to, their most popular leaders; and the phenomenon is the more wonderful, as a popular ground is taken by all the adversaries of the new Constitution. Perhaps the solution in both these cases would not be very difficult; but it would lead to observations too diffusive, and to you unnecessary. I will barely observe, that the case in Virginia serves to prove that the body of sober and steady people, even of the lower order, are tired of the vicissitudes, injustice, and follies which have so much characterized public measures, and are impatient for some change which promises stability and repose."

The strongest opponents of the Constitution in Virginia, were undoubtedly Patrick Henry, Colonel Mason, and Richard Henry Lee. The weight of their influence was felt on all sides, but, as Mr. Madison states in the letter previously quoted, the people were in advance of their leaders The objections of Colonel Mason were at first limited, but eventually extended to condemnation of every article. The plan he followed was to alarm the people by prophesying a lapse into monarchy after a short trial of the unit system as a republic. Mr. Lee was actuated by much the same spirit; and Mr. Henry hesitated at no measure that could be furthered by his unmatched eloquence.

The adjournment of the legislature on the 8th of January, transferred the advocacy of and opposition to the Constitution to the broad field of the state. Into the contest for the election of delegates to the convention members carried with them the sentiments they had adhered to in the assembly.

Mr. Madison was still a member of Congress, which was then sitting in New York. On the 5th of February General Washington wrote him: "Many have asked me with anxious solicitation, if you did not mean to get into the convention, conceiving it of indispensable importance." Mr. Madison replied: "I have given notice to my friends in Orange, that the country may command my services in the convention if it pleases. I can say, with great truth, that in this overture I sacrifice every private inclination to considerations not of a selfish nature. I foresee that the undertaking will involve me in very laborious and irksome discussions; that public opposition to several very respectable characters, whose esteem and friendship I greatly prize, may unintentionally endanger the existing connection; and that disagreeable misconstructions, of which samples have been already given, may be the fruit of those exertions which fidelity will impose. But I have made up my determination on the subject; and, if I am informed that my presence at the election in the county be indispensable, I shall submit to that condition also, though it is my particular wish to decline it, as well to avoid apparent solicitude on the occasion, as a journey of such length at a very unpleasant season." Communications received soon after this from his friends in Orange county, decided Mr. Madison upon a journey to his home. Colonel William Moore, who had been his colleague in the state legislature, wrote him in the following terms, urging his presence: "You know the disadvantage of being absent at elections to those who offer themselves to serve the public. I must therefore entreat and conjure you—nay, command you, if it were in my power—to be here in February, or the first of March next. Pray don't disappoint the wishes of your friends and many others, who are wavering on the Constitution, and anxiously waiting for an explanation from you. In short, they want your sentiments *from your own mouth*, which they say will convince them of the necessity of adopting it. I repeat again, come."

Mr. Madison left New York on the 4th of March, calling, on his journey, at Mount Vernon, and reached his home the day preceding the election. The time was short, but such was the trust of his constituents in the integrity and wisdom of their representative, that he was elected a member of the convention, and strengthened by a colleague of his own opinion. The season was now so far advanced that he determined on remaining in Virginia until after the adjournment of the convention, which would meet in June.

During this interval the correspondence with Mr. Jefferson was continued, and so strong a sentiment did it express of his opinions regarding the Constitution, that to omit it here would be to do him an injustice. Under date April 22, 1788, he wrote as follows: "The proposed convention still engrosses the public attention. The elections for the convention here are just over, and promulged. From the returns (excluding those from

Kentucky, which are not yet known), it seems probable, though not absolutely certain, that a majority of the members elect are friends to the Constitution. The superiority of abilities, at least, seems to lie on that side. The governor [Randolph] is so temperate in his opposition, and goes so far with the friends of the Constitution, that he cannot properly be classed with its enemies. Monroe is considered by some as an enemy; but I believe him to be a friend, though a cool one. There are other individuals of weight, whose opinions are unknown to me. The adversaries take very different grounds of opposition. Some are opposed to the substance of the plan; others to particular modifications only. Mr. Henry is supposed to aim at disunion. Colonel Mason is growing every day more bitter and outrageous in his efforts to carry his point. The preliminary question will be, whether previous alterations shall be insisted on or not. Should this be carried in the affirmative, either a conditional ratification or a proposal for a new convention will ensue. In either event, I think the Constitution and the Union will be both endangered. It is not to be expected that the states which have ratified will reconsider their determinations, and submit to the alterations prescribed by Virginia. And, if a second convention should be formed, it is as little to be expected that the same spirit will prevail in it as produced an amicable result to the first. It will be easy, also, for those who have latent views of disunion to carry them on under the mask of contending for alterations, popular in some, but inadmissible in other, parts of the United States. The real sense of the people of the state cannot be easily ascertained. They are certainly attached, and with warmth, to a continuance of the Union; and, I believe, a large majority of the most intelligent and independent are equally so to the plan under consideration. . . ."

While Mr. Jefferson favored a revision of the articles of confederation and the adoption of a form of government that would unite the divergent interests of the country, he deemed certain features, and the lack of other express provisions, as grave mistakes. In a letter to Mr. Madison, dated December 20, 1787, he said: "I like much the general idea of framing a government which should go on of itself peaceably without needing continual recurrence to the state legislatures. I like the organization of the government into legislative, judiciary, and executive. I like the power given the legislature to levy taxes; and for that reason solely, I approve of the greater house being chosen by the people directly." There were objections on other points—in particular, the omission of a bill of rights; and the indefinite re-eligibility of the President. In all, he favored the adoption of the Constitution, by nine of the states, and the refusal by four of its ratification until such amendments as they should propose, were adopted, thus providing for covering the points he specially mentioned, as well as others that might in the future be brought forward. Or, in lieu of

this, to follow the plan proposed by Massachusetts,—accept the Constitution as a whole, and afterward amend. In letters addressed to General Washington and to Edward Rutledge, of South Carolina, written about this time, he thus spoke of Madison's connection with the ratification of the Constitution by Virginia: "He will be its main pillar; but, though an immensely powerful one, it is questionable whether he can bear the weight of such a host," referring to the strong intellects arrayed against him.

The convention of Virginia which assembled in Richmond, on Monday, June 2, 1788, was composed of one hundred and seventy members. Edmund Pendleton, one of the ablest and most influential of the many able men comprising the convention, was unanimously chosen president. After the election of other officers and the appointment of a committee of privileges and elections, the convention adjourned to the following day. On the 4th it resolved into committee of the whole. The interest of all classes was centered on the deliberations of the convention, and each day the lobbies were crowded with representative men of the state, beside many strangers from other states. Debate was opened by George Nicholas, who confined himself to the first two sections of the first article,—those relating to the organization of the House of Representatives. He was followed by Mr Henry, who brought the weight of his eloquence to bear against the Constitution, and went beyond the ground agreed upon in the early debate of the question. Governor Randolph replied to Mr. Henry, and was in turn met in argument by Colonel Mason. The discussion of the day was closed by Mr. Madison. It is to be regretted that the limits of this work will not allow of copious extracts from many of his speeches on this and on other occasions. The question of ratification of the Constitution was mainly discussed by the persons whose names have heretofore appeared, the burden of refuting the arguments of the opposition falling almost entirely upon Mr. Madison. With him each point was candidly considered; those bearing weight were allowed to stand, while those intended simply to influence the result, were torn in pieces, and their fallacies exposed. Mr. Jefferson expressed an opinion of Mr. Madison when in his prime, that well represents him in this convention. He says: "Taken all in all, he was the ablest man in debate I have ever met with He had not, indeed, the poetic fancy of Mr. Henry, his sublime imagination, his 'soft,' and overwhelming diction. But he was cool, smooth, and persuasive; his language flowing, chaste, and embellished; his conceptions quick, acute, and full of resource; never vanquished. Add to this, he was one of the most virtuous and benevolent of men; the kindest friend; the most amiable and pleasant of companions, which ensured a favorable reception to whatever came from him." Possessed of the attributes thus ascribed to him by his friend, and which were reiterated by others familiar with the man and his character, it is not to be wondered that he overcame even the almost resistless eloquence of Pat

rick Henry, of whom Jefferson wrote: "He seemed to me to speak as Homer wrote."

Debate on the Constitution was brought to a close on the 23d of June, and on the 24th Mr. Wythe, who had occupied the chair throughout the deliberations, descended to the floor, and submitted a proposition for its ratification. This was debated during the two following days, all of the leading opponents to the Constitution speaking against it, while but four of its friends—Mr. Madison, Governor Randolph, Mr. Nicholas, and Mr. Innes—spoke in its favor. The question was then put to the house on Mr. Wythe's proposition, and carried, and a committee consisting of Mr. Madson, Mr. Randolph, Mr. Nicholas, Mr. Marshall, and Mr. Corbin, was appointed to prepare a suitable form of ratification. The form prepared by the committee was signed the following day by the president of the convention. A bill of rights was afterwards agreed upon by the house, and "recommended to the consideration of Congress, to be acted upon according to the mode prescribed in the fifth article of the Constitution." Thus was ended a contest second only in importance to that which preceded the adoption of the Constitution in the general convention.

New Hampshire had ratified the Constitution the 21st of June, thus making the required number to insure its adoption, although that fact was unknown to the Virginia convention. The ratification in New Hampshire was severely contested, and was only carried conditionally. Neither North Carolina nor Rhode Island had as yet accepted the Constitution, and the latter refused even to call a convention for that purpose.

CHAPTER V.

RE-ELECTED TO CONGRESS.

UNDER the Constitution each state was now entitled to two senators No date had been decided upon for the election of these officers, and on November 1, 1788, Patrick Henry, who had been foremost in the opposition to the Constitution, moved that the two houses of the Virginia assembly proceed to the election of senators as the order of business for one week from that day. It was the wish of his friends that Mr. Madison present his name as a candidate, although his preferences led him to the lower house. In deference, however, to the wishes of those who had sustained him in public life thus far, he consented that his name be presented, well aware that the determined opposition of Mr. Henry and all others who so strenuously condemned the ratification of the Constitution, would be centered toward his defeat. Mr. Henry took it upon himself to nominate two candidates for the offices—Richard Henry Lee, and Mr. Grayson—both of the number of those who opposed the Constitution; at the same time, by disparaging Madison in the minds of members of the assembly, he attempted to still further increase the strength of his candidates. As it was, the vote was close, resulting in ninety-eight for Mr. Lee, eighty-six for Mr. Grayson, and seventy-seven for Mr. Madison.

Efforts were made by Mr. Henry in an attempt to still further humiliate Mr. Madison. A new arrangement of Congressional districts was made, by which it was hoped to defeat him in a re-election to the House of Representatives; at the same time a law was passed that no member should represent a district in which he did not reside. These efforts to keep him out of Congress had the effect to excite a general interest in his behalf in other sections of the state. Both Williamsburg and Augusta, though in other districts, proposed that he run for office under their patronage, believing the law prohibiting such representation unconstitutional. He resolved to remain by his own district, and in the latter part of December returned to

his home in Orange. The election was to take place the 2d day of February; his opponent was James Monroe, an intimate friend, and one of those who had opposed the ratification of the Constitution. It is a remarkable fact that though these two were leaders in several political contests, and were pitted against each other during the greater part of the five weeks preceding this election, their friendship remained unimpaired through life. The result of this campaign was the election of Mr. Madison by a handsome majority.

The first Congress assembled in New York on the first Wednesday in March, 1789, to begin its deliberations under the new Constitution. It was not, however, until the early part of April that a quorum was present for the transaction of business. Immediately after organizing it proceeded to open the returns from the electoral colleges of the several states. On the 6th day of the month a joint meeting of the two houses was held, for the purpose of determining the election of a President and Vice President. The choice fell upon George Washington for President, and John Adams for Vice President. Measures were taken to inform the officers elect that their presence was desired. Information was conveyed to General Washington by Mr. Charles Thompson, who had served as secretary to the old Congress during a period of fourteen years. On the 23d of April the President-elect arrived in New York, and, arrangements being completed, on the 30th day of April, 1789, he subscribed to the oath of office before the two houses of Congress, sitting for that purpose, in the Senate chamber. Following his induction into office, the President delivered to Congress his inaugural address, in answer to which addresses of confidence and attachment were voted by both houses. That of the House of Representatives was reported by a committee, of which Mr. Madison was a member, and was written by him.

That Madison was most implicitly trusted by Washington is susceptible of proof. While the first President was possessed of a good degree of education, and strong mental faculties, when he came to prepare his answer to the address of Congress, he experienced a strong distrust of his own capabilities for the formulation of a document that would, in all probability, be spread upon the pages of history. He therefore solicited the assistance of Mr. Madison in its preparation in the following lines:

"MAY THE 5th, 1789.

"MY DEAR SIR:—Notwithstanding the conviction I am under, of the labor which is imposed on you by individuals, as well as public bodies, yet, as you have begun, so I would wish you to finish the good work in a short reply to the address of the House of Representatives (which I now enclose) that there may be an accordance in the business. As the first of everything

in our situation will serve to establish a precedent, it is devoutly wished, on my part, that these precedents may be fixed on true principles.

"With affectionate regard, I am ever yours,

"GEORGE WASHINGTON."

A few days later a similar request was made with regard to his reply to the address of the Senate. In both instances the request was complied with, and during the earlier part of his administration, President Washington honored both himself and Mr. Madison by frequently calling upon him for his advice and opinion, when came up any doubtful line of policy. There is no doubt he would have called Mr. Madison to a seat in his cabinet, had not the Constitution expressly declared that "no senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time." As the cabinet was created by Congress, so no member of either house could, under the foregoing article, be appointed to it during that term of Congress.

By general consent, the leadership of the House of Representatives in the first Congress under the Constitution, devolved upon Mr. Madison. Certainly no member was better entitled to such eminence, either by education, length of service, or characteristic fitness and ability. Almost the first business after the administration of the oath of office, was the offering by him of a resolution providing for the immediate raising of a revenue, and "rescuing the trade of the country, in some degree, from its present anarchy." Heretofore it had been impossible to establish a uniform system of imposts, owing to jealousy between the maritime states. New and increased powers were conferred on Congress by the adoption of the Constitution. Mr. Madison proposed the system of 1783 as the basis of their action. That system consisted of specific duties on certain enumerated articles of foreign merchandise, including spirituous liquors, wines, teas, cocoa, coffee, sugars, molasses, and pepper, together with five per centum on unenumerated articles. To these he desired to add a graduated scale of duties on the tonnage of all foreign vessels importing goods into the United States, discriminating in favor of American citizens brought into competition with the subjects of foreign powers; and also allowing extraordinary privileges to such foreign countries as had formed treaties of commerce with the United States. Considerable discussion ensued on a proposition to add to the enumerated articles certain others used in the business of manufacturing and distilling in the eastern states; but the greatest objection was encountered in the clause discriminating in favor of powers having commercial relations with us, as against those which had declined to enter into such relations. England was the most prominent of the latter class, and had already absorbed the greater part of the carrying trade. Great

opposition was brought to bear by the merchants of New York, many of whom favored British interests, that city being notoriously tory in sentiment. The propositions of Mr. Madison, ably advocated by himself and others among the leading minds of the House, were carried by a large majority, but were finally stricken out in the Senate. They were afterwards passed by that body after giving solemn assurance that a separate bill covering the points at issue, should be reported and carried, which, however, was never done.

Immediately following the settlement of the question of imposts came another important subject before the House. On the 18th of May, Mr. Madison introduced resolutions favoring the establishment of an executive department, to be known as the department of foreign affairs,—afterwards changed to department of state; also for a department of the treasury, and a department of war,—all of which was authorized by the Constitution. The discussion of this subject was long, and involved an examination into the true meaning of the Constitution in some of its most essential features: the security of the public liberty, and the efficiency and success of the administration. It was proposed that the President be empowered to appoint the heads of departments, who should constitute his cabinet, and the discussion turned on the point whether he should have absolute power in removals, or whether Congress, or the Senate, should be allowed a voice in the matter. It was finally determined by a vote of thirty to eighteen, that to the President alone belonged the right of removal.

In consonance with the demands of his constituents, and of the state which he represented, on the 8th of June, 1789, Mr. Madison introduced a series of propositions designed as amendments to the Constitution. These were mainly in the nature of a declaration of rights, for freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of religion, the security of property, personal liberty, trial by jury, and other points not covered by the Constitution. In addition, he aimed to provide for a fuller representation of the people in Congress; and to prevent Congress from voting an increase of pay to take effect during the current representation. These propositions were accepted by both houses, and by them submitted to the states for their action, in the form of twelve additional articles to the Constitution. Of these, except the last two, all were promptly ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states, and became parts of the Constitution. The adoption of these amendments was soon followed by the ratification of the Constitution by both North Carolina and Rhode Island, which states had heretofore held themselves aloof from the Union under the new government. While the House was considering the foregoing propositions, the Senate turned its attention to the organization of the judiciary department. The bill was considered in committee, then reported to the Senate, and passed by a vote of fourteen to six. On the 25th of August it was taken

up in the House, and there discussed, at intervals, until the 17th of September. As a branch of government of paramount importance, Mr. Madison gave it his earnest and anxious attention. The measure was passed as it came from the Senate, though amendments were desirable, yet the close of the session was near at hand and members were desirous to return to their homes, and not disposed to give the subject the consideration its importance deserved.

The first session of Congress under the Constitution had called for the unremitting care and oversight of a leading and directing mind. It was necessary that nearly every feature of the government be revised and adapted to surrounding circumstances. Foreign relations, finance, imposts, the judiciary, were to be remodeled, or established, and to each of these in its turn did Mr. Madison direct his attention; in nearly all, his was the first proposition presented, and on him fell the burden of explanation, argument, and proof. Not alone in Congress was he relied upon: he was the trusted friend and counsellor of the President, and during the early months of his administration, until the appointment of the cabinet, he was frequently consulted regarding the proper course to be pursued; even in the selection of his permanent advisors, President Washington conferred with him and in the choice of a secretary of state solicited his influence with Mr. Jefferson. During the recess of Congress, which he spent at his home in Virginia, he visited Mr. Jefferson, who had recently returned from France, and explained to him the reasons why his services were at that time of more value to the country in the office to which he had been called, than they could by any possibility be as minister to France. It was in great part due to the earnest representations made by Mr. Madison, that Mr. Jefferson was prevailed upon to sacrifice his own inclinations and give to the President the benefit of his ripe experience in public affairs.

Mr. Madison was detained in Virginia by the serious illness of his mother, and during his trip to New York was himself delayed by illness, so that he did not arrive until some days after Congress had resumed, in January, 1790. The President's address was delivered the 8th. On the 14th an exhaustive report was made by Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, which was ordered printed, and was made the order of the day, two weeks from the date of its reading. The immediate effect of the publication of this report was to precipitate speculation in the depreciated government securities, which were almost worthless, and of which he advocated the full payment. In a letter to Mr. Jefferson, written the 24th of January, Mr. Madison says: "Prior to the report's being made, the avidity for stock had raised it from a few shillings to eight or ten shillings in the pound; and emissaries are still exploring the interior and distant parts of the Union, in order to take advantage of the ignorance of holders." The mania for speculation extended even to members of Congress, to whom was entrusted the

making of the laws for the payment of these securities. Vessels were dispatched from New York, their destination being southern ports, and the object in view, the purchase of obligations of the government at the very lowest rate, before information of the measures proposed in Congress should reach remote points; couriers with relays of horses penetrated to the interior of the country on the same errand; every advantage was taken of the ignorance of holders of bonds and securities. It was in the midst of this speculative mania that the House began discussion of the report. Resolutions were offered embodying the recommendations of the report. The first, affirming the propriety of making adequate provision for fulfilling the engagement of the United States regarding foreign obligations, was passed without debate. The second, declaring that "permanent funds ought to be appropriated for the payment of interest on, and a gradual discharge of, the domestic debt," gave rise to debate, which continued two days.

Recognizing the obligation of the government to pay the bonded debt, both foreign and domestic, Mr. Madison felt the injustice that would be done by paying the full amount to speculators. He therefore proposed in such cases that payment should be equalized between the sufferer and the speculator. In upholding this course in the House he said: "They may appeal to *justice*, because the value of the money, the service, or the property advanced by them has never been really paid to them. They may appeal to *good faith*, because the certificates, which were in fact forced upon them by the government, cannot be fairly adjudged an extinguishment of the debt. They may appeal to the motives for establishing *public credit*, for which justice and faith form the natural foundation. They may appeal to the *precedent* furnished by the compensation allowed to the army during the late war, for the depreciation of bills, which nominally discharged the debts due to them. They may appeal to *humanity*; for the sufferings of the military part of the creditors can never be forgotten, while sympathy is an American virtue; to say nothing of the singular hardships, proclaimed by so many mouths, of requiring those who have lost four-fifths, or seven-eights of their due, to contribute the remainder in favor of those who have gained in the contrary proportion." Admitting, with fairness, the claims that might be allowed on behalf of the purchasers of the public securities, he further said: "Such then, being the interfering claims on the public, one of three things must be done: pay both, reject wholly one or the other, or make a composition between them on some principle of equity. To pay both is perhaps beyond the public facilities; and as it would far exceed the value received by the public it will not be expected by the world, nor even by the creditors themselves. To reject wholly the claims of either, is equally inadmissible. Such a sacrifice of those who hold the written engagement of the government would be fatal to the establishment of public credit. To make the other class the sole victims was an idea at which human nature

recoiled. A composition, then, is the only expedient that remains. Let it be a liberal one, in favor of the present holders; let them have the highest price which has prevailed in the market; and let the residue belong to the original sufferers." Referring then to the fluctuations of stocks in Europe as compared with those of the United States in her extremity, he concluded: "It may be objected that such a provision as I propose will exceed the public ability. I do not think the public unable to discharge honorably all its engagements, or that it will be unwilling, if the appropriations shall be satisfactory. I regret as much as any member, the unavoidable weight and duration of the burthens to be imposed,—having never been a proselyte to the doctrine, that public debts are public benefits. I consider them, on the contrary, as evils which ought to be removed as fast as honor and justice will permit, and shall heartily join in the means necessary for that purpose. I conclude with declaring, as my opinion, that if any case were to happen among individuals, bearing an analogy to that of the public here, a court of equity would interpose its redress; or that, if a tribunal existed on earth by which nations could be compelled to do right, the United States would be compelled to do something not dissimilar in its principles to what I have contended for."

Opponents were not wanting to combat the views of Mr. Madison. In answer to him arose Mr. Sedgwick and Mr. Ames, of Massachusetts; Mr. Laurence and Mr. Benson, of New York; Mr. Boudinot, of New Jersey, and Mr. Smith, of South Carolina. With the strength born of numbers they overbore his arguments, and during the week's debate that ensued were strengthened by the outside pressure brought to bear. When the question was put to a vote, his proposition was rejected by a very large majority. Two months later, notwithstanding the result of the vote on this question, Congress was under the necessity of recognizing the right of the principle he enunciated. An appropriation had been made to pay to the North Carolina and Virginia line certain arrearages, which claims had been bought up at prices much below their real value, and assignments obtained by speculators, who took advantage of the ignorance or distresses of the claimants. Proof of these facts being adduced, Congress passed resolutions virtually annulling the assignments, and directing the secretary of the treasury to pay the claims only to the original claimants, or to persons duly authorized by them under a power of attorney, attested by two justices of the peace, authorizing the receipt of a specific sum. These matters have been treated thus fully in order to a better understanding of the principles that governed every action of Mr. Madison in his official life, principles from which he never deviated during his eventful public career, and which are worthy of emulation by the men of this and succeeding generations.

Previous to the adoption of the Constitution no system had been followed in obtaining a census of the several states. It therefore devolved

upon Congress to provide for the periodical enumeration of the inhabitants. The Constitution enjoined such census, as a basis on which to estimate federal representation, and direct taxes. A committee consisting of one member from each state, was appointed and reported a bill for this purpose. Mr. Madison believed that a more comprehensive census would be of great value to law-makers, and he proposed an amendment to the bill, providing for an analytical and classified enumeration, distinguishing by their respective pursuits the different classes of the people, thus enabling legislatures to adapt the public measures to the requirements of different communities. This was an idea twenty years in advance of the most progressive European statesmen, and was adopted by the House. In its mutations in the Senate the provision was afterward dropped, and did not appear upon the statute books until some fifty years later. However, the far-seeing statesmanship of Mr. Madison should have credit for this effort at advancement.

The subject of the assumption of state debts followed soon after action had been taken in support of the public credit, and developed a great amount of discussion, as well as a spirit of determined opposition from members representing states which had made successful efforts to provide for their individual liabilities incurred in the contest for independence. Such were opposed to the payment of debts contracted by neighboring states, after meeting their own obligations. Mr. Madison took strong grounds against assumption, arguing that the state debts were not in their nature debts of the United States. For a time after the delivery of Mr. Madison's speech the subject was dropped. It was again brought forward in the course of the discussion relating to the permanent location of the seat of government. This latter question developed a great amount of feeling, particularly among the southern members, who saw in the effort to locate the capital at New York, or at farthest, on the Susquehanna, an attempt at belittling the interests of Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. In this contest the lines between north and south were for the first time sharply drawn. There seemed no other resort than a compromise, whereby the assumption of the state debts would be granted, and the capital located on the bank of the Potomac after remaining for ten years at Philadelphia. On this basis the question was finally settled.

On December 6, 1790, Congress assembled at Philadelphia, in accordance with the resolutions providing for a temporary and a permanent seat of government. It was opened as before, by a speech from the President. The House of Representatives again appointed a committee, of which Mr. Madison was a member, to prepare an address in answer to the speech. This being done, the attention of the House was called to the necessity for making provision looking to the payment of the state debts assumed at the late session. It seemed probable that resort would be had to excises, to meet the demand that would soon be made. To this Mr. Madison was

opposed, as "giving arbitrary powers to the collector, exposing the citizen to vexatious searches, and opening the door to fraud and perjuries, that tend equally to vitiate the morals of the people, and to defeat the public revenue." He preferred a direct tax to the imposition of excises, but knowing that such would meet with determined opposition from the people, he was with reluctance constrained to vote for an excise to be imposed on spirituous liquors, which was carried by a vote of thirty-five to twenty.

In the early part of the session the secretary of the treasury had presented his report, in which he urged the incorporation of an United States bank, to be modeled after the similar institution in England. The excises being disposed of, the bank bill was called up, and debate begun by Mr. Madison, who opened with a general review of the advantages of banks. He held that greater advantages would be obtained by the establishment of several banks, but denied that the authority for the establishment of such an one as was proposed could be derived from the Constitution. He then discussed the text of that document, and the conclusions arrived at relating to the powers delegated by each article as it was presented to the convention that framed it, and from these deduced that the ground on which he stood was the only one tenable. In closing his argument he said: "The exercise of the power asserted in the bill involves all the guilt of usurpation; and establishes a precedent of interpretation, leveling all the barriers which limit the power of the general government and protect those of the state governments." He was answered by Messrs. Ames, Sedgwick, and Gerry, of Massachusetts; Laurence, of New York; Boudinot, of New Jersey; Smith, of South Carolina, all of whom "united in the doctrine, that Congress, in the exercise of power, was not restricted to the means necessary and proper for the execution of the powers specifically granted, according to the language of the Constitution; but might do whatsoever it deemed necessary and proper to the ends for which the Constitution was adopted and those powers were conferred," and contended that the eighth section of the first article, relative to the "common defense and general welfare," in connection with the power of taxation, were the sources from which they derived the power to establish a national bank. In reply to them able speeches were made by Mr. Stone, of Maryland; Mr. Giles, of Virginia; and Mr. Jackson, of Georgia. The debate was closed by Mr. Madison, in a vigorous review of the arguments of his opponents, and a strengthening of the ground he had taken by further reference to the binding force of the Constitution. His logical deductions were of no avail, however, the bill being carried in the affirmative by a vote of thirty-nine to twenty, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, voting in the negative. Thus the division between the north and the south was strengthened.

Previous to its adjournment, March 3d, 1791, Congress adopted a reso-

lution fixing the meeting of the second Congress for the 4th Monday in October, following. During this interim Mr. Madison and Mr. Jefferson projected an excursion through the eastern states for the purpose of viewing a section of country neither had before visited. It was while on this tour that Mr. Madison was induced to take a part in the establishment of a weekly newspaper in Philadelphia, which was placed under the editorial management of Captain Philip Freneau, who had been his classmate in college. This paper was projected in order that the republican party might have an organ which should represent it, as opposed to the United States Gazette, published under the patronage of Colonel Hamilton, in the interest of the federalists. The new paper was established in the autumn of 1791, under the title of the National Gazette, and was published with recognized ability for the space of two years, its editor in the meantime holding a clerkship under the government, in the state department, the salary, however, being meagre—only two hundred and fifty dollars per year.



MONTPELIER—RESIDENCE OF JAMES MADISON.

CHAPTER VI.

FURTHER CONGRESSIONAL SERVICE—MARRIAGE.

AGAIN, on the opening of the second Congress, did Mr. Madison prepare the answer of the House to the speech of the President. Very few changes had taken place in the membership. The census returns were now in, and it became the duty of Congress to decide upon a ratio of apportionment. Great difference in views was brought out in the discussion relative to the number of members to be allowed the House, the ratio of representation proposed varying from one in thirty thousand to one in forty thousand. A proposition was made for one hundred and twenty representatives, to be apportioned among the states in a ratio of one in each thirty thousand; it was found such arrangement would leave unapportioned eight members. Those remaining were then allotted to eight of the states, giving two to the states south of the Chesapeake, and six to the states north of the bay. In this form the bill was passed by the two houses, and submitted to the President for his signature. It did not meet his approbation, and the cabinet was divided on the question, Hamilton and Knox declaring in its favor, while Jefferson and Randolph believed it unconstitutional. To obtain further light the President recurred to the judgment of Mr. Madison, which being in the negative, thus coinciding with the opinions of the secretary of state and the attorney general, it was returned with a veto. Very soon after a bill was reported fixing the ratio at one representative in every thirty-three thousand population, which received the President's signature and became a law.

The first session of the second Congress closed May 8, 1792, and stood adjourned until the first Monday in November. The speech of the President, on the opening of Congress, was this time prepared by Colonel Hamilton: the reply of the House was prepared by a committee, of which Mr. Madison was chairman, associated with Mr. Benson, of New York, and Mr. Murray, of Maryland, the two latter warm personal friends of Hamil-

ton. The address of the House was but an echo of the sentiments of the speech. During the session of Congress the secretary of the treasury was charged with disobedience of instructions, in employing certain funds in a manner different from that specified in the act of appropriation. The charges being sustained, a resolution of censure was proposed by Mr. Giles, of Virginia, which was vigorously debated by leading members of the House, Mr. Madison making a powerful speech in support of the measure. Such was the composition of the House, however, that on being brought to a vote, the proposition was lost.

Immediately after the close of Congress, in the latter part of March, 1792, Mr. Madison returned to Montpelier, and devoted much of the vacation to his estate, seeking relief for his mind, which had been severely taxed in the consideration of public questions. He abandoned for a time, the political and philosophical articles he had been preparing for publication in Frenau's Gazette, in answer to those of Colonel Hamilton, which were published in the United States Gazette. The condition of the growing crops, particularly of the wheat, which was severely injured by unfavorable weather, attracted his attention, as it had a direct bearing upon his income. He was also experimenting, to some extent, in improved agricultural implements, and wrote, as follows, to Mr. Jefferson, who had invented a very useful and serviceable plow: "Repeat my thanks to Dr. Logan, if you have an opportunity. The patent plough is worth looking at, if you should visit his farm. You will see your theory of a mould-board more nearly realized than in any other instance; and with the advantage of having the iron wing (which, in common bar shares as in great, lies useless under the wood) turned up into the sweep of the board, and relieving it from the brunt of the friction. By fixing the coulter, which is detached, to the point of the share, it will, I think, be nearly complete. I purpose to have one so constructed. The detached form may answer best in old, clean ground, but will not stand the shocks of our rough and rooty land, especially in the hands of our ploughmen." Mr. Madison's correspondence with Mr. Jefferson contains frequent mention of agricultural matters, in which both were much interested, and to which, in the intervals of public life, they devoted themselves. Progressive farmers they were, as well as progressive statesmen. Whatever promised to be of value early received trial, and if it realized the expectations that had been raised, its merits were made known to the people.

During this season of relief from the tiresome duties of committee work, and labor in the halls of Congress, he made short visits to Colonel James Monroe, and Colonel Wilson Cary Nicholas, being absent ten days. On his return to his father's seat, he found a number of friends who purposed remaining his guests several weeks; he was thus constrained to occupy some time with them, instead of resuming his literary work. He also continued his correspondence with Mr. Jefferson, and earnestly entreated him to

retain the office he then held, instead of seeking the retirement he so much desired; holding that the condition of the state demanded that he sacrifice his private wishes to the public good.

Some portions of the summer and fall of 1793 were particularly unhealthy in Philadelphia, where yellow fever had broken out, and raged with great virulence. As a consequence, it was not until the 2d day of December that a quorum of Congress was present. On the 3d the speech of the President was delivered; it was followed, two days later, by a written message, referring specially to the relations with France and Great Britain. These had for some time been questions of great moment to the government, and had been subject of discussion between the secretary of state, Mr. Jefferson, and Edmund Genet, on the part of France; and with Mr. Hammond, on the part of England. France had proposed a treaty for a new arrangement of commercial relations with the United States, while Great Britain was not disposed to take any step in that direction. On the opening of Congress was achieved a victory for the republicans in the election of one of their party—Mr. Muhlenberg—as speaker; it also witnessed the close of Mr. Jefferson's administration of the office of secretary of state, the unpleasant relations he had with Colonel Hamilton, and his desire for retirement from the cares of public life, leading to his resignation. The subject of protection to commerce was the most important feature in Congress. With this object in view Mr. Madison introduced a series of resolutions proposing additional duties on the manufactures and shipping of foreign countries having no commercial treaty with the United States. He said that one of the chief objects of the Constitution was to vest in the general government the power of regulating commerce, with a view to enforce reciprocity from foreign governments. "The time was now come when the exercise of this power, with moderation, firmness, and decision, was called for. It was in the power of the United States, by exerting their natural rights, without violating the rights, or even equitable pretensions of other nations—by doing no more than *most* nations do for the protection of their interests, and much less than *some*,—to cause their interests to be properly respected."

Discussion of the subject was postponed to the 13th of January, when Mr Smith, of South Carolina, became the mouthpiece of Colonel Hamilton in the opposition to the course proposed by Mr. Madison, his principal argument being that discrimination regarding duties might provoke war with Great Britain, which was greatly to be deprecated in the then state of affairs To this Mr. Madison replied with his usual conciseness and thoroughness; and later in the course of the debate made still another speech in reply to the opposition. After three weeks' discussion the question was had on the first of the resolutions, which was carried by a vote of fifty-one to forty-six. The opposition being fearful that the remainder of the resolutions would pass,

proposed that further consideration be postponed until the first Monday in March, which suggestion was acceded to by about the same vote that carried the first resolution. Information regarding continued outrages upon the commerce of the United States by Great Britain having been received previous to the time appointed for the calling up of the remaining resolutions, consideration was postponed until the 10th of March, to afford time for more authentic and accurate information. This was forthcoming in a few days, to the effect that large numbers of American vessels had been seized and condemned in the West Indies, ostensibly "on the pretext of enforcing the laws of the monarchy with regard to the colony trade." The resolutions were again postponed until after a resolution had been introduced for the levying of an army of fifteen thousand men, to hold themselves in readiness to respond to any call made within two years. This resolution was laid aside, and the commercial resolutions taken up, and after two days' discussion they were again laid aside to take up the more pressing subject of an embargo, that had in the meantime arisen. On the 26th of March, an embargo was laid by the direct and immediate action of Congress, for a period of "thirty days, on all ships and vessels in the ports of the United States bound to any foreign port or place." On the 16th of April, the President nominated Mr. John Jay, chief justice of the United States, to a special mission, having in view an adjustment of the difficulties that had arisen with Great Britain. The military measures brought forward by the federalists met with no success, being rejected in the House by a vote of fifty to thirty. This important session of Congress was finally adjourned June 9, 1794.

Mr. Madison was married on the 15th day of September, 1794, to Mrs. Dorothea Payne Todd, at the residence of Mr. Steptoe Washington, who had previously married a sister of Mrs. Todd. She was a native of Virginia, but had accompanied her parents to Philadelphia, and while yet young had married Mr. Todd, a member of the Pennsylvania bar, who soon after died, leaving her, a very attractive widow, with an only son. Mr. Madison became a successful suitor for her hand, and she continued for the space of forty-two years, and during the remainder of his eventful life, the faithful and tender companion, the helpmeet and ornament of his household.

The adjourned session of Congress convened the 3d day of November, but it was not until the 18th that a quorum was present. The President's speech on the 19th was largely devoted to the insurrection in western Pennsylvania, which was the effect of attempted enforcement of the obnoxious excise laws; the militia had been called out to quell the riot, on the representation of the secretary of the treasury that this was the only proper course to pursue. A large number of arrests were made, and two men

convicted of treason, but by the clemency of the President all were granted amnesty.

During this session of Congress was consummated Jay's treaty with England, which, however, was not received in America until the 7th day of March, 1795, three days after adjournment. It was not made public until the 1st of July, and confirmed the unfavorable impressions that had already been formed. Much delay was had in considering the different clauses of the treaty, and it was not until the 18th of August that the President, with many misgivings, attached his signature, which was attested by Edmund Randolph, secretary of state.

As early as December, 1794, Mr. Jefferson wrote Mr. Madison, deprecating his retirement to civil life, as he had learned was his intention, and expressed the hope that he might become the nominee of the republican party for President. This Mr. Madison was not, in his own mind, prepared to accept, and, as future events proved, the time was not yet ripe for such candidacy, Mr. Jefferson himself being selected for that place in opposition to Mr. Adams, who was nominated by the federalists. The fall elections of 1796 resulted in the election of John Adams as President, and his opponent, Thomas Jefferson, as Vice President. On the 4th of March, 1797, the President and Vice President were installed. Just previous to the inauguration Mr. Adams had a private interview with Mr. Jefferson, in which he revealed more regarding the plans he intended to pursue in the course of his administration, than he ever told thereafter. He proposed to send a mission to France that should satisfy that nation, and from its composition should also satisfy the different sections of the United States. He was determined to join Gerry, Madison, and Pinckney in such mission, and desired Mr. Jefferson to consult Mr. Madison, and obtain his views regarding the appointment. The President and Vice President again met, at the residence of the ex-President, and, leaving at the same time, Mr. Jefferson informed him of the conversation he had had with Mr. Madison. The President replied that since the consultation of a few days previous, some objections had been raised, which he had not contemplated. It transpired that a cabinet meeting had been held, which had developed a strong opposition to Mr. Madison, on the part of the federal members, who were determined that no leading representatives of the opposition should hold office, that being the policy dictated by their leader, Alexander Hamilton, the late secretary of the treasury.

The beginning of the Adams administration was the close of Mr. Madison's service as member of the House of Representatives. He soon returned to Montpelier, remaining on his estate until the following year, when he accepted a seat in the Virginia legislature, where he could the better oppose the administration of President Adams. In the course of the legislative term he took a decided stand against the alien and sedition laws, which had

been passed by the federalist Congress, making a report thereon to the lower house, and becoming the author of a series of resolutions against those laws, which resolutions have since formed a text for the doctrine of state rights, as held by the southern states for many years, and long a cardinal principle of a portion of the Democratic party.

CHAPTER VII.

IN PRESIDENT JEFFERSON'S CABINET—ELECTED PRESIDENT.

LATE in the winter of 1801 Thomas Jefferson was elected President by the House of Representatives, a tie vote in the electoral college having thrown the election into that body. The day following his inauguration, President Jefferson nominated as his cabinet, James Madison secretary of state, Henry Dearborn secretary of war, and Levi Lincoln attorney general, all of whom were confirmed by the Senate on the same day. In May, Albert Gallatin was appointed secretary of the treasury. One of the first official acts of Mr. Madison was the writing an approval of the treaty of purchase from France of the province of Louisiana. Throughout the two terms of Jefferson's administration Mr. Madison pursued a calm, dignified bearing in all diplomatic correspondence; and in the direction of home affairs represented the fidelity to principle that ever characterized him, winning increased popularity in the party he represented. As a statesman he was the recognized peer of his political associates, and when approached the close of Mr. Jefferson's administration, the voice of the people called him to a higher station.

In the contest for Presidential nomination in 1808, were presented the names of Governor George Clinton, of New York, and James Monroe and James Madison, of Virginia. The campaign was entered into with spirit by the friends of the respective candidates, and on the 23d of January was held the caucus of the republican party, for the purpose of deciding upon a candidate. Eighty-nine delegates were present, some thirty or forty of those appointed being absent, a part from sickness, some absent from the city; yet others remained away because they believed the candidate of their choice could not be nominated. For the Presidency Mr. Madison received eighty-three votes in caucus, Governor Clinton three, and Mr. Monroe three. Clinton received the nomination for Vice President, by seventy-nine votes. While the decision of the caucus was a foregone con-

clusion, certain of the republicans felt much embittered against President Jefferson, believing that he had exerted his influence in favor of his secretary of state, thereby injuring the chances of Mr. Monroe. The latter held the same opinion, and in answer to a letter from Mr. Jefferson, written soon after the caucus, used some sharp words expressive of his feelings. To these Mr. Jefferson replied with great moderation, and their friendship was soon renewed. There is little doubt the President favored the claims of Mr. Madison, considering him the riper statesman, and from his long connection with the public service, justly entitled to precede his younger friend, Monroe. The nominations did not effectually settle the question of candidacy, for the three persons there presented were continued before the people. The federalists presented the name of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, of South Carolina, as their candidate, and during the campaign derived considerable strength from disaffected republicans. Mr. Monroe received no electoral votes, but had a large following in his own state. Mr. Madison received for President one hundred and twenty-two votes; Mr. Clinton received six; and Mr. Pinckney, the federalist candidate, received forty-seven. For Vice President, Governor Clinton received one hundred and thirteen votes, James Madison three; James Monroe three; John Langdon nine; and Rufus King forty-seven.

The inauguration of James Madison as President took place in the capitol at Washington, March 4, 1809, the oath of office being administered by Chief-justice Marshall. President Jefferson occupied a seat at his right, members of his cabinet, foreign ministers, and others being present in large numbers. For his cabinet Mr. Madison selected Robert Smith, of Maryland, as secretary of state; William Eustis, of Massachusetts, secretary of war; Paul Hamilton, of South Carolina, secretary of the navy. Albert Gallatin was continued as secretary of the treasury, and Cæsar A. Rodney, of Delaware, attorney general. The eleventh Congress assembled May 22d, in accordance with a resolution passed by the previous Congress, war with England being imminent. The non-intercourse act, which had followed the embargo, was continued in a modified form; on the 28th of June the extra session of Congress was terminated.

The affair of the *Chesapeake* and the *Leopard*, in which the latter insisted upon the right of search, and enforced her demands by firing upon and disabling the *Chesapeake*, took place in June, 1807. Though the excitement caused thereby had mostly abated, there yet remained a feeling of hostility to Great Britain. No satisfaction had been granted for the outrage, though nearly two years had passed. In April, 1809, Mr. Erskine, the British minister at Washington, considering that by the enforcement of the non-intercourse act Great Britain and France were now on equal terms, informed the government that he was authorized, by dispatches received from his government, to make reparation for the insult given the flag on the occasion

in question. He stated that an envoy extraordinary would soon arrive, empowered to conclude a treaty on all questions in dispute between the two countries; and that the orders of his government in council, would be repealed as soon as the non-intercourse act was made of none effect. Under these circumstances, on the 19th of the month, President Madison issued a proclamation, stating that the British orders were revoked, to take effect the 10th of June, when commerce would be renewed. The British government declined to be bound by the actions of its minister, who acknowledged that he had exceeded his instructions, and the only course left Mr. Madison was a renewal of the non-intercourse act. Mr. Erskine was recalled, and another envoy appointed in his stead. These proceedings aroused a considerable degree of hostility against the British government, and a declaration of war would have been received with joy.

The successor of Mr. Erskine as minister to the United States was Mr. Jackson, who arrived in Washington near the close of the year 1809. He was a very different man from his predecessor, and, though instructed by his government to explain the reasons for declining to endorse the action of Mr. Erskine, he attempted by means of censures and criminations upon the United States government, to vindicate Great Britain. He continued the controversy with the secretary of state some three weeks, when the President directed that no further communication be held with him. He soon took up his residence in New York, where he remained until his recall at request of Mr. Madison. Not until November, 1811, was the question at issue settled by the appointment of Mr. Foster as minister to the United States.

Congress again assembled, the 27th of November, 1809, and among other general measures renewed that of non intercourse by a new act. In the early part of 1810, the French decree of Rambouillet was made known in America; it was claimed to be in retaliation of the non-intercourse act. By it all American vessels which had entered French ports since the 20th of March, 1808, or which should thereafter enter, were declared forfeit, and when taken were to be sold for the benefit of the French treasury. French privateers also committed many depredations on American commerce, which was almost destroyed. The act already referred to provided that in case either France or England should repeal the offensive retaliatory orders, after three months, renewal of intercourse would be permitted. The French government was informed of the passage of this act, by the American minister at Paris, and replied through the minister of foreign affairs that the decrees of Berlin and Milan were revoked, and would cease to be of effect after the 1st of the following November, it also "being understood that the English shall revoke their orders in council, and renounce the new principle of blockade which they have wished to establish; or that the United States shall cause their rights to be respected by the English." Events proved

that Bonaparte did not intend to revoke his decrees, unless Great Britain should take a similar step in revoking her orders in council, or the United States should declare war and enforce her rights. The agreement of the French minister was of no force, the sequestration of vessels and their cargoes continuing as before. In March, 1811, the emperor declared that "the decrees of Berlin and Milan were the fundamental laws of his empire." About the same time the new French envoy to the United States officially informed the government that no remuneration would be made for property sequestrated.

The British refused to revoke the orders in council, on the ground that no sufficient proof existed of the revocation of the decrees of Berlin and Milan, and insisted that the non-intercourse act was unjust and partial. This state of things had the effect to increase the hostility to England, particularly as American vessels and their cargoes continued to be seized by British men-of-war, and sold under order of their admiralty courts.

In February, 1811, the President appointed Joel Barlow minister to France, with full instructions to negotiate a treaty of commerce with that nation. He made strenuous efforts to procure a revocation of the decrees, and finally obtained from Napoleon a decree that "so long as the British orders in council were unrepealed, and the principles of the treaty of Utrecht [1713] with respect to neutrals were in operation, his edicts of Berlin and Milan must remain in force, as to those nations which should suffer their flag to be *denationalized*." The British government was again appealed to, to withdraw the orders in council, on the ground that the French edicts were repealed, and replied, that "whenever those edicts were absolutely and unconditionally repealed by an *authentic* act of the French government, *publicly promulgated*, their orders would be revoked."

The twelfth Congress assembled November 4, 1811, and organized by electing Henry Clay, speaker. Mr. Clay was just entering upon his first term in the representative body, having already served two short terms in the Senate. He was an ardent administration man, and was ably seconded by Messrs. Calhoun, Cheves, Lowndes, of South Carolina, and other influential southern representatives, together with William H. Crawford, of Georgia, in the Senate. As far remote as the close of the Jefferson administration, war with England had been contemplated, but no provision for offense or defense had been made; the army had been reduced to three thousand regulars, while the navy comprised but twenty vessels—ten frigates, and ten sloops-of-war and smaller vessels. One hundred and fifty gunboats had been built, but they were useful only in harbor and river defense. Through the advice of Mr. Clay, Mr. Lowndes, and Mr. Calhoun, the policy of the administration was changed. Mr. Madison was by nature a man of peace, and it was with much difficulty he was prevailed upon to acquiesce in the inevitable and allow of preparations for war. Bills were passed pro-

viding for the enlistment of twenty thousand men; authorizing the President to call for volunteers to the number of fifty thousand; authorizing the repairing and equipping of all frigates in ordinary, and making appropriations for building such additional frigates as might be necessary. The President was also authorized to require that each of the states provide its proportion of one hundred thousand militia, to be armed, equipped, and held in readiness to march at a moment's notice. One million dollars was appropriated to carry forward war preparations.

The time approached when Mr. Madison's first term as President would expire. A caucus of the members of the existing Congress would place in nomination candidates for President and Vice President. Already there was developed among Republicans some opposition to the re-election of Mr. Madison, owing to his conciliatory course, and his opposition to war measures. The leaders of the party in New York proposed the name of DeWitt Clinton, then lieutenant governor of that state and mayor of New York city; a man of influence, who stood high in council, and whose convictions would have hesitated not a moment in resenting the aggressions of Great Britain. Mr. Madison was waited upon by a delegation of his friends, who informed him of the state of affairs, and assured him that unless he was prepared to declare war against England, neither his nomination nor election could be relied upon. He quickly decided to acquiesce in the will of his friends, and use his best endeavors in furtherance of an object for which he had no taste, but which seemed the only course to pursue.

Previous to this there had been several changes in the cabinet: James Monroe had succeeded Robert Smith as secretary of state, in November, and William Pinkney had succeeded Cæsar A. Rodney as attorney-general in December, 1811. The secretaries of war and the navy were not fitted for the duties pertaining to their office in time of war. Mr. Monroe was the only member of the cabinet who had any military experience, and his experience was limited to a short term of service in the revolutionary war. With such officers at the head of these departments, it was doubtful if efficiency could be had.

No change in the policy of Great Britain toward the United States having taken place, on the 4th of April, 1812, an embargo of sixty days was laid on vessels of the United States.

Louisiana was set off and admitted into the union as a state on the 8th of April, 1812, and by a subsequent act the remainder of the Louisiana territory was organized as the Missouri territory. Many important acts were passed by this Congress, among which was one for the apportionment of representatives in accordance with the census of 1810. The President transmitted a special message to Congress on the 1st of June, in which he reviewed the difficulties which existed with Great Britain. This message was referred to the committee on foreign relations, a majority of whom

agreed upon and reported to the House a manifesto, as the basis of a declaration of war. The reasons given for this procedure were in substance as follows: "The impressment of American seamen by the commanders of British ships of war; the British doctrine and system of blackade; and the adoption and continuance of the orders in council of that government, which operated to the interruption and injury of American commerce." To this was added a long unsatisfied demand for remuneration on account of depredations committed on private property in the seizure and confiscation of merchant vessels. Then followed the proceedings which eventuated in a declaration of war, the House in the meantime sitting with closed doors. The measure was adopted by a vote of seventy-nine to forty-nine. In the Senate a delay of fourteen days ensued, when the act was adopted by a vote of nineteen to thirteen. The President signed the declaration on the 18th of June. It was prepared by the attorney-general, William Pinkney, and is as as follows:

"*An act declaring war between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dependencies thereof, and the United States of America and the territories thereof.*

"Be it enacted, etc., That war be, and the same is hereby declared to exist between the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the dependencies thereof, and the United States of America and their territories; and that the President of the United States is hereby authorized to use the whole land and naval force of the United States to carry the same into effect, and to issue to private armed vessels of the United States, commissions, or letters of marque and general reprisal, in such form as he shall think proper, and under the seal of the United States, against the vessels, goods, and effects of the government of said United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the subjects thereof."

Proclamation was immediately made, informing the people of the declaration of war, and calling upon them to sustain the cause of the government in the pending conflict. The federalists, and others who were not of the party of the administration, formed an organization which they called the "peace party," and by every means in their power threw obstacles in the way of prosecution of the war. There were many among the more prominent of the federalist party, who, when they found the government disposed to push the war with vigor and persistence, gave it all their strength and support.

Had the declaration of war been delayed but five days, it is probable the country would have been saved great loss of life, immense expense, and untold suffering. The British government had from August, 1810, until May, 1812, refused to credit the representations made by the American ministers that the Berlin and Milan decrees had been annulled, until they were convinced that the revocation was absolute and not conditional. On re-

ceiving official intelligence from France that the decrees had been definitively revoked, the orders in council had been suspended, and information to that effect was at once forwarded to America, where it was received just five days too late to prevent hostilities.

The forces of England being largely employed in the war on the continent, it was nearly seven months before any decisive measures were taken in the American war. The blockade of the Chesapeake was not proclaimed until the 26th of December, 1812; the English manifesto was not issued until January 9, 1813; the British naval forces did not arrive until early in February, 1813. By the 20th of March the entire coast of the United States was blockaded, with the exception of Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire, these being excepted with the obvious intention of sowing dissensions among the states. Several attempts were made to procure a suspension of hostilities and the restoration of peace: one by Sir George Prevost, governor of Canada, and one by Admiral Warren, commanding the British fleet in American waters. These were of no avail, however, the principle for which the country was now fighting, being the rights of her seamen, in resisting the British code of impressment; other demands having been allowed.

It is impossible in sketching the leading incidents in the life of James Madison, also to write a detailed history of the war which occurred during his administration. Seldom, indeed, did he allow the opinions of others to overrule his own matured judgment. In the case in hand he yielded to purely party influence, because he believed it would strengthen both the party and his administration; besides, he desired the honor of a second term as President, which had been accorded Washington and Jefferson, both natives of Virginia. When once pledged to the war, he gave to it the best of his abilities, which in this one direction were not cultivated. He had always deprecated war, and when it was forced upon him, did not at once see the proper course to pursue. A portion of his cabinet was not what it should be in an emergency, but two changes were made in January, 1813, by which General Armstrong, the late minister to France, succeeded Dr. Eustis as secretary of war, while the secretary of the navy was succeeded by William Jones, of Pennsylvania.

CHAPTER VIII.

MADISON'S SECOND TERM AS PRESIDENT—LAST YEARS OF HIS LIFE

THE Presidential contest of 1812 resulted in the re-election of James Madison as President, with Elbridge Gerry as Vice President. In this contest Mr. Madison overcame the disaffected of his own party, and the federalists, who, at separate conventions, had united in the nomination of DeWitt Clinton, of New York. The inaugural ceremonies were held in the hall of the House of Representatives, on the 4th of March, 1813, and were attended by large numbers of citizens.

The season of 1812 had been one of reverses to the American arms on the land, while on the sea the small navy had won for itself glory and renown. General Hull had invaded Canada, and shortly retired to Detroit, which post he disgracefully surrendered in August. The naval victories had been the capture of the British frigate *Guerriere*, by the *Constitution*, Captain Hull, August 18th; the surrender of the British brig *Frolic* to the American sloop-of-war *Wasp*, Captain John Paul Jones; the capture of the British frigates *Macedonia* and *Java* by the *Constitution*, commanded first by Captain Decatur, and later by Commodore Bainbridge.

A proposition of mediation between the belligerents was made by the Emperor Alexander, through the Russian minister at Washington, March 8 1813; Albert Gallatin, John Quincy Adams, and James A. Bayard were appointed commissioners to negotiate a peace through this mediation. Mr. Adams was already in Russia, and the remaining commissioners sailed under a flag of truce, arriving in the Baltic in June. The Russian mediation was declined by Great Britain in September, 1813, but on the 4th of November, Lord Castlereagh informed the government that Great Britain was willing to enter upon a direct negotiation for peace. This proposition was accepted by the president, and Ghent, in Belgium, was decided upon as the place for holding the conference.

The invasion of Canada was renewed in 1813, General Dearborn cap-

turing York (now Toronto), and Fort George. In January General Winchester, with a force of about eight hundred men, fought a battle with the British and Indians at the River Raisin, and was forced to surrender. In September, 1813, the small fleet of Commodore Perry captured the British fleet on Lake Erie, and soon after General Harrison defeated the British and Indians under Proctor, in the battle of the Thames, in Canada, the chief Tecumseh, being among the killed. In the southern part of the United States the war with the Creek Indians was brought to a close, by the army under General Jackson. On the ocean the British brig *Peacock* was captured by the American sloop-of-war *Hornet*, commanded by Captain Lawrence. That brave officer was soon after killed, and the frigate *Constitution*, to which he had been promoted, captured in an engagement with the British frigate *Shannon;* the British brig *Pelican* captured the American brig *Argus*, Captain Allen; the British brig *Boxer* was captured by the American brig *Enterprise*, commanded by Lieutenant Burrows, who was killed in the action. During the year 1813, the frigate *Essex*, commanded by Captain Porter, in a cruise in the Pacific ocean, captured and armed nine large English vessels, worth a total sum of two millions of dollars. Of this fleet Captain Porter was for some time commodore, during that time capturing and destroying many of the enemy's vessels. The frigate *President*, Captain Rodgers, and the *Congress*, Captain Smith, also made many captures. In the course of a year the American navy and privateers captured more than seven hundred British vessels.

British successes on the coast were much more numerous in the year 1814, than at any time before; several towns were bombarded and burned, and much property destroyed. The successes of the British troops on the continent, under Wellington, followed by the peace of Paris in this year, relieved the flower of their army, and considerable detachments of veterans were transported to America; the armies in Canada were strengthened and preparations made for an invasion of the United States from that quarter. In July Generals Scott and Ripley captured the British fort Erie, opposite Buffalo. Two days later, on the 5th of July, the same commanders met and defeated the British army under General Rial. July 25th occurred the battle of Lundy's Lane, in which the American force, consisting of four thousand men, under General Brown, assisted by Generals Scott and Ripley, fought the British army of more than five thousand men. The Americans remained in possession of the field. During the summer the British invaded the United States by way of Lake Champlain, and attacked the American forces at Plattsburg; their fleet on the lake was defeated by Commodore Macdonough, and the army was compelled to retire, after losing in killed, wounded, and deserters, two thousand five hundred men.

The most disgraceful and unnecessary act of the war was the sacking and burning of the capital. On the 10th of August, a British force of five

thousand men, under General Ross, sailed up the Chesapeake bay and Potomac river, disembarked, and proceeded by way of Bladensburg toward Washington. At the former place they were met and opposed by a small body of sailors and marines, but the opposition was futile, and the enemy marched directly to the capital, where the public buildings were sacked and burned, and many private dwellings and business houses despoiled of their contents, an act which was strongly condemned in the British house of commons by Sir James Mackintosh, who said it was "an enterprise which most exasperated a people and least weakened a government of any recorded in the annals of war." The greatest loss to the country that accrued from this invasion was the burning and destroying of many valuable public records, and documents, which it is impossible to replace. Preceding the battle of Bladensburg, the President, with the secretaries of state, navy, and war, went to the front to take such measures as were best calculated to retard the advance of the enemy, and narrowly escaped capture; Mrs. Madison was left at the executive mansion, where she saw the plate and valuables belonging to the establishment conveyed to a secure place, before herself seeking safety in flight. After sacking and burning as they were disposed, the invading army set out with the intention of attacking Baltimore, but learning that the city was well defended by militia, they paused to bombard fort McHenry. In a slight skirmish, the British commander, General Ross, was killed, and the enemy soon after left the Chesapeake.

The British navy was not idle during this time, but by means of superior numbers was enabled to cripple and well nigh destroy the commerce of the country, besides capturing several war vessels and privateers. The American vessels that were so fortunate as to escape the blockade, did great damage to the enemy's commerce, and captured a number of men-of-war of different grades.

The crowning victory of the army was accomplished by General Andrew Jackson, at New Orleans, on the 8th of January, 1815. With six thousand men, mostly volunteers, he defeated a picked British army of twelve thousand men, fresh from their victory over Bonaparte, killing seven hundred and wounding one thousand more, the commander in chief, General Packenham, being among the former, and Generals Gibbs and Keene, among the severely wounded.

In September, 1813, the British minister, Lord Castlereagh, informed the American government that England was ready to enter upon direct negotiation looking toward peace. With that object in view President Madison appointed the following commissioners to proceed to Ghent: John Quincy Adams, James A. Bayard, Henry Clay, Jonathan Russell, and Albert Gallatin. Three of these,—Adams, Gallatin, and Bayard,—were first appointed as a commission to serve under the mediation of the emperor of Russia. Mr. Gallatin, the secretary of the treasury, and Henry Clay, the

speaker of the House of Representatives, resigned to accept of the commission. In August, 1814, they met in Ghent, the British commissioners, Lord Gambier, Mr. H. Gouldburn, and Mr. William Adams. On the 24th of August the commissioners sent in their first report, in which they said: "The causes of the war between the United States and Great Britain having disappeared, by the maritime pacification of Europe, the government of the United States does not desire to continue it in defense of abstract principles, which have, for the present, ceased to have any practical effect. The undersigned have been accordingly instructed to agree to its termination, both parties restoring whatever they may have taken, and both resuming all their rights, in relation to their respective seamen." Mr. Monroe, the secretary of state, had already instructed the commissioners, under date June 27, 1814, as follows: "On mature consideration, it has been decided, that under all the circumstances above alluded to, incident to a prosecution of the war, you may omit any stipulation on the subject of impressment, if found indispensably necessary to terminate it." The British commissioners, finding the American envoys, as they believed, anxious to accept almost any form of peace proposition, became very extravagant in their demands, report of which being made in the United States, great indignation was aroused. The most lukewarm supporters of the administration decidedly objected to the acceptance of any of the propositions of the British commissioners. It being the opinion of the government that peace was yet in the remote future, active preparations for war were continued. A direct tax of six millions of dollars was laid, and various projects were entertained for increasing the efficiency of the army, and the means of the government for its support.

A number of changes occurred in the composition of the cabinet, during the years 1814 and 1815. To quote from the Statesman's Manual: "The office of secretary of the treasury being declared vacant by the Senate, in consequence of the absence of Mr. Gallatin as one of the commissioners to negotiate a treaty of peace, George W. Campbell, of Tennessee, was appointed secretary of that department, on the 9th of February, 1814. Ill health compelled Mr. Campbell to resign in September, and Alexander J. Dallas was appointed secretary of the treasury, October 6, 1814. General Armstrong resigned as secretary of war, in September, 1814, and Mr. Monroe, secretary of state, acted as secretary of war until February 28, 1815, when he was re-commissioned as secretary of state. William H. Crawford, who had been appointed minister to France on the 9th of April, 1813, on his return from that mission was appointed secretary of war, August 1, 1815. On the 19th of December, 1814, Benjamin Crowninshield, of Massachusetts, was appointed secretary of the navy, in place of William Jones, resigned. Gideon Granger, who had held the office of postmaster general more than twelve years, was removed by Mr. Madison, and Return

Jonathan Meigs (governor of Ohio), appointed in his place, on the 17th of March, 1814. Richard Rush, of Pennsylvania, was appointed attorney-general, in place of William Pinkney, resigned, February 10, 1814. Jonathan Russell was nominated as minister to Sweden, and, after some delay, confirmed by the Senate on the 18th of January, 1814; at the same time he was confirmed as one of the commissioners to negotiate a treaty of peace with Great Britain. Some of these changes, and those formerly noticed, during the administration of Mr. Madison, occurred in consequence of dissensions and dissatisfaction among the leaders of the democratic party, in Congress and in the cabinet."

Early in February, 1815, information was received at Washington that a treaty of peace had been signed at Ghent, on the 24th of December, 1814; the treaty was at once communicated by the President to the Senate, and was by that body immediately ratified. Soon after this ratification, a convention was held in London for the formation of a commercial treaty, the American commissioners being Messrs. Adams, Gallatin, and Clay. A treaty prepared by them and three commissioners of Great Britain, to continue in force four years, was signed in July, and soon after ratified by both governments.

The war with Great Britain had emboldened the piratical Algerines, who took advantage of the opportunity to capture such American vessels as came in their way, and condemn their crews to slavery. Immediately on the close of the war, in May, 1815, Commodore Decatur, in command of a fleet of nine vessels, was dispatched to the Mediterranean, to punish these depredators. Several Algerine vessels of war were captured, and in the absence of their fleet, Decatur entered the port of Algiers, and dictated terms to the dey, who on the 30th of June signed a treaty honorable to the Americans, by which all captives were to be released without ransom; and compensation made for all vessels and property taken. For seventeen years the United States had paid twenty-three thousand dollars annually, for the preservation of peace; this was forever abolished by the treaty.

The democratic majority in the fourteenth Congress was slightly increased at the session of 1815–16. Mr. Clay had returned from Europe, and again been chosen to represent his former constituents in Kentucky, and for a third time was elected speaker. The system of duties and taxes was revised, and limited protection afforded American manufacturers; not enough, however, to be of much avail in encouraging that class of industry, which was soon almost suspended, from the excessive importation of cheap foreign articles. A national bank was incorporated in 1816, to continue for a period of twenty years, with a capital of thirty-five million dollars. The sum of two hundred thousand dollars was appropriated to provide arms and equipments for the militia. The territory of Indiana was authorized to form a constitution and state government, preparatory to admission into the

Union. The relations with Spain were also subject of discussion, but no definite result was attained during Mr. Madison's administration. Before the close of the first session, a caucus of democratic members of Congress was held, for the nomination of President and Vice President. An effort was made to change the established custom of nomination by representatives in Congress, as inexpedient, but it was defeated. It was the evident wish of Mr. Madison that the first place on the ticket be given Mr. Monroe, his secretary of state. This developed considerable opposition, many members feeling that as Virginia had furnished the President for twenty-four out of twenty-eight years, other states of the Union were justly entitled to that honor. Democratic members of the legislature of New York proposed the name of their governor, Daniel D. Tompkins, but the opposition finally settled upon William H. Crawford, of Georgia, who had been minister to France, and later secretary of war under Mr. Madison. The caucus gave the nomination to James Monroe for President, and to Daniel D. Tompkins for Vice President. These candidates were elected by one hundred and eighty-three votes in the electoral college, and on the 4th of March, 1817, took their respective seats as the head of a new administration.

Mr. Madison had faithfully served his country in her hour of peril, and now that peace was accomplished, and the country on the highway to prosperity, he willingly laid aside the cares of government and retired to the life of a private citizen, with the love and confidence of the greater portion of the American people.

The close of his Presidential term was the termination of Mr. Madison's public labors, with one or two exceptions. In 1829 he was a member of the convention, to frame a new constitution for the commonwealth of Virginia, and was urgently requested to accept the office of president of the convention, but respectfully declined the honor, proposing instead, the name of his old-time friend and successor in the presidency, James Monroe, who was elected to the position.

Following the inauguration of Mr. Monroe to the Presidency, Mr. Madison retired to his farm at Montpelier, where he found employment for the mind and exercise for the body in conducting the affairs of his large estate. Agriculture had charms for him, equalled only by his delight in literature; the former became his employment, the latter his recreation. After the death of his friend, Thomas Jefferson, Mr. Madison was appointed to the head of the University of Virginia, with the unobtrusive title of rector; he was also the president of an agricultural society in his native county, and while occupying that chair delivered an address which was replete with practical suggestions.

In the full ripeness of years, James Madison died on the 28th of June, 1836, aged eighty-five years.

In his personal appearance Mr. Madison was short in stature, with a

iorm indicative of good living; the crown of his head bare, and his hair carefully brushed and powdered. In debate he was slow in speech, but always direct and to the point. During his term as President he was burdened with responsibilities, and on his retirementfrom office had a careworn appearance. As a writer he had few equals, no superiors, among American statesmen. His essays in the Federalist are models of diction, logic, and thought; his correspondence has justly been admired, and his state documents are admirable examples of their kind. At the time of his death he was the last survivor of the signers of the Constitution, of which he was one of the framers. From the ability with which he defended it, and the fidelity with which he adhered to its provisions, he was called the "Father of the Constitution."

The services performed by James Madison to his country, and his eminent qualities of intellect and patriotism, were fully recognized by the generation which viewed his exit from the stage of action; and many were the evidences chronicled of that fact. From an extended summary of his character and work, in an oration delivered by William H. MacFarland of Virginia upon the occasion of his death, the following pertinent points are taken: It would be no less interesting than calculated to deepen our impressions of his activity and influence, to notice the important agency which he had in the settlement of the numerous subjects which claimed the immediate attention of congress under the new government. Time, however, does not permit. But, as illustrating his great anxiety to redeem the Constitution from just objections by guarding against the danger of perverting or abusing its powers, it should be mentioned that, at the first congress, he introduced and carried a proposition for its amendment, by the addition of several new articles. The proposition was ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states, and thus made a part of the Constitution. A later and yet more memorable instance of similar public service was the resolutions of '98 and the report of '99, known as Madison's resolutions and report. He had been long admired as an author and advocate of the Constitution, but was then to appear in the new character of commentator, and impartially to unfold its meaning and define the limits of the authority of the government. It was at a period of excitement; questions of deep import distracted the public councils and agitated the people; and in the opposing divisions, on either side, were many of those who had assisted in laying the foundations of our civil fabrics. At that critical juncture the public mind of his own state was in a condition of peculiar exacerbation. He was called once more to the legislature, to exert his benign influence in composing popular uneasiness, and to rescue the Constitution from, as was believed, imminent peril. The manner in which he met the occasion and disposed of the grave subject marked a new era in the politics of the country.

Mr. Madison was secretary of state at a period when the diplomatic relations of the government were especially critical and unsettled. And when he was advanced to that higher station, the highest to which his country could elevate him as a pledge of her affection and the proof of her reliance upon his wisdom, the administration of the government was signally arduous and responsible. For his administration it was reserved to commit the government to that last and severest of all trials—war with a nation strong in her resources and proud in her military renown. Looking back upon his long career of public service, as he passed from one high trust to another yet more responsible, what is there wanting to complete his title to be considered as the benefactor of his country? What to secure the fame to which a patriot may aspire, and is a patriot's reward? On what occasion was he unequal to the exigency, and what state exigency did he not encounter? When his career commenced you were without a Constitution; your government without authority; and the times were portentous of instant and fearful disclosures. Aided by his compatriots, he gave you a Constitution, an efficient government and union; and with these he added what, in a peculiar and emphatic sense, was his own—the example of an upright and conscientious functionary. None ever imputed the existence of a selfish or mercenary or factious motive, or complained that he was willful and had disregarded the public interest, or impatient and had mistaken it. The scrupulous regard to the minutest propriety, which was conspicuous in his private relations, was exhibited in all his official acts. Sensible that our institutions have no other foundation than the attachment and confidence of the people, he endeavored to confirm that attachment and confidence by the mild, impartial, conscientious and dignified manner in which he administered the powers with which he was invested.

The last public scene, the speaker continued, in which he appeared, passed in our immediate view. You well remember the venerable appearance of the venerable man. The spirit of earlier days gleaming in his aged bosom, he came up to assist the men of another generation in revising and amending their Constitution. The interest of the occasion derived additional solemnity from the union with him and two others, alike the relics of a former age, memorable for the variety and extent of their public service, and venerable for every virtue and excellence. More than forty years had intervened since they last met in convention. Again they met in convention, for the last time, mutually esteemed and honored by one another. Thus closed the public life of the aged Madison—the end in perfect harmony with the beginning. He had occupied the highest stations to which a citizen may aspire, and possessed an influence that the personal consideration in which he was held carried beyond the limits of official importance; but such was his unaffected modesty, he seemed un-

conscious of his honors and concerned about nothing but his duties. The example of a high functionary is scarcely less important than his official acts; the errors and aberrations of a private citizen, at most, but disturb the current of public sentiment, whilst those of leading men tend to corrupt the fountain. Madison was conspicuous for grace, propriety and dignity, no less than for clear and thorough comprehension of the complicated and arduous subjects of civil policy, and the ability and energy of his labors. On the various theatres that brought him in connection and often in collision with the first men of the age, than which no age has been illustrated by a greater variety and splendor of endowment, moral and intellectual, he displayed a capacity for public business which always placed him in the first rank, and the admiration which his talents attracted mingled with respect and esteem for his virtues. It was the disinterested and chastened public spirit, of which his daily life was the witness, that fitted him for the singular success which attended his efforts, and gave him power to prevail over minds preoccupied with opposing opinions. It was impossible to see him without being struck by his modest and unpretending manner, which in a measure concealed his talents and virtues, nor to meet him in private without being cheered and enlightened by his presence. His fame is engraved on the polished pillars that support the noblest fabric which man has constructed, and as often as we admire its beauty, and glory in its being the strength and ornament of our land, we should think of the accomplished and devoted artist, and if we may not aspire to his mental eminence, emulate and practice his virtues. Full of years, time having ratified the beneficence of his plans for the welfare of his fellow-men, he was gathered to his fathers. But he yet survives in the institutions, in the renown, and in the affections of his country. He sought in life no distinction but that which might attend the unremitted devotion of his time and powers to civil and religious freedom. He asked nothing in return but a father's request, accompanied by a father's blessing, that his country would be faithful to her obligations.



James Monroe

JAMES MONROE.

CHAPTER I.

REVOLUTIONARY SERVICE ELECTED TO CONGRESS.

REMARKABLE it is that of the five early Presidents of the United States four were natives of Virginia, born within a radius of thirty miles, on the strip of land lying between the Potomac and Rappahannock rivers, in the locality, then as now, known as the "northern neck." These four, who became so intimately connected with the events that changed the destinies of the country, and built the greatest republic in the world from the scattered and dependent colonies of Great Britain, were descended from the best blood of England; though brought up in the precept that next to their God stood the king, the inherited spirit that sought freedom of conscience in the wilderness of the new world, in them developed into defiance of oppression and injustice. The first of the Presidents was already grown to man's estate and had entered upon the active duties of life—in the lonely camp of the surveyor, or directing the hastily levied militia of the colony against the savage foe hovering on her border, and incited to acts of violence and deeds of cruelty by an alien power; Jefferson and Madison were engaged in study, the future full of promise, before them, at the time of the birth of one who was to be intimately associated with them in the stirring scenes of war, and the exciting events with the formation of the government.

James Monroe was descended from one of the early and honorable families of Virginia. He was born April 28, 1758, in the county of Westmoreland, Virginia, his father being Spence Monroe, his mother Elizabeth Jones. As was usually the case in the ancient Virginian families, he was

early encouraged to study, and while a mere youth entered the college of William and Mary. His early life was passed in the midst of the stirring scenes that preceded the declaration of independence, the stamp act being passed when he was not six years of age. The conversation of those about him, and the sentiments he heard expressed, aroused in him the same spirit of indignation at the injustice and oppression of the king and ministry that pervaded the minds and hearts of all in the commonwealth, who loved liberty and freedom. It is not strange that the hardships of war had a greater fascination for him than the tame and irksome duties of school, especially when united with devotion to the cause in which the patriots were engaged. Before the age of eighteen he left the quiet college halls and set out for the headquarters of Washington, already in the field, though the declaration of independence was but just made. He was soon commissioned lieutenant, and participated in the battles, privations, and defeats of the army during the gloom and despondency of the year 1776; at the battles of the Heights of Harlem, at White Plains, and again at Trenton, he bravely resisted the enemy. In the latter action he received a wound, the scar of which he carried during the remainder of his life. Recovery was rapid, and, returning to his command, he was commissioned captain of infantry, and again entered upon active service. His gallantry commended him to his superior officers, and during the campaigns of 1777 and 1778 he was detached an aide to General Lord Stirling. In becoming a staff officer he receded from the line of promotion, and though he distinguished himself on the fields of Brandywine, Germantown, and Monmouth, by conspicuous bravery, he could not attain to higher rank than he then held. Recognizing this fact he sought to regain his standing in the line of promotion, and with this in view endeavored to raise a regiment of troops under the recommendation of General Washington, and by authority of the legislature. That he failed in this undertaking was no fault of his own, the country at that time being well nigh drained of her able-bodied men, who had already taken up arms in defense of their liberties.

Several times he responded to the call for volunteers, in opposing the invasions of the enemy under Arnold, Cornwallis, and Tarleton, on which occasions he rendered efficient service in organizing the raw militia, on which alone the state depended for protection. After the fall of Charleston, in 1780, he was appointed military commissioner in the Carolinas, and was instructed to obtain information as to the force that could be depended upon in an effort to repel the invaders. This called for a journey to the region of country occupied by the contending armies, where he performed the duties required of him to the satisfaction of the governor, by whom he was appointed. Following his retirement from the army, Mr. Monroe entered upon the study of law under direction of Mr. Jefferson, who was then governor of the state. Faithfully he pursued the course of study indi-

cated by his preceptor, and though not engaged in active practice for any length of time, the discipline and knowledge of law he there acquired, proved of inestimable value in the legislative, diplomatic, and state questions in which he afterwards took so important a part.

His prominence in military matters, intimate connection with the governor of the commonwealth, and the standing of his family, together with his own well known worth, brought him before the people of the section in which was his home, and in 1782 he was chosen a member of the legislature by the county of King George. Taking his seat in that body, he was soon elected by his fellow-members one of the governor's executive council. Such rare tact and discrimination did he evince in the places to which he had been called, as to induce the legislature to elect him, while yet in his twenty-fourth year, a delegate to represent the state in the Congress of the confederation, immediately succeeding James Madison. The restrictions imposed by Great Britain upon commercial intercourse with her West India possessions was at this time attracting much attention from statesmen, both north and south. Soon after taking his seat in Congress, in December, 1784, Mr. Monroe wrote his predecessor, Mr. Madison, soliciting a free interchange of sentiments with regard to this question; he afterward, in 1785, brought forward a proposition for such amendment of the articles of confederation as should vest in Congress the power of regulating commerce with foreign nations, subject to certain qualifications. He also prepared an address to the legislatures of the different states, in support of the proposition he had advanced, which was taken up by Congress, from time to time, for consideration, but was never agreed upon. A copy of this address he forwarded to Mr. Madison, with a request that he reply by letter, giving his views on the subject discussed. This request Mr. Madison complied with within a few days after receipt of the address, in a long and comprehensive letter, discussing the state of affairs without reserve, and giving utterance to some of the opinions that afterwards influenced and guided him in the convention which framed the Constitution. The acquaintance of these two was begun at Richmond a year previous to this time. This soon ripened into friendship, which grew and strengthened with their continuence in public life, and though personally opposed in some important measures, it was never suffered to diminish. Their correspondence began in November, 1774, while Mr. Monroe was in Congress at Trenton, at which time he sent Mr. Madison a cipher to be used in confidential communications, whenever deemed necessary.

Foreign relations were standing subject of discussion in the Congress at this time, the course pursued by Great Britain in refusing to surrender certain posts on the borders of the United States, as contemplated in the treaty of peace, as well as the restrictions upon commerce with the West Indies, being prominent features. The claim of Spain to exclusive control

of the waters of the Mississippi, produced a critical state of affairs with that country. Then, as now, foreign appointments were a prolific source of dissension, and almost before the formation of parties, lines began to be drawn in the appointment of foreign ministers and envoys. The friends of Mr. Jefferson proposed him as a suitable person for appointment as minister to France, where he had already passed some months as one of the commissioners to negotiate treaties of commerce with the nations of Europe. Persons inimical to Mr. Jefferson, and those who, as Mr. Monroe declared, desired the appointment for themselves or their friends, insisted that the mission to Spain was of paramount importance, and must of necessity be first disposed of; that Mr. Jefferson was the only proper person for that mission, and therefore urged his appointment. Among those classed by Mr. Monroe as aspirants for the mission to France, for themselves or their friends, were Robert R. Livingston, and Richard Henry Lee, who on other questions were opponents, but in assigning Mr. Jefferson to Spain were for once agreed. In a long letter to Mr. Madison he presented these views, and also expressed his opinions regarding the feeling of Great Britain toward the United States. He said on this point: "My letter to Governor Harrison gave you what had taken place in Canada. I am strongly impressed with the hostile dispositions of the court toward us. Not only what I saw, but the information of all the American gentlemen lately from Great Britain, confirms it; and particularly one of Maryland, one of Pennsylvania, and Mr. Laurens, who is now with us. The former two have lately returned to the continent. We are certainly in no condition for war; and, while we preserve the honor and dignity of the United States, must earnestly endeavor to prevent it. If Great Britain will comply with the conditions of the late treaty,—as we must, on our part, do what it enjoins,—our situation is as happy as we could expect it. The sooner we are ascertained on this point, the better it will be for us."

In reply Mr. Madison wrote under date January 8, 1785, first taking up the question of foreign appointments, in which he deprecated the contests of ambition they engendered, and concluded that they should be as infrequent as possible, in order to insure stability in the principles sought to be adopted. Regarding the fears of Mr. Monroe that war was imminent with Great Britain, he expressed doubts, but agreed that the policy of adjusting all differences should be followed, without sacrificing honor. The contest with Spain, he thought, had "a more dangerous root." He said; "The use of the Mississippi is given by nature to our western country, and no power on earth can take it from them. While we assert our title to it, therefore, with a becoming firmness, let us not forget that we cannot ultimately be deprived of it; and that, for the present, war is more than all things to be deprecated."

The dissensions raised by the rival aspirants for foreign appointment,

were not settled for more than two months, during which time Congress was kept in constant turmoil. At length, on the 24th of February, 1785, a commencement was made by the appointment of John Adams, of Massachusetts, to the court of St. James. This was followed, on the 10th of March, by the appointment of Thomas Jefferson as minister to France. Mr. Jay had entered upon the duties of secretary of legation at the court of Spain, in December, to which office he had been appointed the preceding May, and was there continued, no minister being appointed for the time being. The deficient accommodations afforded Congress at Trenton had resulted in its removal to New York, where it re-assembled in January, 11, 1785.

In a letter to his friend Madison, dated the 14th of August, 1785, Mr. Monroe thus recurs to the subject uppermost in his mind, the proposal to add to the enumerated powers of Congress, the regulation of commerce: "The report upon the ninth article of confederation will not, I believe, be finally determined until the winter. It will, however, probably be taken up for the sake of investigation, and be committed to the journals for public inspection. If this report should be adopted, it gives a tie to the confederation which it hath not at present, nor can have without it. It gives the state something to act upon,—the means by which it may bring about certain ends. Without it, God knows what object they have before them, or how each state will move, so as to move securely with respect to federal or state objects." In the support of these views Mr. Monroe was sustained by Washington, Jefferson, and Madison, neither of whom was however, in a position to assist him with his vote. Congress finally declined to take final action on the report, deeming it proper that the proposition for the increase of its powers should come from the legislatures. The question was brought forward in the Virginia house of delegates by Mr. Madison, and though not adopted, led, in the end, to steps that resulted in the calling of the convention that framed the Constitution. That the question at issue had a grave bearing on the cohesion of the states, was more than once proved. In a letter from Mr. Monroe to Mr. Madison, under date March 18, 1786, he thus relates the action of New Jersey concerning a requisition of Congress, in which the legislature resolved that, "having entered into the confederation upon terms highly disadvantageous to them, from the necessity of public affairs, and a confidence that those points in which they were aggrieved would be remedied, and, finding that this was not the case, and that a compact, founded in such unequal principles, was likely to be fettered upon them, they would not comply with the requisition, until their grievances were redressed." A committee from Congress procured a recession of the resolution, but not a compliance with the requisition for supplies. A little more than a year later a similar charge was preferred against Connecticut, in the constitutional convention, which charge

was not denied by the representatives of that state, then present; all which goes to show that agitation of the subject of change in the government was begun none too early. The matter was tersely summed up in a letter of Mr. Madison, written April 9, 1786, in which he said: "The question, whether it be possible and worth while to preserve the union of the states, must be speedily decided some way or other. Those who are indifferent to its preservation would do well to look forward to the consequences of its extinction. The prospect, to my eye, is a gloomy one, indeed."

Closely following these events came another circumstance calculated to impair the harmony that had already been so severely shaken. This was the difficulty with Spain regarding the occupation of the Mississippi river, which, at one time, seemed likely to result in open war. The eastern states were willing to abandon all claim to the occupancy of the Mississippi, while Virginia, claiming large territory on the western bank of the Ohio, would consent to no arrangement that would preclude access to a market in the south; Kentucky was no less earnest in opposition to any treaty that would limit her occupancy of the Mississippi. Mr. Jay was instructed to enter into treaty negotiations with the minister of Spain, his acts to be subject to the approval of Congress. In May, 1786, he addressed a communication to the president of Congress, recommending the appointment of a committee, which should be empowered "to instruct and direct him on every point relative to the proposed treaty with Spain." The question was brought before the House, and a committee consisting of Mr. King, of Massachusetts; Mr. Pettit, of Pennsylvania; and Mr. Monroe, was appointed. Mr. Jay's plan was to enter into commercial stipulations, granting Spain exclusive control of the Mississippi river for a period of twenty-five or thirty years. Strong efforts were made by the friends of Jay to bring the treaty to a successful termination, but stronger efforts were made against any action that should limit the extension of the powers of the government to all parts of the west and southwest, and eventually the latter prevailed.

CHAPTER II.

ELECTED TO STATE LEGISLATURE OPPOSITION TO FEDERAL CONSTITUTION—APPOINTED MINISTER TO FRANCE.

ALMOST at the outset of his Congressional career Mr. Monroe accepted an appointment, together with eight other distinguished men, as members of a federal court to adjust certain long-standing differences between Massachusetts and New York. The court was continued during two years, without, however, accomplishing the object in view, which was finally settled by the two states themselves, in 1786; soon thereafter Mr. Monroe resigned his commission. His term as a member of Congress expired late in this year, and he removed to Fredericksburg, with the view of engaging in the practice of law, to which he had already devoted several years of preparation. Very soon after opening a law office, he was elected a member of the legislature, which met at Richmond, the 15th of October, 1787. Consideration of the new Constitution, which had been framed by the convention of 1787, and duly signed the 17th day of September, was to be had in convention of delegates of the state, to be held in Richmond on the 2d day of June, 1788, and great activity was displayed by men of all shades of opinion, in the election of delegates. Mr. Madison, as a leader in the convention that framed the Constitution, and its most active promoter, was elected a delegate to the state convention. Mr. Monroe was believed to be a friend to the Constitution, though a cool one. In a letter to Mr. Madison, dated October 13, 1787, he said: "There are, in my opinion, some strong objections against the project, which I will not weary you with a detail of; but, under the predicament in which the Union now stands, and this state in particular, with respect to this business, they are overbalanced by the arguments in its favor." At the election of delegates, which took place in January, Mr. Monroe was chosen from the county of Spottsylvania. The assembling of the convention developed the fact that he was to be classed among the opponents of the measure, with powerful associates in

the persons of Patrick Henry, Colonel Mason, Mr. Grayson, Colonel Benjamin Harrison, and Mr. Tyler. Regarding the confederation, he said in convention: "I consider it void of energy, and badly organized. . . . I am strongly impressed with the necessity of having a firm, national government; but I am decidedly against giving the power of direct taxation, because I think it endangers our liberties. My attachment to the Union and an energetic government is such, that I would consent to give the general government every power contained in the plan, except that of direct taxation."

While he believed the articles of confederation possessed radical defects, he feared the Constitution allowed Congress too extended powers, that might be used to the manifest disadvantage of certain of the states; also that the legislative and executive departments were not guarded by sufficient checks, and a proper responsibility. "When once elected," he said, "the President may be elected for ever." That this fear influenced the votes of many delegates, in other of the states as well as in Virginia, is undoubtedly true; but, thanks to the patriotism of George Washington, the first President under the Constitution, and his immediate successors, such has never been the case, and in all probability never will be.

A day or two later he was called upon in committee of the whole, as also was his colleague, Mr. Grayson, to give in detail the efforts made in Congress to conclude the treaty with Spain. The action of seven of the states in voting to accept a treaty giving Spain control of the Mississippi, was dwelt upon, showing how a majority of the states could, in emergency, control legislation; and even pass laws that would seriously injure the commerce of their neighbors. This was brought forward to influence delegates to vote against ratification without amendment, and was used to the best advantage by Mr. Henry and others who were arrayed against the Constitution. Notwithstanding the determined opposition to ratification of many of the most powerful men in the convention, it was impossible to overcome the clear and logical arguments presented by Mr. Madison, and the proposition favoring immediate ratification was carried by a vote of eighty-nine to seventy-nine. In accordance with the course he had pursued throughout the convention, Mr. Monroe voted in the negative.

The adoption of the Constitution by the requisite number of states assured, the election of senators and members of the House of Representatives followed. Mr. Madison was proposed as senator, and in the house of representatives of the state was defeated by five votes only. In apportioning the districts of the state, efforts were made by Patrick Henry and others who had become embittered against him, to so arrange them as to defeat Mr. Madison in a re-election to the national House of Representatives. Monroe was nominated as his opponent because of his popularity with the people, and also because in the convention he had voted with the element that opposed ratification of the Constitution. The few weeks preceding the elec-

tion were spent in active canvass of the field, both by Monroe and Madison; on one occasion they met in discussion, on a cold January day, and addressed the people from the portico of a Lutheran meeting-house, after the close of religious service. Such was the severity of the day that Madison's ear was frost-bitten, and in after-life he was wont laughingly to point to the scar as an honorable mark received in battle. Monroe did not seem so much affected by the cold, on this occasion; but in the election he was defeated. In writing to Jefferson a few weeks afterward, Madison said: "It gives me great pleasure to inform you, that the friendship of Monroe and myself has not been affected, in any degree, by our late political opposition."

The death of Mr. Grayson, who had been elected to the Senate in November, 1788, caused a vacancy in the representation of Virginia in that body, and Colonel John Walker was temporarily assigned to the place by the governor, until the meeting of the legislature, when James Monroe was elected senator. He took his seat in 1790, and shared in the discussions that arose over the incorporation of the national bank. Party lines were already drawn, and the names federalist and republican given the two divisions to distinguish them. Of the latter party Mr. Monroe became a prominent member, and soon an acknowledged leader in the Senate, in which body he remained until the close of his term in 1794, opposed to the administration of President Washington as influenced by Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury. At the close of his term as senator he was appointed minister to France, relieving Gouverneur Morris, whose recall the French republic had requested. In the selection of Mr. Monroe for this trust, the President plainly expressed the sentiments which actuated him; in the instructions he gave the new minister he announced to the world the feeling of regard he had for the success and perpetuation of the republic. The minister was told that "the President has been an early and decided friend of the French revolution; he is immutable in his wishes for its accomplishment, and persuaded that success will attend it." Regarding Jay's mission to London, Monroe was requested to say, that "he is positively forbidden to weaken the engagements between this country and France;" "you will be amply justified in repelling with firmness any imputation of the most distant intention to sacrifice our connection with France to any connection with England. . . . You go, sir, to France, to strengthen our friendship with that country; you will let it be seen that, in case of war with any nation on earth, we shall consider France as our first and natural ally. You may dwell upon the sense we entertain of past services, and for the more recent interposition in our behalf with the dey of Algiers." Truly a friendly feeling was expressed by the great chief for the country that was the home of many who shared with him the perils and hardships of the war of independence. Afterward the President's sentiments seem to have undergone a change, caused no doubt, in part, by the excess-s

connected with the revolution in France, and partly by a feeling that the opportunity for the conclusion of a treaty of commerce with Great Britain should not be allowed to pass unimproved.

On his arrival in Paris August 2, 1794, Mr. Monroe was everywhere received with demonstrations of respect and affection. Twelve days later he was publicly introduced to the national convention, where he was greeted by its president, Merlin de Douay, with a fervid speech, and publicly embraced. The flags of the two countries were intertwined in the halls of the assembly. He immediately availed himself of the favorable impression produced to enter upon the business of his mission. In this he was very successful, the convention, on his representations, repealing its retaliatory decree, passed under the sting of the British orders in council, which subjected provisions on board American vessels to seizure and forced sale. Promise was made of restitution for wrongs already done; and assurances of friendly aid in the settlement of existing difficulties with the Barbary powers. In short, as in his report Mr. Monroe said: "Such is now our situation with the French republic, and with other powers so far as depended on the French republic, that there is but one point upon which we have cause to feel or express any solicitude,—which is that it may not vary."

The lavish attentions bestowed upon the American minister by the leaders in the French republic, and which were accepted in the same spirit which prompted them, called for the unqualified disapproval of the federalist members of President Washington's cabinet. Pickering, at that time secretary of state, with all others of his party, had strong leanings toward England, and a cordial hatred of everything that tended to strengthen friendly relations with France. Immediately on receipt of intelligence regarding Monroe's reception, he wrote him, strongly censuring him for not understanding many things not contained in his written instructions, and which would have been in direct contradiction of his rules of guidance. In his View of the Conduct of the Executive in the Foreign Affairs of the United States, published after his return from France, Mr. Monroe thus speaks of the captious communication he received from the secretary of state: "In this he notices my address to the convention; as also my letter to the committee of public safety, of the 3d of September following; both of which acts he censures in the most unreserved and harsh manner. In the first he charges me with having expressed a solicitude for the welfare of the French republic in a style too warm and affectionate, much more so than my instructions warranted; which, too, he deemed the more reprehensible, from the consideration, that it was presented to the convention in public, and before the world, and not to a committee in a private chamber; since thereby, he adds, we were likely to give offense to other countries, particularly England, with whom we were in treaty; and since, also, the dictates

of sincerity do not require that we should publish to the world all our feelings in favor of France."

In the same convention he made other statements, tending to show the feelings of President Washington toward France: "My instructions enjoined it on me to use my utmost endeavors to inspire the French government with perfect confidence in the solicitude which the President felt for the success of the French revolution, of his preference for France to all other nations as the friend and ally of the United States; of the grateful sense which we still retained for the important services that were rendered us by France in the course of our revolution; and to declare in explicit terms, that although neutrality was the lot we preferred, yet in case we embarked in the war, it would be on her side and against her enemies, be they who they might." This statement was never explicitly denied by Washington; and after his death there were found marginal comments in a volume of Monroe's View, contained in his library, which seem to have been written under the influence of strong feeling. They read: "And is there to be found in any letter from the government to him a single sentiment repugnant thereto? On the contrary, are not the same exhortations repeated over and over again? But could it be inferred from hence, that, in order to please France, we were to relinquish our rights and sacrifice our commerce?" This would certainly imply that Mr. Monroe was correct in the interpretation put upon his instructions.

Considerable jealousy was manifested by the French government on the subject of Mr. Jay's mission to England. In accordance with his instructions Mr. Monroe informed the French government that Mr. Jay was "positively forbidden to weaken the engagements between America and France." On this point he too literally construed his instructions, for he assured the French minister that Mr. Jay "was strictly limited to demand reparation of injuries." When, therefore, came intelligence that the minister to England had concluded a treaty with that country which contained stipulations injurious to French interests, Mr. Monroe for a time quieted apprehension by citing the instructions given himself, which he believed coincided with those given Mr. Jay. At length, on the 24th of December, 1794, Mr. Monroe received a communication from the committee of public safety, requesting a copy of the treaty made with England, that they might be able to judge for themselves regarding its bearing on French interests. To this he replied, that he had received from Mr. Jay information that a treaty had been negotiated, on the 19th of the preceding month, which contained an express declaration that "nothing therein should be construed or operate contrary to existing treaties between the United States and other powers." He also added that he was as yet ignorant of the express provisions of the treaty, and assured the committee that "as soon as he was informed thereof, he would communicate the same to them." Application

was made to Mr. Jay for a copy of the treaty, which he declined to furnish for the information of the French government, but intimated that he would send the "principal heads of it confidentially." Some correspondence followed, in which Mr. Monroe said that nothing short of an exact copy of the treaty would satisfy the French government, and allay the suspicion that it contained provisions injurious to them. Finally, Jay proposed to furnish an oral communication of the contents of the treaty, through his secretary, Colonel Trumbull; which could not be received as it was clogged with conditions, both inexpedient and improper to be entertained. It was finally communicated to an American resident in Paris, by him taken down in writing, and in this roundabout manner reached Mr. Monroe. The treaty stipulations did not come to the knowledge of the French government until they had been received and printed in the newspapers in the United States, and through that channel were forwarded to Paris. As was anticipated by the friends of the treaty, it was received in France with unqualified censure, and its ratification by Congress soon brought affairs with that country to a crisis.

France had a short time before this adopted a new constitution, which went into effect the 31st of October, 1795, giving the control of governmental affairs into the hands of a directory. The French government, after taking three months' time for consideration of the relations that would follow the ratification of Jay's treaty, informed Mr. Monroe "that it considered the alliance between the two countries as ceasing to exist from the moment the treaty was ratified; and would appoint an envoy extraordinary to attend and represent the same to the government of the United States." Mr. Monroe, feeling assured that the pleasant relations heretofore existing between the two governments would be endangered by such precipitate action, earnestly appealed to the minister of foreign affairs to forbear immediate action. The minister again consulted the directory, and soon after informed Mr. Monroe that they were disposed to accommodate in this matter; and he was shortly permitted to attend a council consisting of the executive body and the ministers of foreign affairs and marine. The same frank and manly course he had heretofore pursued, he now followed. He proposed that the complaints of the French government be made to him in writing, to which he would respond in fullness and candor; and that "in the meantime the directory should suspend any decision with regard to the merits of its complaints or the propriety of a special commission." This request was courteously complied with, several of the members of the directory expressing with great earnestness friendship for the United States.

That there was at this time a party in the directory favoring a declaration of war against the United States, is the testimony of a learned French historian; and that this party was led by the president of that body, and followed by one other, is assured on the same authority. There is little

doubt that the influence of Mr. Monroe, exerted upon the three remaining members, had the effect to decide against such action. He himself held to such opinion, as witness an extract from a private letter to Mr. Madison, written February 27, 1796, in which he says: "The minister declares that he prefers to have us open enemies rather than perfidious friends. Other proofs occur to show that this sentiment has gone deep into their councils." No definite action was taken by the directory until the 2d of July, when an arret was adopted as follows: "All neutral or allied powers shall without delay be notified, that the flag of the French republic will treat neutral vessels, either as to confiscations, searches, or captures, as they shall suffer the British flag to treat them."

This was to be understood as meaning that French privateers and men-of-war would thereafter claim the same right as enforced by England, to seize, search, condemn, and sell American vessels and their cargoes, when in the judgment of their captors they contained as cargo any provisions or other commodities useful to themselves or their enemies. Mr. Monroe continued watchfully to guard the interests of the United States in France, and through his representations was instrumental in having rescinded the appointment of a minister to America, whose previous proceedings in a similar capacity had given offence to the government. While he was thus giving his best service to his country, an intrigue was taking place among his political enemies to compass his removal. His inability to reconcile the French government to the Jay treaty, was sufficient to increase the animosity already felt against him by Mr. Pickering, secretary of state, and Mr. Wolcott, secretary of the treasury. The latter wrote Colonel Hamilton, who had some time before had a controversy with Mr. Monroe, and in reply received a communication recommending his immediate recall. The President was constrained to assent to his recall, to keep a semblance of harmony in the cabinet, and he received notification of the fact, with information of the appointment of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney to succeed him, on the 22d of August, 1796.

Returning to America soon after the appointment of his successor, he published his Views of the Conduct of the Executive in the Foreign Affairs of the United States, giving an explanation of his opinions and proceedings relative to his mission in France, and calling in question the consistency of the course pursued by the President. His recall as minister did not affect his personal feeling of regard for his old commander, whose merits and integrity he never failed in acknowledging. Nor does he seem to have cherished a feeling of malice against Mr. Jay, for his course regarding the treaty with England, but left on record testimony to his pure patriotism and integrity of purpose.

CHAPTER III.

ELECTED GOVERNOR OF VIRGINIA—SPECIAL ENVOY TO FRANCE—IN MADISON'S CABINET.

IT was but a short time after his return from France, before Mr. Monroe was again called upon to relinquish the practice of his profession, in which he had immediately engaged, and take a seat in the legislature of Virginia. Here he was not allowed to sink into obscurity as the "disgraced minister," but in 1799 was elected governor of the state. The duties of the office were not onerous, and did not tend to bring him into great prominence. His intimate friend, Thomas Jefferson, was brought forward as a candidate for President, and with Madison, Giles, Nicholas, Taylor, Mason, Tazewell, and other young and brilliant men, Monroe put forth all the efforts he could command to accomplish his election. This was finally determined, after a long and bitter contest in the House of Representatives.

Three years service in the executive office followed Mr. Monroe's election as governor. On the 10th of January, 1802, the President wrote him that his name had been presented to the Senate for confirmation as special envoy to France, with power to conclude a treaty of purchase of the territory of Louisiana, which had but recently passed from the possession of Spain into that of France. Two days later the Senate confirmed his appointment. It was by no means certain that he would accept of the mission, and on the 13th of January Mr. Jefferson addressed him a letter, giving his reasons for urging acceptance of the appointment. So good an idea do they give of the condition of public affairs at the time that their insertion here will not be out of place: "The agitation of the public mind on occasion of the late suspension of our right of deposit at New Orleans is extreme. In the western country it is natural, and grounded on honest motives. In the seaports it proceeds from a desire for war, which increases the mercantile lottery; in the federalists, generally, and especially those of Congress, the object is to force us into war if possible, in order to derange our finances, or if this cannot be done, to attach the western country to them, as their best

friends, and thus get again into power. Remonstrances, memorials, etc., are now circulating through the whole of the western country, and signed by the body of the people. The measures we have been pursuing, being invisible, do not satisfy their minds. Something sensible, therefore, has become necessary; and indeed, our object of purchasing New Orleans and the Floridas is a measure liable to assume so many shapes, that no instructions could be squared to fit them. It was essential, then, to send a minister extraordinary, to be joined with the ordinary one, with discretionary powers; first, however, well impressed with all our views, and therefore qualified to meet and modify to these every form of proposition which could come from the other party. This could be done only in full and frequent oral communications. Having determined on this, there could not be two opinions among the republicans as to the person. You possessed the unlimited confidence of the administration and of the western people; and generally of the republicans everywhere; and were you to refuse to go, no other man can be found who does this. The measure has already silenced the federalists here. Congress will no longer be agitated by them; and the country will become calm as fast as the information extends over it. All eyes, all hopes are now fixed on you; and were you to decline, the chagrin would be universal, and would shake under your feet the high ground on which you stand with the public. Indeed, I know nothing which would produce such a shock. For on the event of this mission depend the future destinies of this republic. If we cannot, by a purchase of the country, insure to ourselves a course of perpetual peace and friendship with all nations, then as war cannot be distant, it behooves us immediately to be preparing for that course, without, however, hastening it; and it may be necessary (on your failure on the continent) to cross the channel. We shall get entangled in European politics, and figuring more, be much less happy and prosperous. This can only be prevented by a successful issue to your present mission. I am sensible, after the measures you have taken for getting into a different line of business, that it will be a great sacrifice on your part, and presents, from the season and other circumstances, serious difficulties. But some men are born for the public. Nature, by fitting them for the service of the human race on a broad scale, has stamped them with the evidences of her destination and their duty."

On the 16th of October, 1802, a proclamation had been issued by Morales, the Spanish intendent of Louisiana, withdrawing the privilege of deposit at New Orleans, which by the treaty of 1795 had been granted the United States for three years. This complicated affairs with Spain, and produced a strong feeling of hostility against that country, particularly throughout Kentucky and that portion of the territory contiguous to the Mississippi and its tributaries. Rumors soon after reached the government that the territory of Louisiana, or what was called the western portion

of the Floridas, had been ceded by Spain to France by a secret treaty. On the earliest information that Spain had withdrawn the privilege of deposit, the federalists seemed determined to incite a war against France and Spain. Measures calculated to produce this were brought forward in Congress; the good sense of a large majority of the representatives favored cooler and more deliberate measures than suited the opposition, who were, however, constrained to submit to the will of the majority. Two millions of dollars were appropriated to defray expenses that might be incurred in securing permanent right to the country bordering the lower Mississippi. Robert R. Livingston had accepted the French mission immediately following the change of administration; his reception by the court of France had been exceedingly cool, and information regarding the reputed purchase of Louisiana was studiously avoided. His instructions were: to attempt to obtain that portion of west Florida lying east of the Mississippi river. In this he met with no encouragement; and on proposing purchase was informed by the minister that "none but spendthrifts satisfied their debts by selling their lands." He soon learned that colonization was a favorite scheme of Napoleon Bonaparte, who had now no expensive wars upon his hands, and saw in Louisiana a means to dispose of his armies as well as gratify his friends. April 24th he wrote that the French government was "at that moment fitting out an armament of between five and seven thousand men, under the command of General Bernadotte," which would sail for New Orleans, "unless the state of affairs in San Domingo should change their destination." He therefore urged the United States to establish a post at Natchez, that would, he thought, give almost equal facilities with New Orleans.

That the purpose of the administration was foreign to this proposal is determined in the letter of the President to Mr. Monroe. On the 12th of March, Livingston wrote the secretary of state, Mr. Madison: "With respect to a negotiation for Louisiana, I think nothing will be effected here. I have done everything I can, through the Spanish ambassador, to obstruct the bargain [between France and Spain] for the Floridas, and I have great hope that it will not be soon concluded."

For some time differences between the continental nations had been brewing trouble. Napoleon had been held up to odium in the British parliament, and in various publications; England was, if anything, anxious for war. No better time could have been chosen for obtaining from France the coveted territory, on the most satisfactory terms. Early in April the French ministry changed its tone, and Talleyrand inquired whether the United States "wished the whole of Louisiana." He was informed by Mr. Livingston "that our wishes extended only to New Orleans and the Floridas." Talleyrand replied, if the French "gave New Orleans the rest would be of little value, and that he would wish to know what the United States would give for the whole." The American minister had, a few days previously,

furnished the French government with the resolutions of Congress regarding the navigation of the Mississippi; a French council had in the meantime been held, at which it had been decided to sell the territory acquired from Spain, as in case of war with England, France could not hope to hold this distant colony, which had no feeling of interest in her success or defeat.

Mr. Monroe arrived off the coast on the 12th of April. On the 13th M. Marbois, the French treasurer, informed Mr. Livingston that Bonaparte said to him on Sunday: "You have charge of the treasury; let them give you one hundred millions of francs, and pay their own claims, and take the whole country." This proposition Livingston was not free to accept until he had consulted with Monroe. On the 15th the two ministers offered the sum of fifty millions of francs, and quietly awaited events. Not long had they to remain in doubt; war was swiftly coming, and France had pressing need of money. On the 30th of April a treaty and two conventions were entered into between the American and French ministers, by which the entire province of Louisiana was ceded by France to the United States, for the sum of sixty millions of francs to be paid directly to France,—twenty millions of francs to be paid citizens of the United States as indemnity for seizures and confiscations of American vessels. It was also provided that the inhabitants of the province should "be incorporated into the union of the United States, and admitted as soon as possible, according to the principles of the federal Constitution, to the enjoyment of all the rights, advantages, and immunities of citizens of the United States; and, in the mean time, they should be maintained and protected in the free enjoyment of their liberty, property, and the religion which they professed." French and Spanish ships were, for the space of twelve years, to be allowed entrance to any port in the ceded territory, on the same terms and in the same manner as American vessels coming from the same or similar ports belonging to either of those nations.

Thus, by the exercise of diplomacy, was assured the purchase of a large territory, for the sum of fifteen millions of dollars. Just eleven days after the conclusion of the treaty of cession, the British minister received his passports and left France, and the bloody struggle was begun, which finally ended only with the banishment of the ambitious Corsican who for so many years had fomented discord in Europe.

The result of the negotiations being communicated to the government, Mr. Monroe crossed the channel and succeeded Rufus King as minister to the court of St. James. Mr. King had served in that capacity during the Presidency of Adams, having been accredited minister about the time Monroe was recalled from France. He had been requested by President Jefferson to remain in the same capacity, but his sympathies being with the federalist party, he chose to resign. Here Mr. Monroe sought an arrangement for the protection of American seamen against impressment, and for the rec-

ognition of the rights of neutrals. Without accomplishing his object in this direction, he was suddenly called to Spain, to co-operate with Mr. Pinckney in the settlement of a dispute which had arisen relative to boundaries between that portion of the Floridas ceded to the United States by France, and that portion retained by Spain.

Here again the controversy was left unsettled, and Mr. Monroe was recalled to London to maintain the rights of the United States as neutrals in the war then waging with France. He was soon joined by William Pinkney, who had been appointed minister to England; together they negotiated a treaty in 1806, which, although not as favorable as they could have wished, was yet deemed by them advantageous to the United States. This treaty was concluded December 31st. Early in January the government learned that a treaty containing no stipulations regarding impressment of American seamen, was under consideration; and on the 3d of February forwarded to the ministers instructions to insist on this one point; that in case a treaty had been entered into which did not provide against impressment, it would not be ratified. Unfortunately the treaty had already been signed, the 31st of December. In addition to the omission of the stipulation demanded, came a declaration of the British ministry that their government reserved the right of departing from its stipulations relating to neutrality, if the United States submitted to demands of search made by France.

Without submitting the treaty to Congress, President Jefferson returned it to Mr. Monroe, with the explanation that its provisions, if agreed to, would bind the United States in a manner foreign to its interests, for the term of ten years, while it gave Great Britain the largest latitude; that if he saw amendment of the treaty impossible, he had best return and allow Mr. Pinkney to procrastinate negotiations, "and give us time, the most precious of all things to us." He then offered Mr. Monroe the governorship of New Orleans, at that period "the second office in the United States in importance." The effect of this action of the President was to produce an unpleasantness in the mind of Monroe, who conceived the course followed by Mr. Jefferson as ill-advised, in that the treaty was not submitted to Congress. However, this would have been of no avail, as the state of feeling in the United States at that time was strongly determined against any stipulations that did not expressly provide for discontinuance of the outrage of impressment. The affair of the *Chesapeake* and *Leopard*, which occurred about this time, detained Mr. Monroe for a short period, when he returned to the United States, in the late autumn of 1807. During Monroe's absence in Europe occurred the defection of John Randolph, chairman of the committee of ways and means, in the House. Hitherto he had been classed among the friends of the administration; now he became an outspoken opponent of Jefferson, Madison, and others, the leaders of the party in power. In opposition to the nomination of Mr. Madison as the

successor of President Jefferson, he organized a small party of malcontents, who were dubbed the "Quids." Among their earliest measures was the advocacy of James Monroe as candidate for President.

Coupled with Monroe's dissatisfaction in regard to Jefferson's course in the matter of the treaty, was the belief that he was secretly endeavoring to promote Madison's interests, and secure the nomination of the secretary of state for President, instead of giving him an equal chance by remaining neutral. This belief was shared by a large majority of the friends of Monroe. On the 19th of January, 1808, a caucus of republican members of Congress was called, to meet on the 23d, and put in nomination candidates for the offices of President and Vice President. The caucus was held, and consisted of eighty-nine members, some thirty or forty short of the whole number; the absentees being mostly those who saw no prospect for the nomination of the candidate of their choice. In the caucus for President Madison received eighty three votes, Clinton three, and Monroe three; for Vice President, Clinton received seventy-nine votes, John Langdon five, General Dearborn three, and John Quincy Adams one. The result was embarrassing to the administration. The friends of Monroe refused to acquiesce in the decision of the caucus, and a protest, signed by seventeen of the "Quids," was soon after published. Several communications passed between Jefferson and Monroe,—the latter writing with considerable warmth of feeling,—before the breach was healed. In these letters Mr. Jefferson disavowed any influence on the side of either, though undoubtedly his preferences were for Madison, who possessed the greater intellect, and was really the better entitled to the honor. Mr. Madison in later years testified to the character of Monroe, and the unimpeded flow of their friendship, in the following words: "His understanding was very much underrated—his judgment particularly good. Few men have ever made more of what may be called sacrifices in the services of the public. When he considered the interests or the dignity of the country involved, his own interest was never regarded. Besides this cause, his extreme generosity—not only to the numerous members of his family dependent upon him—but to friends not united by blood, has greatly tended to his impoverishment. Perhaps there never was another instance of two men brought so often, and so directly, at points, who retained their cordiality towards each other unimpaired through the whole. We used to meet in days of considerable excitement, and address the people on our respective sides; but there never was an atom of ill will between us."

Three years elapsed following Mr. Monroe's return from the English mission, before he again entered political life. History gives no intimation of his life during this period. As he was educated to the law it is probable he practiced at the bar. In 1811 he was again elected governor of Virginia, which office he held until November of that year, when he succeeded Rob-

ert Smith in the cabinet of Mr. Madison, as secretary of state. In this office he remained during President Madison's administration; after the British capture of Washington, in August, 1814, adding to his duties those of secretary of war, which department was resigned by General Armstrong. He arranged for the defense of New Orleans, and conducted affairs connected with the war office until peace was signed. In raising funds for the defense of New Orleans, he was compelled to pledge his private credit, the credit of the government at that time being at a low ebb. After the conclusion of peace he resumed his duties in the department of state; where he devised those measures which aimed at the re-establishment of the credit of the government, and more complete preparation for exigencies similar to that through which it had just passed. In the course adopted he was sustained by public opinion; and he followed the same line of policy during the two terms he occupied the presidential chair.

CHAPTER IV.

ELECTED PRESIDENT—POPULARITY OF HIS ADMINISTRATION—RE-ELECTED PRESIDENT.

EARLY in the spring of 1816 the republican members of Congress assembled in caucus, to place in nomination a candidate for the presidential succession. The party in New York pressed the claims of Governor Daniel D. Tompkins to the first place on the ticket. At the time of the resignation of General Armstrong as secretary of war, Mr. Madison proposed that Monroe should vacate the office of state, and that Governor Tompkins should succeed him. To this the latter demurred, assigning as a reason, that he could render more service to the government as governor of New York than as a member of the cabinet. This offer of the President was construed by the friends of Governor Tompkins as an intimation that he would receive the support of the administration in the next presidential contest. That he was not so supported was a disappointment to his friends, who thereupon united with others of the party who were inimical to Monroe, in efforts to secure the nomination of William H. Crawford, of Georgia. The caucus was held March 16th, and developed a warm contest; the result was sixty-five votes for James Monroe, and fifty-four for William H. Crawford. For Vice President Daniel D. Tompkins received eighty-five votes as against thirty cast for Simon Snyder, governor of Pennsylvania. The federalist party selected as candidate Rufus King, who had won considerable renown as minister to England. The election, held in the late autumn of 1816, gave to Monroe and Tompkins one hundred and eighty-three electoral votes, as against thirty-four given Rufus King for President. The electoral vote for Vice President on the federal ticket was divided among several candidates.

After the election of Mr. Monroe was an assured fact, although the electoral college had not yet met and announced the result, he received a letter from General Andrew Jackson, in which the latter proffered advice rela-

tive to the selection of a cabinet. The following is an extract from the letter: "Your happiness and the nation's welfare materially depend upon the selections which are to be made to fill the heads of departments. Everything depends on the selection of your ministry. In every selection, party and party feelings should be avoided. Now is the time to exterminate that monster called party spirit. By selecting characters most conspicuous for their probity, virtue, capacity, and firmness, without regard to party, you will go far to, if not entirely, eradicate those feelings which, on former occasions, threw so many obstacles in the way of government; and perhaps have the pleasure and honor of uniting a people heretofore politically divided. The chief magistrate of a great and powerful nation should never indulge in party feelings. His conduct should be liberal and disinterested, always bearing in mind that he acts for the whole and not a part of the community." How closely this advice was followed by Jackson himself, when he came to the presidential chair, future pages will illustrate.

In his reply Mr. Monroe discussed, at some length, the subject of parties and appointments, and in the course of his remarks said: "The election of a successor to Mr. Madison has taken place, and a new administration is to commence its service. The election has been made by the republican party, and of a person known to be devoted to that cause. How shall he act? How organize the administration? How fill the vacancies existing at the time? The distinction between republicans and federalists, even in the southern, and middle, and western states, has not been fully done away. To give effect to free government, and secure it from future danger, ought not its decided friends, who stood firm in the day of trial, to be principally relied on? Would not the association of any of their opponents in the administration, itself wound their feelings, or at least of very many of them, to the injury of the republican cause? Might it not be considered, by the other party, as an offer of compromise with them, which would lessen the ignominy due to the counsel which produced the Hartford convention, and thereby have a tendency to revive that party on its former principles? My impression is, that the administration should rest strongly on the republican party, indulging toward the other a spirit of moderation, and evincing a desire to discriminate between its members, and to bring the whole into the republican fold, as quietly as possible. Many men, very distinguished for their talents, are of opinion that the existence of the federal party is necessary to keep union and order in the republican ranks; that is, that free government cannot exist without parties. This is not my opinion. The first object is to save the cause, which can be done by those who are devoted to it only, and, of course, by keeping them together; or, in other words, by not disgusting them by too hasty an act of liberality to the other party, thereby breaking that generous spirit of the republican party, and keeping alive that of the federal party. The second is, to prevent the reorganization

and revival of the federal party, which, if my hypothesis is true, that the existence of party is not necessary to a free government, and the other opinion which I have advanced is well founded, that the great body of the federal party are republican, will not be found impracticable. To accomplish both objects, and thereby exterminate all party divisions in our country, and give new strength and stability to our government, is a great undertaking, not easily executed. I am, nevertheless, decidedly of opinion that it may be done; and should the experiment fail, I shall conclude that its failure was imputable more to the want of a correct knowledge of all circumstances claiming attention, and of sound judgment in the measures adopted, than to any other cause. I agree, I think, perfectly with you, in the grand object, that moderation should be shown the federal party, and even a generous policy adopted toward it; the only difference between us seems to be, how far shall that spirit be indulged in at the outset; and it is to make you thoroughly acquainted with my views on this highly important subject, that I have written you so freely upon it." In this communication Monroe enunciated in more moderate form the principle afterward given to the country by William L. Marcy, which has since been one of the cardinal doctrines of the democratic party: "To the victors belong the spoils."

The installation of James Monroe and Daniel D. Tompkins as President and Vice President, took place in Washington, March 4, 1817. An imposing procession was formed, its head at the house of the President-elect, who, in company with the Vice President-elect, attended by a large number of gentlemen on horseback, proceeded to Congress hall, where the ceremonies of inauguration were conducted. The Vice President being first inducted into his office, the Senate adjourned, and the President-elect, the Vice President, judges of the supreme court, senators, and representatives, advanced to a temporary portico, where the President delivered his inaugural address, after which the oath of office was administered by Chief-justice Marshall.

As was intimated in his communication to General Jackson, the President was guided by party bias in the choice of his advisers. For secretary of state he selected John Quincy Adams, of Massachusetts; for secretary of the treasury, William H. Crawford, of Georgia; for secretary of war, John C. Calhoun, of South Carolina; for attorney-general, William Wirt, of Virginia. The two last named were appointed in December, 1817, the former in place of Governor Isaac Shelby, of Kentucky, who declined the appointment. Benjamin W. Crowninshield, who had been appointed secretary of the navy by Mr. Madison, was continued in office until November 9, 1818, when he was succeeded by Smith Thompson, of New York. Return J. Meigs, of Ohio, was continued as postmaster-general, which was not at that time a cabinet office. He retained that office from March 17, 1814, until June 26, 1823, when he was succeeded by John M'Lean, also from

Ohio. During his two terms as President these were all the changes made by Mr. Monroe in the cabinet, or heads of department.

From the beginning of his administration President Monroe carried forward the measures that had been instituted in the latter part of Madison's administration, looking to the strengthening of the government at home. First among these was the preparation for defense against foreign invasion. The recent war with Great Britain had developed the weakness of coast defenses, and to these attention was first directed. Himself already possessed of considerable military knowledge derived in two wars, the President supplemented this by practical observation. Immediately after the ceremonies of inauguration were concluded, he turned his attention in this direction; and an interval of leisure presenting itself, on the 31st of May, 1817, he entered upon the duty of personally inspecting the coast fortifications to the northeast, and the defenses in the north and northwest. Departing from the capital he proceeded to Baltimore, thence through the state of Delaware to Philadelphia and New York. To the northeast he journeyed, visiting the principal cities and towns in Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts, to Boston. Thence to Concord and the larger towns in New Hampshire, and through Maine to Portland. Here a counter course was pursued, westward through Vermont to Plattsburgh, thence through the forest to the St. Lawrence, where the party took boat and proceeded to Sackett's Harbor and Fort Niagara; along the strait to Buffalo, through Lake Erie to Detroit; thence south through the territory of Michigan; through Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maryland to the capital—in all an absence of three months. In this time he inspected garrisons, examined fortifications, reviewed troops, and obtained an accurate knowledge of the condition of the government works on the sea and lake coast; all of which was of great advantage in the eight years of his administration. Added to this, he met the people of diverse points in the Union, and acquired a variety of information regarding the capabilities of the country, the character and surroundings of the people. Since Washington no President had made a tour that brought him before the people, and his visits were confined to the eastern and middle states. Everywhere on his journey was the President received with enthusiasm; as he approached towns and cities delegations of citizens met him, and as he proceeded on his way, accompanied him toward the next stopping place. Addresses were made and responded to. Before the New York Society of the Cincinnati,—composed of officers who had served in the war of the Revolution,—he said: "The opportunity which my visit to this city has presented of meeting the New York Society of the Cincinnati, with many of whom I was well acquainted in our revolution, affords me heartfelt satisfaction. It is impossible to meet any of those patriotic citizens, whose valuable services were so

intimately connected with that great event without recollections which it is equally just and honorable to cherish."

The prospects of a merging of parties being alluded to in an address presented by the citizens of Kennebunk, Maine, the President replied: "You are pleased to express a confident hope that a spirit of mutual conciliation may be one of the blessings which may result from my administration. This, indeed, would be an eminent blessing, and I pray it may be realized. Nothing but union is wanting to make us a great people. The present time affords the happiest presage that this union is fast consummating. It cannot be otherwise; I daily see greater proofs of it. The further I advance in my progress in the country, the more I perceive that we are all Americans—that we compose but one family—that our republican institutions will be supported and perpetuated by the united zeal and patriotism of all. Nothing could give me greater satisfaction than to behold a perfect union among ourselves—a union which is necessary to restore to social intercourse its former charms, and to render our happiness, as a nation, unmixed and complete. To promote this desirable result requires no compromise of principles, and I promise to give it my continued attention, and my best endeavors."

The first session of the fifteenth Congress opened on the 1st of December, 1817, and continued until the 30th of April, 1818. During that time important legislation was effected; the duties on licenses to distillers, on refined sugar, licenses to retailers, sales at auction, on pleasure carriages, and stamps, were repealed, as recommended by the President in his message. The compensation for members of both houses of Congress was fixed at eight dollars per day, and eight dollars for every twenty miles travel; the act of March, 1816, establishing the salary of members at fifteen hundred dollars per year, was repealed. A great measure of relief was afforded the officers and soldiers of the revolutionary army, by the passage of a pension act; two years subsequently this act was amended to apply only to those in destitute circumstances. Hitherto this measure,—long in contemplation,—had been delayed by the financial condition of the country, but public opinion was aroused and sustained the law for the relief of those who had imperilled their lives for the establishment of independence. An act in modification of the act of 1807, relative to the importation of slaves, was passed; also a law prohibiting filibustering expeditions against the subjects of any government at peace with the United States. This law was passed to prevent an invasion of the territory of Mexico, which was then apprehended. The state of Mississippi was admitted into the Union December 10, 1817; and an act passed in the following April, authorizing the people of the territory of Illinois to form a constitution and organize a state government, preparatory to being admitted into the Union. The ports of the United States were closed to vessels from any colony of Great Britain, the

ports of which were closed to vessels of the United States. An act was passed establishing the flag of the United States; and defining it as composed of thirteen stripes, of alternate red and white, and that the Union be represented by one star for each state, the stars to be white in a blue field. Protection was granted on certain manufactures: copper, cut-glass, Russia sheetings, iron, nails, and other articles. The duties on manufactured cotton and woolen goods were continued for a period of seven years. The tariff of 1816, on the two articles of cotton and woolen goods, had been fixed at twenty-five per cent., and the minimum value of a square yard of cotton established at twenty-five cents; still, vast quantities of manufactured goods were brought to this country, to the demoralization of manufacturing industries and the bankruptcy of those who had engaged in them. The subject of internal improvements was discussed in Congress at this session, and developed opposition to governmental supervision of such works.

Serious difficulties arose with Spain in the early part of 1818, caused by the invasion of the Floridas by General Jackson, in pursuit of Indians, who had been making warlike incursions into the southern portion of the United States. In the course of his expedition General Jackson captured and took possession of several Spanish forts, alleging as a reason, that they had given support and aid to the fleeing Indians, and in no other manner could a period be put to their depredations. At this time, treaty negotiations were in progress with Spain, which were interrupted by the invasion of the territory belonging to that government.* By direction of the President the captured posts were restored to the Spanish authorities. On the 22d of February, 1819, a treaty was entered into with Spain, by which that power ceded to the United States East and West Florida, with all the islands adjacent, for the sum of five millions of dollars. This treaty covered the Spanish possessions in the southeast, but left a large territory subject to Spain in the west and southwest. Not until October, 1820, was this treaty ratified by the king of Spain. In the meantime Mexico had declared and accomplished her independence from the dominion of Spain, and the ratification of the treaty, which called for a definitive settlement of the question of western boundary, as well as the cession of the Floridas, did not accomplish all that was expected of it. Eight years later the boundary line was determined with Mexico. In the discussion of the provisions to be inserted in the treaty with Spain, that government was prepared to release a considerable body of territory to the westward of the Mississippi river; but strenuous objection being made by statesmen in the eastern states, to any enlargement of the Union in the southwest, it was finally decided to limit the extension in that direction. While this had an effect in preventing the extension of slavery in that direction for a term of years, eventually

* See Life of Andrew Jackson.

it led to the war with Mexico, which had as its direct object the increase of slave territory.

In 1818 a treaty convention was concluded by the United States and Great Britain, relative to the Newfoundland and other fisheries, the northwestern boundary line,—between the Lake of the Woods and the Rocky mountains,—and to the renewal and extension of the treaty of 1815 for the term of ten years; also for the restoration of slaves taken in the war of 1812. Although the subject of impressment of seamen was urged upon the British government, no action was taken on that question. During the summer of 1819 the President made a tour through the southern states, having for its object inspection of military posts and fortifications in that portion of the Union. In the course of his journey he visited Charleston, Savannah, and Augusta, thence through the territory occupied by the Cherokee nation, to Nashville; thence to Louisville and Lexington; reaching Washington on his return in August.

The first term of the Monroe administration was signalized by great depression in the money market; business was stagnated, and manufactures were well nigh suspended. Says Thomas H. Benton in his Thirty Years in the United States Senate: "The bank of the United States was chartered in 1816, and before 1820 had performed one of its cycles of delusion and bubble prosperity, followed by actual and widespread calamity. The whole paper system, of which it was the head and the citadel, after a vast expansion, had suddenly collapsed, spreading desolation over the land, and carrying ruin to debtors. The years 1819 and 1820 were a period of gloom and agony. No money, either gold or silver; no measure or standard of value, left remaining. The local banks,—all but those of New England,—after a brief resumption of specie payments, again sank into a state of suspension. The bank of the United States, created as a remedy for all these evils, now at the head of the evil, prostrate and helpless, with no power left but that of suing its debtors, and selling their property, and purchasing for itself at its own nominal price. No price for property or produce. No sales but those of the sheriff and the marshal. No purchasers at execution sales but the creditor, or some hoarder of money. No employment for industry—no demand for labor—no sale for the product of the farm—no sound of the hammer, but that of the auctioneer, knocking down property. Stop laws—property laws—replevin laws—stay laws—loan office laws—the intervention of the legislature between the creditor and the debtor; this was the business of legislation in three-fourths of the states of the Union—of all south and west of New England. No medium of exchange but depreciated paper; no change even, but little bits of foul paper, marked so many cents, and signed by some tradesman, barber, or inn-keeper; exchanges deranged to the extent of fifty or one hundred per cent. Distress, the universal cry

of the people; relief, the universal demand thundered at the doors of all legislation, state and federal."

The attention of the government was continually directed to the financial concerns of the country, stability in the currency being deemed the chief end to be secured. With this in view, sales of government lands were made, and the proceeds applied to extinguishment of the public debt. Measures were taken looking to further protection of manufactures. The demands on the treasury were greatly increased by the passage of the pension law, more than one million of dollars being paid out of the federal treasury on this one account. The increase of the tariff on foreign productions, while it encouraged home industry, did not increase the revenue derived from the tax on imports; and the financial matters were in an embarrassed condition.

Mr. Clay was elected speaker of the sixteenth Congress, which met December 6, 1819, in which honorable position he had served through several preceding sessions. On the 14th, Alabama was admitted into the Union; and on the 15th of March following, Maine also became a state. Previous to this time Maine had, since the year 1652, been a part of Massachusetts. An act was also passed, on the 6th of March, 1820, authorizing the citizens of Missouri to form a constitution and organize a state government, preparatory to admission into the Union. An excited debate followed the proposition to insist, as a condition precedent, that the future removal or conveyance of slaves into that territory be prohibited. The bill was finally passed without restriction. The second session of the sixteenth Congress began November 13, 1820. At the opening of the session Mr. Clay tendered his resignation, private business of an urgent nature preventing his further serving as speaker of the House. He was succeeded by John W. Taylor, of New York. The most important question before Congress was the admission of Missouri as a state in accordance with the action of the previous session. At that session Mr. Clay had introduced a resolution of compromise, by which slavery was to be forever prohibited in that part of the territory west of the Missouri river and lying north of thirty-six degrees and thirty minutes north latitude.

In the early part of the current session the constitution framed by the citizens of Missouri, was presented to Congress, and was referred to a committee, which reported it to be republican in form; and advised that Missouri be admitted into the sisterhood of states. Objection was made to such disposal of the question, on the ground that the constitution of the state permitted slavery; and further, that it contained a provision which would prove inimical to free persons of color, recognized as citizens in some of the states. Debate was continued for a week, with great heat on both sides. A majority of fourteen in the House decided that Missouri could not be received into the Union under the constitution presented. This vote was

carried by the northern, eastern, and middle states, all the southern states voting for admission. In this condition the question rested until the 14th of February, when came the time for opening and counting the votes of the electoral college, and declaring the election of a President and Vice President. Missouri had chosen presidential electors; not being definitely admitted a state, a question arose as to the propriety of counting her electoral vote. It was finally decided that the votes should be counted, and that the president of the Senate should declare that, if the votes of Missouri were counted, A. B. would have so many, and if the votes of Missouri were not counted, A. B. would have so many: in either case A. B. is elected. The same course was followed in counting the votes for Vice President. Mr. Clay had again resumed his seat in the House, and warmly supported this resolution. An effort was made by Mr. Randolph to declare that Missouri was a state of the Union, but this was not acceded to. On the 26th of February a resolution was offered by Mr. Clay, from a joint committee of the two houses, for the admission of Missouri into the Union, on the condition that the legislature of the state should assent to the proposition that nothing in the constitution of the state should ever be construed to the disadvantage of any citizen of any other state of the United States. This was agreed to in both House and Senate, and the President approving, on August 10, 1821, Missouri was admitted into the Union. The feeling of opposition to the extension of slavery, and the aggressions of the slave power, grew from this time forth, and never abated until the proclamation of emancipation, which went into effect in January, 1863, forever settled the question of slavery in the United States.

CHAPTER V.

THE SECOND ADMINISTRATION—ESTIMATE OF HIS ABILITIES—HIS DEATH IN NEW YORK.

OTHER acts of the sixteenth Congress were the placing of the army on a peace footing, reducing the force to seven regiments of infantry and four regiments of artillery, with additional officers for the engineering and ordnance departments. The appropriation for the navy, which had amounted, the previous year, to one million dollars, was reduced one-half. The President was authorized to take proper steps to assume control of the Floridas, which had been ceded to the United States by treaty, and the treaty ratified by the Spanish king, and by the United States government. Several propositions were presented, that were not acceded to; among others, that the sedition law of 1798 be repealed, and restitution made of fines collected through its provisions.

In the early spring of 1820, was held the convention for placing in nomination candidates for President and Vice President for the four years beginning March 4, 1821. James Monroe and Daniel D. Tompkins again received the nomination. The result of the election held in the following November, was flattering to the administration, evincing a degree of approval that had been accorded no incumbent of the office since the time of Washington. Mr. Monroe received two hundred and thirty-one electoral votes, but one vote being cast in opposition. Mr. Tompkins fell fourteen votes short of unanimous re-election. On Monday, the 5th of March, Mr. Monroe was a second time inducted into office, in the presence of a large number of his fellow-citizens.

The first session of the seventeenth Congress began December 3, 1821, and closed its labors May 8, 1822. Mr. Clay not being a member of this Congress, Philip P. Barbour, of Virginia, was chosen speaker of the House. A territorial government was established for Florida, and laws passed annulling certain ordinances then in force in the territory. A new appor-

tionment law was passed, establishing the ratio of representation at one representative for each forty thousand inhabitants. The increase of the protective tariff received strong support, but no legislation was had granting further relief to manufacturers. The independence of Mexico was recognized, as was that of five provinces in South America.

Early in 1823 President Monroe consulted Mr. Jefferson in relation to the course best to be followed by the government in the present attitude of the allied powers of Europe regarding Spain and her provinces. In reply Mr. Jefferson wrote, under date of June 11th: "The matter which now embroils Europe, the presumption of dictating to an independent nation the form of its government, is so arrogant, so atrocious, that indignation, as well as moral sentiment, enlists all our partialities and prayers in favor of one, and our equal exertions against the other. I do not know, indeed, whether all nations do not owe one another a bold and open declaration of their sympathies with the one party, and their detestation of the conduct of the other. But farther than this we are not bound to go; and, indeed, for the sake of the world, we ought not to increase the jealousies, or draw on ourselves the power, of this formidable confederacy. I have ever deemed it fundamental for the United States never to take active part in the quarrels of Europe." In his opinion all we could do for Spain was to make "our neutrality as partial as would be justifiable without giving cause of war to her adversary." England looked with longing eyes at Cuba as the richest portion of the West Indies, and evidently wished to add this source of profit to her vast possessions. The United States government was better satisfied to see things remain as they then were. The inhabitants of Cuba desired independence; failing to attain that, the next thing to be desired was annexation to the United States or to Mexico. Not many months passed before new interest attached to this question. It was rumored and believed, in both England and America, that the Holy Alliance now proposed direct interference between Spain and her revolted colonies. The British premier, Mr. Canning, who had heretofore shown no disposition of respect to the United States, earnestly solicited her assistance in preserving the integrity of Spain, and promised full support of England. As Mr. Monroe had before consulted with Mr. Jefferson regarding the question, so he now laid before him the condition of affairs.

In a letter to his former private secretary, William Short, under date August 4, 1820, Mr. Jefferson gave utterance to an opinion which expressed in full the advice he subsequently gave President Monroe. On that occasion he said: "The day is not distant, when we may formally require a meridian of partition through the ocean which separates the two hemispheres, on the hither side of which no European gun shall ever be heard, nor an American on the other; and when during the rage of the eternal wars of Europe, the lion and the lamb, within our regions, shall lie down together

in peace. The principles of society there and here, then, are radically different, and I hope no American patriot will ever lose sight of the essential policy of interdicting in the seas and territories of both Americas, the ferocious and sanguinary contests of Europe." In his reply to the communication of President Monroe he first asks the question, "Do we wish to acquire to our own confederacy any one or more of the Spanish provinces?" and then answers that "this can never be attained, even with her [Cuba's] own consent, but by war; and if its independence, which is our second interest (and especially its independence of England), can be secured without it, I have no hesitation in abandoning my first wish to future chances, and accepting its independence, with peace and the friendship of England, rather than its association, at the expense of war and her enmity. I could honestly, therefore, join in the declaration proposed, that we aim not at the acquisition of any of these possessions, that we will not stand in the way of any amicable arrangement between them and the mother country; but that we will oppose, with all our means, the forcible interposition of any other power as auxiliary, stipendiary, or under any other form or pretext, and most especially, their transfer to any power by conquest, cession, or acquisition in any other way. I should think it, therefore, advisable, that the Executive should encourage the British government to a continuance in the disposition expressed in the letters, by an assurance of his concurrence with them as far as his authority goes; and that as it may lead to war, the declaration of which requires an act of Congress, the case shall be laid before them for consideration at their first meeting, and under the reasonable aspect in which it is seen by himself." Thus the principles that were a few weeks later promulgated by Monroe were directly suggested by Jefferson in this communication.

President Monroe's message, giving utterance to the famous "Monroe doctrine," was published December 2, 1823. It announced that, "We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to our peace and safety. With existing colonies or dependencies of any European power we have not interfered, and shall not interfere. But with the governments which have declared their independence and maintained it, and whose independence we have on great considerations and on just principles acknowledged, we could not view any interposition, for the purpose of oppressing them or controlling in any measure their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States." The principle here enunciated has since remained one of the cardinal doctrines of the government, though the ill-advised action of a subsequent secretary of the state, in the case of the occupation by a British force of certain territory in

Nicaragua, had the effect to, in a measure, annul its force, and establish a precedent in direct opposition to the Monroe doctrine.

In the eighteenth Congress, which convened December 1, 1823, again came up the subject of internal improvements. Mr. Monroe, in a special message submitted to Congress May 4, 1822, had made an intelligent and comprehensive review of the subject, expressing an opinion that it was beyond the powers of Congress. The growth of public opinion in favor of a system of internal improvements, that would develop the vast resources of the country, caused him to change his previous views, and authorize the necessary surveys, plans, and estimates for such canals and roads as would prove of national benefit. Congress appropriated the sum of thirty thousand dollars for this purpose.

As early as 1822, when yet remained three years of Monroe's second term as President, the question relative to his successor occupied the minds of politicians, at Washington and elsewhere. Among the names proposed as candidates were William H. Crawford, John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and General Andrew Jackson. Events reduced the number to four. The vote in the electoral college gave Andrew Jackson ninety-nine, John Quincy Adams eighty-four, William H. Crawford forty-one, and Henry Clay thirty-seven. No election resulting, the question was, under the Constitution, removed to the House of Representatives, where it was determined in February, 1825, Adams receiving the vote of thirteen states, General Jackson of seven, and Crawford of four. Retaining the office until the 3d of March, 1825, Monroe witnessed the inauguration of his successor, after which he retired to private life.

His administration was eminently prosperous. In the language of Mr. Adams: "President Monroe strengthened his country for defense, by a system of combined fortifications, military and naval; sustaining her rights, her dignity and honor abroad; soothing her dissensions, and conciliating her acerbities at home; controlling by a firm, though peaceful policy, the hostile spirit of the European alliance against republican Southern America; extorting, by the mild compulsion of reason, the shores of the Pacific from the stipulated acknowledgment of Spain; and leading back the imperial autocrat of the north, to his lawful boundaries, from his hastily-asserted dominion over the southern ocean. Thus strengthening and consolidating the federative edifice of his country's union, till he was entitled to say, like Augustus Cæsar of his imperial city, that he had found her built of brick, and left her constructed of marble."

Unlike Jefferson and Madison, his predecessors in the presidential chair, Monroe was not a philosopher or a statesman; he was more a politician. Never so fertile in resource as either, he yet seized upon and amplified ideas that originated in the brains of others, and achieved a popularity in the dominant party that advanced him from post to post of honor until he

reached the height of ambition. Though essentially at the head of the party, he was not a formulator of principles, but had the faculty of adapting and improving upon the formulas of others until they were accepted as his own. Never brilliant in expedient, he was yet persevering in the line of conduct he deemed best adapted to secure a desired end. As a foreign minister he was mainly guided by instructions from government; sometimes too literally construing these and bringing upon himself condemnation, as was the case when minister to France in 1794–96. Again was this true when he, in conjunction with William Pinkney, negotiated a treaty of commerce with England, so obviously at variance with any spirit of justice to his own country that President Jefferson returned it, with instructions that it be amended or the subject indefinitely postponed. This occurrence immediately followed the treaty with France by which was acquired the territory of Louisiana, and the ownership of the Mississippi river—of the greatest importance to the United States—the credit for which negotiation belonged to Robert R. Livingston, resident minister to France, rather than to Mr. Monroe.

While Jefferson and Madison were not averse to high official honors, Monroe left unturned no stone that would help to insure success. The nomination of Mr. Madison in 1808, as candidate for President, wounded him deeply, and called from him several exceedingly sharp letters to Mr. Jefferson, who he conceived to be in a measure responsible for his failure to secure the nomination. It has already been shown that the measure since known as the "Monroe doctrine," was directly proposed to him by Mr. Jefferson; which bears out the assertion that he was not a formulator of doctrine, but instead, followed where others led. All in all, Mr. Monroe was more a politician than a statesman; more a military man than either. His early life was spent in the camp and on the field, and had events given opportunity he might have achieved renown as a soldier, though it is probable he would never have attained to the high place he reached in civic honors.

He was an honest and an honorable man, and as chief magistrate commanded the respect of men of all parties. Though in the course of his life he received from the treasury of the United States, for his public services, the sum of three hundred and fifty-eight thousand dollars, he was largely in debt on his retirement from office. This was in part due to the fact that when secretary of state during the war of 1812, he pledged his private credit to the support of government in preparing for the defense of New Orleans, for which sum he had not as yet been reimbursed. He was finally relieved by an act of Congress, which adjusted his claims.

At the close of his presidential career Mr. Monroe retired to his residence in Loudoun county, Virginia, where he was soon after appointed a county magistrate, which office he retained until his departure for New



RESIDENCE OF JAMES MONROE.

York. In 1817 he was associated with Jefferson and Madison, on the board of visitors of the Central college, of Virginia, afterwards incorporated into the University of Virginia, of which he became curator some years after his retirement. In 1830 he was elected member of the convention called to revise the constitution of the state, and on the declination of the chair by Mr. Madison, was chosen president of the convention. Illness, however, prevented his remaining throughout the subsequent deliberations, and he was compelled to retire to his residence.

Little is known concerning the wife of Mr. Monroe, or the antecedents of her family. That her name was Eliza Kortright, and her father a captain in the British service, who settled in New York soon after the close of the revolution, is known. It is supposed Mr. Monroe met her in society when himself a member of the Congress which assembled in New York. In 1786, he addressed a letter to his friend, James Madison, in which he said: "If you visit this place shortly, I will present you to a young lady who will be adopted by a citizen of Virginia in the course of this week." This communication was dated February 11th, and it is evident they were married within a few days thereafter. No record of the date is in existence in the families of any of his descendants. Mrs. Monroe accompanied her husband on his several journeys to Europe, and there remained during his protracted residence abroad. Soon after his marriage he purchased a home in Loudoun county, Virginia, where his family resided during the years he spent in the cabinet of President Madison, and from which he went to his own inauguration as President. In the executive mansion Mrs. Monroe was surrounded by admirers; though not educated to the etiquette of the court, her residence in Europe and frequent attendance at court in France, England and Spain, had given her self-poise and a certain stateliness that well became the mistress of the White House. Her death occurred at Oak Hill, in 1830. Soon thereafter Mr. Monroe went to New York and passed the remainder of his life with his youngest daughter, who had become the wife of Samuel L. Gouverneur, where, on the 4th day of July, 1831, he died. The elder of his two children married George Hay, of Richmond, and for many years resided in that city.

In personal appearance Mr. Monroe was tall and well-formed, being over six feet in stature, with light complexion and blue eyes. He possessed no striking intellectual characteristics, but exhibited an honesty of purpose that could not fail to win the admiration and respect of all who personally knew him. Slow of thought and unimaginative, he yet in a measure compensated for this lack by diligence and industry. He was a close student, but lacked the purpose of Jefferson and Madison, his early and life-long associates. He was, however, a thorough Virginian, possessed of much old-school courtliness of manner, generous to his friends, and devoted to his country.

In any consideration of the administration or life of James Monroe, one must of necessity put to the front as the great distinctive feature of the former, and the one which is sure to be quoted in all discussions bearing thereon, the doctrine that he put forward and maintained with such patriotic vigor—the doctrine that in its legitimate conclusions makes our Nation the friend and defender of the weaker republics lying almost under the natural protection of our flag. "The Monroe doctrine," as one able writer has fittingly said, "properly considered, is not a mere solitary axiom of diplomacy, of disputable meaning, of uncertain application, or of no valid authority. On the contrary, it represents a comprehensive system of policy, both consistent and of profound wisdom, including the whole conduct of our government toward the new republics of Spanish America, from their first efforts at independence until their full nationality obtained the recognition of Europe. Theoretically it is a great 'System of Doctrine,' arising out of the nature of our institutions, regulating our relations both with Europe and America, and essential to the permanency of our National character and independence. Of this systemized foreign policy Mr. Monroe was undoubtedly the father. It was settled during his administration, and it is certain that he was the actual President of the United States, and himself administered the executive government, employing his secretaries as responsible advisers and executive agents. Mr. Monroe would naturally keep the control of our foreign intercourse in his own hand, because he understood that subject better than anyone else. From the time when, a young man in the old congress, he had baffled the Spanish *Encargado* and vindicated the free navigation of the Mississippi, foreign relations had been his specialty, and he had been looked to as a chief counselor and manager in these affairs by Washington, Jefferson and Madison. The suggestion so often put forth, that Mr. Adams was the author of the Monroe doctrine, is without the slightest warrant, and is unjust to both Adams and Monroe. Mr. Adams was the most accomplished scholar in diplomacy; but in profoundness of insight and soundness of judgment as to what concerned the National honor and independence, Mr. Monroe was the greater statesman, and impartial history must give him the credit of the masterly policy which steered the government through the difficulties growing out of the Spanish-American revolution, and made the United States a dictator to Europe in regard to the western continent. The Monroe doctrine, considered thus as a symbol or exponent of the system adopted by Mr. Monroe in relation to the Spanish-American states, may be characterized as a system of duty which is morally right, politically wise, and logically consistent. Thus viewed, it may be taken as a testimony that this Nation will do right; that the political system of Europe is incompatible with that of America; that we will do what we can to lead Europe to a better system and to bring

diplomacy under the Higher Law; that we consider the whole of this continent appropriated, and that we will hold any attempted intervention of European powers for the sake of controlling affairs in America an injury to ourselves, which we shall resent or resist as we think proper. This system of doctrine is substantially identical with the immortal policy of Washington, as exhibited in his proclamation of neutrality—the sublimest act of his government—and laid down so explicitly in his farewell address, in words of almost superhuman wisdom: 'Europe has a set of primacy which to us have none or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities. Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to preserve a different course. If we remain one people, under an efficient government, the period is not far off when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel. Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own, to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor or caprice?'

"It comprises, in substance, also the principle of non-intervention, which the liberals of continental Europe long for, and which Kossuth argued for so effectively in this country. It is not, however, a namby-pamby sentimentalism of non-intervention, which idly weeps for the sufferings of the oppressed, but lifts neither hand nor voice for their deliverance. It is not the cold selfishness of Cain, when he whined out, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' It is not the cowardice of imbecility which shrinks from speaking the truth, or doing what is right through base and servile fear of loss. It is intervention withstood manfully and prevented energetically. In proper circumstances it bids the oppressor, 'Hold!' and if that is ineffectual, boldly takes him by the throat and hurls him back from his victims. It means that we will not submit to wrong toward ourselves, and when duty calls we will censure and even resent a wrong done to others. It includes what Kossuth termed 'Intervention for non-intervention.' The closing declaration by President Monroe produced an effect upon Europe which it is impossible for the present generation to realize. That whole continent was then firmly united in one political system, devised by the highest human sagacity, fortified by the most solemn compacts, and

sustained by veteran armies, and all actuated by a common conviction that the one grand political danger of the civilized world was in the spread of liberal principles, of which the United States were the source and the seed-bed. And while they were actually negotiating among themselves for the commencement of operations that it was expected would cripple and ultimately crush us, behold! they are suddenly confronted by the young Republic looking all Europe boldly in the face and crying 'Hands off, ruffians!' And they very prudently kept hands off for forty years.

"Mr. Monroe's administration may be deemed to have culminated in the utterance of the great declaration. Its boldness fairly stunned the holy alliance, and by taking from that huge conspiracy its prestige of irresistibleness, took it down from the height of its arrogance, and was the first blow toward its dissolution. The last year of his term was rendered unhappy by personal divisions among the members of his cabinet, three out of the four being eager candidates for the next succession, in addition to his favorite speaker of the house and the most distinguished general whom he had promoted."

Mr. Adams speaks in the highest terms of Mr. Monroe's character and history, and eulogizes his whole career as characteristic "of a mind anxious and unwearied in the pursuit of truth and right; patient of inquiry, patient of contradiction, courteous, even in the collision of sentiment; sound in its ultimate judgments, and firm in its final conclusions." Referring to his course while President, he makes use of the following strong and complimentary terms: "There behold him for a term of eight years, strengthening his country for defense by a system of combined fortifications, military and naval; sustaining her rights, her dignity and honor abroad; soothing her dissensions and conciliating her acerbities at home; controlling by a firm, though peaceful policy the hostile spirit of the European alliance against republican southern America; extorting by the mild compulsion of reason the shores of the Pacific from the stipulated acknowledgment of Spain, and leading back the imperial autocrat of the north to his lawful boundaries from his hastily asserted dominion over the southern ocean, thus strengthening and consolidating the federative edifice of his country's union, till he was entitled to say, like Augustus Cæsar, of his imperial city, that he had found her built of brick and left her constructed of marble."



J. Q. Adams

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY LIFE—ENTRANCE UPON A PUBLIC CAREER.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS was born at Braintree, (now Quincy), Massachusetts, some ten miles from Boston, July 11, 1767. His father was John Adams, and his mother, Abigail Smith. He was fourth in descent from Henry Adams, who emigrated from England in 1640, and settled at Braintree, where he had a grant of forty acres of land. Adams was named after a grandfather of his mother, John Quincy, a man of more than local reputation among the primitive settlements of Massachusetts colony. A deep affection existed between him and his granddaughter, and her son being born while the old man was dying, she insisted on perpetuating the name, with the hope that the second John Quincy would inherit the sterling integrity and sound judgment that made his namesake conspicuous. In the lists of the pioneers of Massachusetts, both the Adamses and the Quincys stand without the significant "Mr." marking the patricians. The Quincys ranked socially above the Adamses, as did also the Smiths, with the advantage derived from the Quincy alliance.

The younger Adams must have had but a gleam of childhood and youth. Before he was ten he wrote grand letters of self-reproof, for his conscious short-comings. At eleven he wanted a blank book, in which to begin a diary, and he actually made the first entry when he was twelve. The work, however, had a longer infancy than its famous author. His father was appointed commissioner to France, and sailed for that kingdom in February, 1778, taking with him his son, then in his eleventh year. The passage, made in the old *Boston* frigate, was tempestuous and protracted,

and the land journey rapid and fatiguing. He enjoyed many months of school near Paris, and returned home with his father during the following year, in a French frigate, which brought the ambassador, Chevalier Luzerne and his suite, to the new republic. He is said to have made himself useful and interesting to the diplomats, to whom he gave needed lessons in the English tongue, the Frenchmen laughingly complaining of the exacting nature of his lessons.

Three months and a half at home, when the same ship bore him with his father, on a second mission to the court of Louis XVI. He arrived in Paris in February, 1780, then in his thirteenth year of age. During this second visit, he was at school near Paris, accompanied his father to Holland, had some months of school in Amsterdam, and was then placed in the University of Leyden. During these months he associated much with the prominent men about his father, and saw much of the European world and life. In perfect health, good natured and cheerful, acute and observing, all his opportunities were improved. He was not yet fourteen when he entered upon his first diplomatic employment. Francis Dana, afterward chief justice of Massachusetts, and father of R. H. Dana, the poet, at that time secretary to the American commission, was commissioned minister to Russia, and appointed young Adams his secretary of legation. Nothing came of the mission, as the minister did not obtain recognition. The youth remained connected with the legation more than a year, acquitting himself with credit, and then alone made a leisurely journey, of many months, from St. Petersburg through Sweden and Denmark, visiting Hamburg, Bremen, and other cities. When he rejoined his father he found him with Franklin and Jefferson, negotiating the treaty of peace of October, 1783, which ended the war. After his arrival, he was enlisted as a secretary, and had a hand in preparing the papers by which Great Britain conceded the independence of the United States. After the signing of the treaty he attended his father on his first visit to England, and returned with him to Paris. Meantime his mother and the rest of the family went to Europe, and together they spent the year 1784 in Paris.

In April, 1785, arrived the French packet, *Le Courier de l'Orient*, with the news of the appointment of John Adams minister to the court of St. James. John Quincy was then nearly eighteen, mature for his years, and had reached a point in his career where he decided its future course. To be secretary of legation, reside in London, continue in the rich, full tide of old world life, would have been too alluring to any other young man of that or this time; and might have been the wiser thing to do. The glitter of the position had little effect on the Puritan nature of the young man. Austerely he turned his back upon it, accompanied the family to London, saw them established, and sailed away alone to the thin and comparatively meager life of the New England metropolis.

He entered the junior class of Harvard in 1786, and graduated in 1787, as the last authority is. He was predetermined to the law, and there being no law school, he entered the office of Theophilus Parsons, at Newburyport, afterward a famous chief justice, where he remained three years, and was admitted to the bar in 1790, being then twenty-three years of age. His father was admitted at the same age. He opened an office in Boston, and sat down to endure the anxious solitude, that always does its best to overwhelm the young lawyer, compelled to await the approach of clients, who, in his case, showed no unbecoming eagerness to interrupt it. He was not one to attract. He had strong will and industry, and began slowly and certainly to make his way.

Meantime his thought and hand were in other work. Thomas Paine's Rights of Man appeared in 1791, and attracted much attention in this country and in England. The work was assailed by young Adams in a series of papers, signed Publicola, which also attracted attention in both countries, and were ascribed to his father, one of the most vigorous writers of that day. He also reviewed the course of the French minister, Genet, in this country, in newspaper articles of much vigor, and, in a third set, sustained the course of Washington's administration in maintaining the neutrality of the republic in the European wars. Although all these productions were given with fictitious signatures, the young writer became known, and attracted the attention of the President, who on the 29th of May, 1794, nominated him minister resident at the Hague, in which office he was unanimously confirmed the next day. He was then in his twenty-seventh year. The appointment was a great relief to him. Passages of his diary of a preceding date, show him chafing under enforced idleness and obscurity. He was one of the most ambitious of men.

After a voyage of much peril in a leaky ship, he reached the Hague on the last day of October. Those were the days of the uprising and arming of the French people against their neighbors. All Europe was arming; at the first, to subdue them, finally, in self defense. Holland was a republic, her chief the stadtholder. Scarcely had the young minister presented his credentials, when the stadtholder was obliged to flee. Pichegrue, who overrun Holland in ten days, came marching into the capital, brought out the tri-colored flag of blood and conquest, and established the Batavian republic. There was a flight of the diplomats. Mr. Adams was inclined to go also; though not for reasons which controlled the rest. He was cordially treated by the French and their native allies, and nothing but his shrewdness and prudence, saved him from the entanglements of their dangerous favor. In the changed condition of the country he was left without employment,—a condition most irksome to him; and he thought he ought to return home. Washington, whose entire confidence he had gained, directed him to stay at his post, telling him he would soon be at the head of the

diplomatic service of his country. He remained, a close and shrewd observer of men and things, reading and studying European politics, men, and histories, and extending his personal acquaintance with all the leading personages, to whom his position gave him access. He had little business to transact, and was thus master of his own time, a commodity he never squandered.

In 1795 he was directed to proceed to London and exchange ratifications of the famous and largely odious Jay treaty. Though a series of vexatious delays prevented his performance of this mission, it led to the negotiation of a treaty more important to him, and not without significance to his country. In 1797, while at Nantes, awaiting an opportunity to embark for America, the Adamses, father and son, made the acquaintance of an American merchant of that city—Joshua Johnson. He was a Marylander —a brother of Thomas Johnson, of that state; a signer of the declaration; governor of Maryland, and later one of the judges of the supreme court of the United States. Joshua Johnson had a young daughter, Louisa Catharine, and the young boy and girl there became acquainted. On this visit to London, the young diplomat found Joshua Johnson the American consul of that capital. He found Miss Louisa Catharine, a mature and most accomplished young lady of rare personal attraction. A lack of ardor of temperament was not a defect in the character of the young man, and an attachment grew up between the young people, which led to their marriage in July 26, 1797, when he was thirty years old. This was one of the Adams' fortunate and happy marriages. Preceding this event, and near the close of his administration Washington transferred Mr. Adams from the Hague to Portugal. Meantime the people had elected the senior Adams, President. To the young man this was a source of perplexing embarrassment, as was the position of the son also to the father. That the advancement of the father should work disadvantage to the son, would be unjust, and a charge of nepotism was also to be avoided. In this dilemma, Washington came to the aid of both, and in a written communication declared to the elder that his son was the ablest man in the foreign service, had earned promotion and was entitled to receive it. The voice of Washington in or out of the capital, had equal potency, and the destiny of the son was changed from Lisbon to Berlin, where he arrived with his bride in November, 1797. At the gates of the city a lieutenant questioned his right of entrance. Mr. Adams tried to explain, and told the officer who and what he was. The lieutenant had never heard of America; a private of the guard had, and the representative of the west was permitted to enter, and in due time make his bow to Frederick William II., nephew of the great Frederick. There was as little to do in Berlin as at the Hague. Mr. Adams negotiated a treaty of commerce, with a power with which it was impossible to trade, and another with Sweden, which was of more advantage,

One of the last acts of President Adams was to recall his son, so that Mr. Jefferson might not be embarrassed, and the son be saved from the hand of the family foe, as Mr. Jefferson was then considered. With all our knowledge and experience of the excitement and commotion produced by political party strife, and the hatreds and animosities often arising among the leaders of the same party, it is very difficult to reproduce the condition of men and parties as they existed when Mr. Adams returned. The federal party, devoted to consolidating and putting in working order the feeble machinery of the Constitution, and carrying it forward until its power to accomplish most of the specified purposes of its creation was demonstrated; had shown itself incapable of acquiring the new ideas and adopting a policy needed for a further advance. Bitterly as it was hated by the national republicans, the hatred of many of the leading federalists for President Adams was more intense. This was if possible more than reciprocated by him. No great man in our history ever fell so hopelessly and helplessly from power as did he, on the loss of the presidency. It is said that he drove away from the capital in "a wild rage," on the night of March 3, 1801, to avoid the pageant of his rival's inauguration the next day. Mr. Hamilton thought himself aggrieved. He published a pamphlet against the President, and while he ostensibly supported his re-election, he would have been very willing to see him fall behind C. C. Pinckney, and so, in the event of success, descend to the position of Vice President. The President's appointment of the mission to France among his latest acts, without consulting his cabinet, and after he had declared he would not, was the immediate cause of the disruption of his party. It led to a dismissal of his cabinet, and though undoubtedly of great benefit to his country, it contributed largely to his own downfall. There were old causes of enmity between him and Pickering, whom he hated with an intensity second to his hatred of Hamilton; the latter he always charged with his defeat in the canvass of 1800.

The leading federalists of Massachusetts were Hamilton's friends, and although the younger Adams was no way personally connected with the causes which produced the unhappy state of things existing in the country, he naturally regarded himself as of his father's faction, and was so held by friends and enemies, of all parties. The feeling of Mr. Jefferson toward the son personally, is shown by his prompt removal from the position of commissioner in bankruptcy, to which, since his return, he had been appointed by the United States district court of Massachusetts. He at once opened a law office, and addressed himself vigorously to the half forgotten texts of Coke and Fearne. At the April election of 1802, the federalists of Boston elected him a senator, in the state legislature. The position was one then sought by prominent men, and opened the door to political life, for which he was undoubtedly born with a predilection.

CHAPTER II.

ELECTED SENATOR—ACCEPTS A FOREIGN APPOINTMENT.

IN February, 1803, came on an election for United States senator, when he was chosen on the fourth ballot, receiving eighty-six votes out of one hundred and seventy-one. This was certainly very handsome on the part of the anti-Adams wing, when it is remembered that Timothy Pickering eagerly sought the place; an old man of strong claims, for lifelong service, eminent ability, and friendship for Hamilton. In October, 1803, the senator-elect made his way to the grim mud beleaguered village by the yellow Potomac, bearing the name of the father of his country. Those familiar with the capital of to-day, even with the aid of his diary and the letters to his mother, are unable to form any conception of its abject meanness and squalor. Here he was to appreciate, perhaps for the first time, the bitterness and strength of the hatred borne his father by nearly all men in public life; and that these were glad to find in the son an object upon which it might spend itself. Social considerations restrained it in Massachusetts; Washington presented an unobstructed field. He was game for the republicans, and the federalists expended on him the rancor so powerless against the majority. In this uncongenial atmosphere he attempted to speak little; that little pleased no one. He attempted to do little; that little invariably failed. The only effect his advocacy had upon any measure, was to insure its defeat, though in some instances it was afterward carried. There was at the first no comradeship between him and any of his fellow senators. Soon after his advent in the senate, Mr. Pickering also secured a seat there, which certainly did not add comfort to Adams' position. Though never possessing large tact, he was cool, courageous, firm, industrious; and began slowly to gain upon the esteem and good will of his fellows, until he finally forced his way to a position of importance and prominence. The hard work on committees he cheerfully undertook and faithfully performed. The first important matter to be passed upon was

the acquisition of Louisiana, which was bitterly opposed by the federalists. The question of section as a matter of weight and power was involved. No one in public life then discussed the moral aspects of slavery. Mr. Adams was always in favor of the acquisition of land, and advocated the purchase and treaty, though denying some of the constitutional propositions involved. In the grave matter of the impeachment of the ill-tempered, ill-mannered Judge Chase, he was enabled to vote with his party friends for an acquittal.

The period of Mr. Adams' service in the Senate covered some years of the sad history of the part France and England were permitted to play in the affairs of the republic. Generally the republicans held with France,—would have shaped the national policy to favor her. The federalists sided with her great rival. Their position, as a party, in opposition to the administration, logically made them the allies of Great Britain. For four years Mr. Adams was able to act mainly with his party. Questions arose on which he was obliged to sever from them. Under Washington we barely escaped alliance with France; under Adams we were nearly precipitated into a war with her. In Mr. Jefferson's second term France was evidently in the ascendant in American councils in the mortal struggle with her old enemy. Certainly the French party, in the United States, was in possession of every branch of the national government. The war which it finally declared, in 1812, against Great Britain, was, on the whole, disastrous. What would it have been in 1806? The naval supremacy of that power enabled her to enforce new and unjust restrictions upon the rights of neutral ships, aimed at the swelling commerce of the United States, which was almost the only neutral power. Mr. Adams was by nature a warrior. His pride would never permit him to submit to insult, much less to wrong. In February, 1806, he brought forward his resolutions condemnatory of the unjust measures of Great Britain, which were passed by the republicans. Curiously enough, the federalists, whose ships England captured, were less incensed against her than they were against France, charging the latter with being the real cause of their losses. The non-importation act of April following, aimed directly at England, was also supported by him, in the face of the fierce opposition of the federalists. Britain retorted by declaring the whole coast of Europe blockaded. This blow, of course, was directed at Napoleon, who, in reply, declared the British islands to be under blockade. The English then forbade all trade, by neutrals, with any of her enemies, and followed, a few months later, with the famous order in council, declaring any neutral vessel bound to any port closed to her, liable to capture. To this Napoleon replied with his famous Milan decree, that city then being his headquarters. This put the ships and commerce of the United States substantially in the position they would have occupied had both Great Britain and France declared war against the United States. Incident to an enforcement of these British orders, was the right of search

During all these years England had habitually searched American vessels for her sailors, and impressed many American-born seamen, and compelled them to serve on her war-ships. Whoever studies the history of these years of abasement, will feel that a disastrous war was preferable to submission. Then followed the affair of the ill-fated *Chesapeake*, in Hampton Roads. An American frigate, after a feeble resistance, surrendered to a British fifty-gun ship, the *Leopard*. There were killed three, and wounded sixteen of her crew; four sailors were impressed. These were carried to Halifax. One was hanged for desertion, one died in prison, and, five years later, two were returned to the *Chesapeake*, in Boston harbor. Berkeley, the commander of the *Leopard*, received the usual English punishment for such outrage—he was promoted. This affair fully aroused the fiery Adams spirit, and in the public meetings of republicans, and of the more tardy federalists, John Quincy Adams denounced it and the aggressors in becoming terms.

Jefferson was not the man for the troublous times in which he was called upon to serve. His philosophy, his idylic policy, his flotillas of gun-boats, known by their numbers, were far short of the demands of the occasion. They were the diversion of his enemies, and receive little respect from history. The non-importation act failed; aggressions increased.

At the extra session of October, 1807, the administration brought forward its proposed embargo, forbidding American ships leaving the home ports after a certain day. Whatever may now be thought of the wisdom of this measure, it was a manly and spirited blow—a war measure. Mr. Adams not only voted for it, but was on the committee that reported it. This was the end of all possible connection between him and the federalists. They came about him like a pack of infuriated wolves. They were learned and ingenious in the arts of detraction, denunciation, and abuse; and exhausted their ability and resources upon him. Mr. Pickering wrote a denunciatory letter to the governor of Massachusetts, which he asked to have laid before the legislature. Adams was charged with supporting the measure for the purpose of securing a re-election to the Senate. Following the usage of the state, the election would be made by the legislature next after the passage of the obnoxious act. At the time of Mr. Adams' offense, the federalists were a majority in that body. Mr. Adams' time was to expire after the election of a new legislature. His enemies precipitated the election, and made choice of one Lloyd, of Boston, to succeed him, the senate voting twenty-one for Lloyd to seventeen for Adams; and the house two hundred and forty-eight to two hundred and thirteen. Though he had a year of unexpired term, Mr. Adams at once resigned—an example of pride and spirit, lost on these later times and generations of mere place holders. To Mr. Pickering's letter, though withheld from the legislature, Mr. Adams replied in an able *exposé* of the whole situation, and charged the Hamiltonians, the leaders of which constituted the then

famous "Essex junto," with laboring to reduce the republic to a condition of colonial vassalage to England.

However mistaken in some of their measures, the republicans were then the party of the country, and the place of the young Adams was with them, and he took it, leaving a moribund party, to a fate it was only worthy. It is base gratuitously to ascribe noble actions to unworthy motives.

He was again a private citizen, and turned his attention to the law. He was already professor of rhetoric at Harvard; a course of his lectures was published, but have no interest here. The winter following his resignation he visited Washington, where, in an interview with President Jefferson, he made a charge of treasonable designs against some of the federalist leaders—charges repeated by him in an elaborate review of the now forgotten works of the forgotten Fisher Ames, published in the Boston Patriot. The proof of the charge was never very satisfactory. The charge was hurtful to the men—its memory was revived later.

In July, 1808, the republicans of his congressional district tendered him a nomination for the House of Representatives; he declined it. Among his reasons was a wish not to endanger the success of his friend Josiah Quincy, federalist though he was.

As early as 1805, when his general adherence to the federal party was firm, he was approached with the offer of a foreign mission, which he did not favor. In March, 1809, President Madison sent his name to the Senate as minister to Russia, where the United States had never had a representative, although the Emperor Alexander had expressed a wish to exchange ministers with the United States. The Senate met it with a "resolve that it was inexpedient." On the 26th of June following, the nomination was renewed, with a message. It was at once confirmed by a vote of nineteen to seven. We are told that the elder Adams looked upon this mission as an exile of his son, brought about by the Virginia republican leaders, who wished the absence of a dangerous rival. That the thought of going out of the country was not unpleasant to the son is apparent. Pending his going he was nominated and confirmed a justice of the supreme court of the United States, which, against the earnest wish of his father, he declined. Undoubtedly his going was the part of wisdom.

August 5, 1809, Mr. Adams embarked on his last voyage to Europe, for an absence of eight years. Like most of the enterprises of Mr. Adams the voyage was stormy and dangerous. He reached St. Petersburg October 23d, following.

In Europe the year 1809 saw Wellesley making head against Napoleon's generals in Spain, Napoleon himself being in the ascendant everywhere else. He had that year fought the battles of Eckmuhl, Aspern, and Essling; had annexed the Papal dominions, and held the pope a virtual pris-

oner in Paris; was in alliance with Alexander, and meditating the divorce of Josephine.

Adams was received with marked kindness at St. Petersburg, where he became quite a favorite both with the emperor and his foreign minister, Romanzof. There was a series of court presentations, balls, fêtes, dinners, and much in the way of social gayety and pageant. Everywhere Mr. Adams was a welcome guest. Though not distinguished for personal grace, and social tact, he was an admirable American minister. Educated in Europe, speaking all the court languages, having had much association with distinguished men there, plain, simple, dignified, prudent, sincere, well informed, few Americans were so well equipped to fill, successfully, the rôle of minister. Officially there could be little for him to do. Americans had little intercourse with the Russians, and they could do little for us of good or ill. Alexander was very kind to Americans, and beyond watching the wrangles of the other diplomats for precedence at court, our minister had little on his hands but to cultivate the amiable temper and disposition of the czar. Meantime the mighty struggles provoked and carried on by Napoleon more and more astonished the civilized world, and spread terror through Europe. The two emperors quarreled. Alexander again armed, this time in the defense of his empire. Napoleon came, overthrew the Russian armies, captured Moscow—the "holy city"—sat on the throne of the Romanofs, was burnt out, frozen out, and fled, only not a fugitive, toward his own distant France, across a country that arose in arms against him. At St. Petersburg Mr. Adams saw the terror and anxiety of the Russians at the invader's approach; their doubt and uncertainty ere the tide turned, and witnessed their triumph and exultation as it rolled from them and died away in the distance. Meantime the chronic troubles of all the later years, between the United States and Great Britain, resulted in war, declared by the American Congress. In the early part of it, the Emperor Alexander, at Mr. Adams' request, offered his good services as mediator between the belligerents. The United States, acting upon his intercession, dispatched Messrs. Gallatin and Bayard to act as commissioners with Mr. Adams, to negotiate a treaty of peace. They proceeded at once to the Russian capital. The intercession was rejected by Great Britain, the United States placed in an unpleasant position, and her commissioners in a very awkward one. However, a period was soon reached in the hostilities, where neither party cared further to wage the war.

England really had nothing to gain by the continuance of the war. Her fighting blood had been at white heat during the years of her gigantic struggle with Napoleon. She was used to war, but her people were in a condition of half barbarism and destitution in consequence. America was distant, and the war expensive. Great Britain now proposed to send commissioners to Gottingen, there to meet commissioners from the United

States. The place was changed to Ghent, and the United States renewed the powers of Messrs. Adams, Bayard, and Gallatin, added Henry Clay, and Jonathan Russell, our minister to Sweden. Great Britain appointed Lord Gambier, a wrong headed old admiral; Dr. Adams, a writer upon public law; and Mr. Goulborn, an under secretary of state. The commissioners assembled at Ghent August 7, 1814. Four months of wrangling disputation, of ill blood, argument, propositions and counter propositions, followed ere the work was accomplished. If the Englishmen were pugnacious, overbearing, and at times insufferable, the Americans were as discordant a band as ever undertook to secure peace for a bleeding country. Certainly peace never was evolved of eight more incongruous men. A strong and graphic account of the whole is found in Mr. Adams' diary, with life-like, but not flattering, pictures of his associates and opponents. From his nature he could have few friends; his manner and temperament precluded intimacies, and the depressing view which he seemed honestly to entertain for all other men, kept him, as one would suppose, from desiring intimacies with them. Matters were finally arranged December 24, 1814, and though the treaty left the cause of war without so much as a mention—destruction of our commerce, the freedom of the seas, the personal rights of American seamen—yet the conclusion of the treaty was most fortunate. The war had, indeed, itself settled those questions forever, and no treaty stipulation was needed to secure American rights as to them. It was a credit to the American negotiators that they succeeded in agreeing among themselves. That on the whole they were too much for English envoys, and secured the advantage to their country, was declared by Englishmen. The Marquis of Wellesley applauded them in the house of lords; the Times published a heavy leader denouncing the treaty and the imbecility of the English commission.

After the completion of his labors at Ghent, Mr. Adams visited Paris, and was there on the return of Napoleon from Elba, and the beginning of his famous hundred days. There he was joined by his family, who made the then long and perilous journey from St. Petersburg. From Paris they proceeded to London, where Mr. Adams found awaiting him with the Barings, his commision as envoy plenipotentiary, etc., to Great Britain. Here he also found his former colleagues, Messrs. Clay and Gallatin, engaged with their former antagonists, the British commission, in settling the terms of a treaty of commerce between the late belligerent countries. Mr. Adams aided in closing it. Messrs. Clay and Gallatin left, and Mr. Adams entered upon his new duties; he was now at the head of the American diplomatic service.

The close of the war of 1812, with the general pacification of Europe, put an end to the long and troublous period of American political history, under the Constitution. Old parties had substantially disappeared, to be followed by a few years of personal politics, the formation of new parties,

the unfolding of domestic policies; and the building up of American industries. There was little for Mr. Adams to do in England. It was the period of the Castlereagh and Canning ministry. On the 15th of June, 1817, Mr. Adams sailed for the United States, closing the longest and most brilliant career in the foreign service of America, and taking final leave of Europe, where quite half of his life since his twelfth year, had been passed. Mr. Monroe had succeeded Mr. Madison, and Mr. Adams came home to take the head of his cabinet, as secretary of state. He was then fifty years old; nearly all his years spent in politics and public life, with a larger and more varied acquaintance with foreign nations, peoples, and men, than any of his countrymen. A hard student of political history, few men have ever been called to that position, so well equipped to discharge its important duties. The department of state, then and for a great many years after, included the interior, as well as the foreign affairs of the nation. It is said that General Jackson advised the new President to appoint Mr. Adams. The appointment certainly secured a valuable friend in the cabinet to the general, who was yet to run his career in Florida, of such bold expedients, so useful to the country, and so nearly disastrous to himself personally. With Mr. Adams was associated William H. Crawford, secretary of treasury; John C. Calhoun, secretary of war; Benjamin W. Crowninshield in the navy, and William Wirt, attorney-general.

The transition from the gay and gorgeous capitals of Europe to the straggling, muddy village of Washington was striking, and Mr. Adams did not find it greatly improved in the years of his absence. The capital and executive mansion had been burnt, and though the latter was restored, the new capital was not built. The diary sketches the social events of the capital, which contrast with the description of life in the European capitals, by the same hand. Frequent teas, dull and solemn receptions. It was the day of free language, free drinking, and much play. It was said that Mr. Clay lost eight thousand dollars at a single sitting, which it was thought rested heavily upon him. It was still the day of duels, and many were yet to be fought in the neighborhood of the federal capital. In government affairs the most perplexing fell upon the department of state. Domestic strifes had ceased and were healing. Foreign troubles were grave and perplexing. War with Spain was imminent. Her South American and Mexican colonies were in revolt, and a state of chronic war existed. The privateers of Baltimore gave the government, as they did the Spanish merchantmen, great annoyance. This led to the first neutrality act, which rested upon a principle since accepted and acted upon, not only by this country, but by Great Britain. The Holy Alliance, that had re-constructed Europe in the interest of the old dynasties, threatened to restore the power of Spain over her colonies, while the passionate Clay was demanding in the House of



JAMES DUANE.

Representatives that the United States should take steps looking to a recognition of their independence.

The country had other causes of disquietude with Spain. The boundaries of Louisiana had never been determined. General Jackson had been pursuing Indians on Spanish territory. Don Onis, the Spanish minister, was an able diplomat, but was quite as anxious as was the American secretary of state, to close up the differences. The negotiations were conducted at Washington, but as Mr. Adams found, there were great difficulties to be overcome; nor were the difficulties all on the side of the Americans. The career of Jackson in Florida not only exposed the weakness of Spain, it greatly excited her pride. Mr. Monroe was very anxious to arrange a treaty. Mr. Adams, with his usual courage and confident will, assumed the responsibility, and took the whole burden. He rejected the offered mediation of Great Britain. He found the services of the French minister, Mons. de Neuville, very useful, and availed himself of them.

Mr. Adams' record of his own labors is exceedingly interesting. They ended in this matter with the acquisition of Florida. The United States secured a much coveted outlet to the "Southern Sea," as the Pacific was still called. This important treaty was signed February 22, 1819. Mr. Adams considered it one of the greatest labors of his life, though the press, stimulated as he thought by Mr. Clay, condemned the boundary. Mr. Adams' satisfaction was, however, quite destroyed by the subsequent discovery that immense grants of land by the king of Spain, conveying lands supposed to be acquired by the annulling of the grants, did not cancel them, owing to an error in their supposed dates. This led to grave complications, the result of which were not of easy forecast, when happily the Spanish cortes refused to ratify the treaty and the king dispatched a new minister, General Vives, with whom, happily, a new treaty was concluded and mutually ratified, though opposed by Mr. Clay, who managed to have his way in the South American republics.

Toward the close of Monroe's first term, came on the first great struggle over slavery, in the famous Missouri compromise measure. The President asked his cabinet whether Congress could exclude slavery from the territories—"forever." The cabinet was unanimous as to the first part. Mr. Adams alone held that *forever*, as thus used, was perpetual. It stamped the quality of freedom on the soil, while Calhoun, Crawford, and the rest, held that it was limited to the territorial period. Among these was Mr. Thompson, of New York, afterward one of the judges of the supreme court of the United States. On the day of the signing of the Spanish treaty, Mr. Adams concluded his laborious report upon weights and measures, upon which he had been employed with his usual fidelity for the preceding four years. A drier, and in many respects, a more uninteresting subject cannot be named, though in itself of great importance. The subject embraces length,

capacity, and weight. His report covered the history of weights and measures of all nations, with a synopsis of their laws. He ranked this labor in importance with the Spanish treaty. Nothing ever really came of it; nor did his countrymen share his estimate of it.*

Mr. Adams was never a victim of undue sensitiveness regarding the opinions of others. His pride, independence, and strong character placed him beyond it. He had been much in Europe; understood the policies of men and nations; had measured himself too often with foreign diplomats; was too well assured of the rapidly growing greatness of his own country. He seriously regarded the western continent as the just inheritance of the United States. When, at Ghent, the English commissioners proposed to have the United States cede a part of Maine to give them better access to Quebec, he proposed to the American commissioners a counter proposition for the cession of Canada to the United States, as the best and ultimately inevitable way out of the inconvenience. Though he opposed the treaty for the purchase of Louisiana because of lack of constitutional power, a view shared by Mr. Jefferson himself, he deemed its acquisition of the utmost importance; and later, himself secured Florida. He was always in favor of the acquisition of Cuba, as are many enlightened Americans. Our absorption of the continent, he declared to be the law of nature. He said to the Russian minister, July 23, 1823, "that we should contest the rights of Russia to any territorial establishment on the continent, and we should distinctly assume the principle that the American continents are no longer subjects of European colonization." This is something more than the germ of the famous Monroe doctrine, and was undoubtedly its first annunciation. The doctrine was formally announced in the President's annual message to Congress, December 2d of that year.

The time of Monroe's administration has been called the "era of good feeling." If by this is understood the absence of party strife throughout this country, it is quite accurate. The federalists as a party had disappeared from every state, except Massachusetts. New parties had not appeared, were not to appear for years. The party which elected Mr. Monroe, was known as the national republican; often called democrats, though that did not become the party name until the rise of the whig party. The intervening time was a period of personal politics. While there was, broadly speaking, political peace, there was not always harmony in the cabinet, where was finally developed three presidential candidates, one of whom, Mr. Crawford, was, more than once, suspected of laboring to embarrass or defeat the administration and to blight the prospects of Mr. Adams as its head. There had sprung up an implied rule, that the secretary of state was specially in the line of succession. Of this Mr.

*See appendix fourth volume Johnson's Cyclopedia, Weights and Measures, for a statement of the whole subject and review of Mr. Adams' report.

Adams had the advantage, though he did and would do nothing in office to strengthen himself. Crawford seems to have been as small a pattern of man as has appeared in American history, who succeeded in gaining so high a position. Certainly Mr. Adams and Mr. Calhoun were unanimous in this estimate. He was a perfect master of the arts of intrigue, and personal management, to advance himself and depress an opponent. He had secured the nomination of the Congressional caucus, which, doubtless, was an advantage. That was a method of naming a candidate, then in vogue, though not at that time useful. Mr. Adams, Mr. Crawford, and for a time Mr. Calhoun were candidates. Out of the cabinet was Mr. Clay, and General Jackson. Mr. Adams was the only supporter of the general in the Monroe cabinet. He defended him throughout, and later, Jackson rewarded him by believing Mr. Buchanan's tale, of collusion between Mr. Adams and Mr Clay, whereby the first became President, and the other secretary of state.

To the average man of to-day the idea that great men ever became candidates for the presidency without the organized aid of a party, must seem absurd. There were then no organized parties; never had been, as they now exist. Men were supported for their supposed personal merits—their reputation for ability, and what they had already achieved. The arts of laudation and detraction were as well understood then as now, and used as unsparingly; but the candidate was limited to the use of such means as he and his personal following could command. Mr. Jefferson was understood to favor Mr. Crawford. Mr. Clay, with his popular manners, great magnetism, his eloquence and address, the chivalry of his character, seemed a really stronger candidate than the result proved. And Mr. Adams imputed to him opposition to the administration to embarrass his candidacy. In time, however, Mr. Clay's strong point—a recognition of the South American republics—was out of the way, by the action of the President. Good feeling was restored between them. Evidently, as his diary shows, Mr. Crawford was the pillow on which Mr. Adams reposed his animosities. He charges him with intervening to secure advantages to the other party, while the state department was negotiating treaties. He created difficulties in the war office, to embarrass Mr. Calhoun, who fully shared Mr. Adams' view of him.

During the struggles for the presidency, Mr. Adams concluded a treaty with Great Britain, represented by Mr. Stratford Canning—later known as Lord Stratford de Redclyffe, a famous British ambassador at Constantinople for many years. The two men were not unlike, and had discussions as to the relative claims of the two countries to the region about the mouth of the Columbia river. They often parted in anger, which was many days in cooling. Mr. Adams was the older, and cooler. He always displayed more tact, as a diplomat, than in any other of the high positions of his life.

Mr. Canning more than once complained of the tone of the debates in Congress. Mr. Adams told him that he would not permit that. He probably interested Englishmen more than any of his countrymen, and finally had his way with Mr. Canning, as with most Englishmen with whom he came in contact.

CHAPTER III.

CHOSEN PRESIDENT—HIS ADMINISTRATION—RE-ELECTION DEFEATED.

AS Mr. Monroe's term drew to a close, the small interest in public affairs was lost sight of in the excitement occasioned by the presidential election. General Jackson, with the odium of the "coffin hand-bills," and the hanging of the Englishmen, Arbuthnot and Ambrister in Florida, developed more strength than was anticipated. He certainly ran on a lower and more vulgar, not to say baser level, than any other candidate for the presidency in American history. Mr. Adams to the last refused to employ any means to bring himself forward. He admitted that defeat would be a source of the greatest mortification. A full record of his position and feelings is found in the diary. With the slow methods of communication of those days, it was not certainly known until the 24th of December, 1824, that the people had failed to elect. Jackson led with ninety-nine votes, Adams had eighty four, Crawford forty-one, Clay thirty-seven. Mr. Adams' strength was centered in New York and New England; Maryland gave him three, Louisiana two, Delaware and Illinois one each. At that election Calhoun received one hundred and eighty-two votes and was elected Vice President.

By the smallness of his vote, Mr. Clay was excluded from the election in the House of Representatives, and was obliged to choose between Jackson and Adams. General Jackson could expect nothing from Mr. Clay, who had on more than one occasion expressed emphatic opinions adverse to him, not to be forgotten or forgiven. Nor was there anything in Jackson's large popular vote that should control his action. He had a plurality, but not a majority. The election took place in the House of Representatives, January 9, 1825. Daniel Webster and John Randolph were tellers. The House voted by states, and the tellers declared that John Quincy Adams had thirteen votes, Andrew Jackson seven, William H. Crawford four; and the speaker of the House solemnly declared that John Quincy Adams was elected President of the United States.

To the committee which announced the result to him, Mr. Adams declared that if there was a probability that the people could make an election, he should feel it his duty to decline the high honor, in which he was doubtless sincere. Mr. Seward, in his biography of John Quincy Adams, so declares. No one knew better than he, that there was no method by which this election could be again remitted to the people. Of the defeated men, Mr. Clay remained aspiring and hopeful. General Jackson was angry and revengeful, and entered upon a new canvass. It was the end of Mr. Crawford's presidential aspirations. If Mr. Clay chose wisely as to the presidency, no one can question the sagacity and wisdom of the new President, who placed Mr. Clay at the head of his cabinet. With him were associated Richard Rush, secretary of the treasury; James Barbour, secretary of war; Samuel L. Southard, secretary of the navy, and William Wirt, attorney-general. No man in our history, except Washington, ever reached the place unembarrassed with obligations, and promises to others. No administration, not even Washington's, was more pure. No one was more unpopular in the country, or more unfortunate as the head of it. Mr. Adams was a Puritan of the Puritans. He believed that even virtue should appear unlovely, and his work in his high office, hard, constant, unremitting, enlightened, and always patriotic, had none of the personal or public graces to commend him or it, or his policy, to the favor of his countrymen. He absolutely refused to use any of his vast power to change or control any of the numerous offices within his gift to advance the general interests of his administration, though the success of an administration must largely depend on the public estimate of it; while the prosperity of the country must, for the time, depend much upon the success of the power which governs it.

He found the custom houses filled with the creatures of Mr. Crawford, who at once turned to Jackson, yet he continued them in office; refused to dismiss any officer, who, though an enemy of his, otherwise manifested personal fitness for the place. He began by the appointment of Rufus King, of New York, a federalist, and a political enemy, to the English mission, and could never at any time be brought to permit an appointment to be made, influenced by a purpose to advance the interests of his administration, though he must have seen the success of that administration, and the general public good, were largely identical. Upon his entrance to office he maintained every man in place, against whom no specific charge was made; and this was the practiced rule of his government. It was an ill-judged, and suicidal, but an inflexible rule of righteousness—self-righteousness it may be called—and rewarded as self-righteousness is. General Jackson came forward at the inauguration of John Quincy Adams as President, and warmly congratulated him. There was no man in America who had stood so courageously by the general as had Mr. Adams. This was the last

time they were ever to join hands. Soon after Jackson had himself nominated for the presidency by the legislature of Tennessee, and organized an opposition to his late friend, into which he drew most of the elements not favorable to Mr. Adams in the late election, with a large circle of young federalists.

The story of the coalition of Adams and Clay, first told by George Kremmer, was widely circulated. In the Senate, the eccentric John Randolph, of Virginia, denounced the coalition of "the Puritian and black-leg" in a speech of nine hours. The Vice President, Mr. Calhoun, who had adopted the singular rule that a senator could not be called to order for words however unparliamentary, indulged the Virginian, who proceeded to such lengths that the secretary of state challenged him to mortal combat. It was said that Mr. Randolph had recently been in attendance upon the death bed of the unfortunate Decatur, mortally wounded by Barron of *Chesapeake* fame, and was rather inclined to an affair of honor. At the meeting Randolph went on the ground in a huge morning-gown. Mr. Clay's bullet passed through it without touching the senator; at the second shot, Randolph fired into the air, and rushing upon Mr. Clay, forced his hand upon him.

The charge of the bargain and sale was largely the stock in trade of the Jackson party, which then assumed the name of democrats. The general had said in a party of friends, that the charge was true, and that he could prove it by a member of Congress. Mr. Beverly, of that party, was imprudent enough to permit this to get to the public. This led to a call from Mr. Clay for the member's name, when General Jackson gave the name of James Buchanan. Mr. Buchanan promptly disclaimed, and said the general had gravely misunderstood him. Mr. Buchanan became the object of contempt on the part both of Mr. Clay and General Jackson. Most of the parties implicated in this scandalous tale, including Kremmer and Beverly, wrote contrite letters to Mr. Clay, disclaiming, or admitting and apologizing for their part in it. General Jackson remained unconvinced. The tale was too useful, and had too much vitality.

Mr. Benton is authority for the saying, that no administration was ever launched in the face of more difficulties. The powerful minority in the House became a large majority at the next election, and the vote on the confirmation of Mr. Clay indicated that the south as a section would be arrayed against it; indeed, this sectional feeling made itself manifest in the presidential election. Slavery instinctively felt the presence of its great antagonist, and brought on the contest. There was to be a congress, at Panama, of delegates from the South American republics, and the United States had been invited to take part in it. These republics had abolished slavery. In his first message the President said he had accepted the invitation on the part of the United States, and should commission a minister to

attend it. The vehement opposition which this statement provoked is astonishing at this later day. Mr. Webster came to the aid of Mr. Adams, who ultimately prevailed, but the debate consolidated the slaveholding element, and disclosed to the President the underlying ground of its opposition. Innocently Mr. Adams struck the first blow in the great war to which his later years were to be devoted. As stated, the election of 1827 resulted in the overwhelming triumph of the Jackson opposition. The party elected a speaker of the House, and organized the committees, with four members of the opposition, and three administration members. It was comparatively a period of political quietude, and the antagonism of the two great departments of the government wrought less mischief than might have been anticipated. Mr. VanBuren now came forward as the leader and organizer of the Jackson forces. As a political strategist, he was largely in advance of any of his countrymen to that period of our history. No effort was made to meet him by methods similar to his own. The administration compared him with Aaron Burr, and left him to work the ruin of his party in his own time and way.

The opposition, as we have seen, was organized in advance of any measure or policy of the administration. It did not care to test and try Mr. Adams on the merit of his government. The opposition was purely personal—opposition to him and his cabinet. They must be displaced, were condemned in advance, and were to be removed at the first opportunity. Any means that would aid in that was proper and legitimate, no other thing was worth working for; the only issue made: Shall Mr. Adams or General Jackson be elected in 1828; and while this issue was forced on the President, in his removals and appointments to office, against the earnest, angry remonstrance of his supporters, he persistently ignored the issue thus forced. He adopted the American policy—a protective tariff, and a general scheme of internal improvements. This was offensive to Virginia and Virginia politicians generally. He could not be expected to change his policy to placate Virginia. He was only asked to soften its expression, that it might be less offensive, This he refused to do, not only insuring his own defeat by what he said and did, but making it more decisive by his manner. This man, who met the commissioners at Ghent with tact and skill, who was too much for the strategy of Canning, was absolutely tactless at the head of the government. His idea seemed to be that whatever was pleasant and gracious must be wrong, and he was careful not to err in that direction. To propitiate was a vice which he studiously avoided. He squared his conduct and his management of public affairs by the passionless, rigid rules of uprightness; and this he would submit to the judgment of his countrymen. His countrymen did him justice, but it came too late to save him from the pain and mortification of defeat. History is fast settling the account between him and his successor, not the least of whose misfortunes

is that his administration followed so directly one which sharply contrasts with and condemns it. The cool north saw and appreciated his merit, but that alone found no heart in the day of battle. It kindled no enthusiasm, did not even secure the organization, the earnest labor, and persistent effort, necessary to insure his re-election. He had the cold respect of men, not their love, their devotion.

President Adams' life, as sketched by himself, was one of rare simplicity, industry, and absence of relaxation, or pleasure of any kind. Rising at 4 or 5 in the winter, and lighting his own fire, he devoted several hours to work, ere the average man was out of bed. The usual forenoon and afternoon hours were given to public affairs, sorely interrupted then as now by throngs of visitors. He was often so overtaxed as to be compelled to retire at 8 or 9 in the evening. Bathing in the solitary Potomac, and riding on horseback were among the means employed to insure a health, uniformly good. Descended from a hardy race, well made for endurance, an abstemious, cleanly life fitted him for the continuous strain of labor and anxiety carried through all his years. He had not a particle of the magnetism which attracts personal followers, which leads and moulds men to a purpose, and subjects them to the will. He hardly had personal friends, save as good men are the friends of virtue. Mr. Adams' relations with his cabinet were pleasant, friendly, nothing more. Those were the days of permanency in the cabinet. All of Mr. Adams' cabinet appointees remained, with the exception of Governor Barbour, who wished to go to England. He probably desired to be absent when the day of certain defeat came, which must have seemed inevitable. His place was filled with General Peter B. Porter, of New York, in compliance with the wish of the cabinet itself.

What of comfort could be extracted from the Holy Scriptures, he drew as he began each day with some chapters of the Bible, in connection with Scott's and Hewlett's commentaries. He was profoundly devout and religious, after the New England pattern. He was compelled by the squarest rules of rigid honesty, to play a losing game, while his opponents resorted to all the tricks then known, to which their ingenuity and mendacity made additions. Mr. Adams was not one by nature and temper to submit placidly to the injustice meted out to him; nor did the lesson of Christian meekness restrain him from setting down in his diary his opinion of his traducers and enemies. His command of the strong expressions of English was copious; his power of vituperation unsurpassed. He spoke of Randolph as the image and superscription of a great man stamped on base metal; as a frequenter of gin lane and beer ally. "The rancor of this man's soul against me is that which sustains his life; the agony of envy and hatred of me, and the hope of effecting my downfall, are his chief remaining sources of vitality. The issue of the presidential election will kill him by the gratification of his revenge."

In the exigency of the campaign Mr. Adams did one thing not characteristic of him. He addressed an open letter to the electors of Virginia, in which he claimed their votes on the ground that he had exposed to Mr. Jefferson, twenty years before, the designs of certain New England federalists—the Essex junto. This was more an ill-judged, than an unworthy act. That the statements made to Mr. Jefferson were true, hardly admits of a doubt. It was not worth while to re-open the wound; it did nothing in the desired direction; it was hurtful to Mr. Adams; and re-involved him in an old, always profitless controversy. In no instance was he provoked to retort upon his enemies any of the many gross injustices done to him. The election resulted in eighty-three votes for Adams, (one less than in the contest of 1824), and one hundred and seventy-eight for Jackson. Mr. Calhoun was re-elected Vice President by one hundred and seventy-one votes, eleven less than he received at the previous election.

He need not have been surprised. He could not conceal his disappointment. That his administration should receive such a judgment from the people was disheartening to others than himself. That Andrew Jackson should have been preferred by the masses to John Quincy Adams, should not greatly surprise; that the American people quite deliberately elected Jackson over Adams, is not encouraging. Von Holst, the able German political historian, says that "in the person of Adams, the last statesman, who was to occupy it for a long time, left the White House." The line of able, of great Presidents, of men elected for eminent fitness for the place, was violently interrupted, and an epoch in political history closed, and closed worthily. Mr. Adams was well entitled to rank with his predecessors. A new and depressing era was to open; one in which personal interests were to be the controling element in the administration of the government.

Mr. Adams philosophically regarded it as closing his public career. He was then in his sixty-second year—an old man; his view of himself was most sad. It was very superficial. The result had left his "character and reputation a wreck;" his "sun sets in deepest gloom;" "the year 1829 begins in gloom;" "the dawn was overcast, and as I began to write, my shaded lamp went out;" and he justly observes, the noting of so trivial a thing "may serve but to mark the present temper of my mind." The strong, self-sufficient Adams had his moments of weakness. He went to retirement as he said with a combination of parties and public men against his character and reputation, such as had not attended any man since the Union began, and that combination had been formed, and was then exulting over him, for the devotion of his life and soul to the Union. This very reflection should have conveyed consolation to his soul, which for the time was beyond the reach of alleviation. His language is exquisitely pathetic. He resolved "to go into the deepest retirement, and withdraw from all

connection with public affairs." This decision saddened him, and he was pained as he contemplated its effect upon his mind and temperament. He intended to turn his attention to something useful, and so employ his mind that it might not go to premature decay.

The cold, proud, reticent man, in his loneliness, appeals unintentionally to our sympathy. His position in many respects was the parallel of his father's, and he followed him to the same Quincy, in retirement, where the elder Adams died on the 4th of July, 1826. The Quincy home he inherited; and he came back to the old controversy with his enemies of the Essex junto, recently so needlessly re-opened by his letter to Virginia. Mr. Adams had made his original communication to President Jefferson to stimulate a repeal of the embargo, which, however wise its enactment, was not wisely repealed, when it should have been; and the detained ships were rotting at their own wharves, while their cargos were perishing. Mr. Adams feared that the depression produced by the embargo, working on already alienated minds, might precipitate disloyal action; and the communication was made in absolute good faith, for the best purpose. On this, his final return, thirteen of the gentlemen who supposed themselves assailed, wrote him a bitter letter demanding the names of the parties implicated, which he had never given. Mr. Adams replied, in good temper for him, that he had never given the names, and he declined to give them. His assailants rejoined with heat, hating him with an animosity as strong as when he left the federal party. Coming as it did ere he had recovered from the anguish of his crushing defeat, the assailed man set himself to the task of self vindication. Mr. Adams was usually in the right. He had preserved the evidence, and he now deliberately placed it in a pamphlet, where it is arranged in an effective way, strong, clear, incisive, bold, conclusive, and yet he did not publish it, nor did he in anyway rejoin to his assailants, and they died, not knowing how much they owed to this uncharacteristic forbearance, which we wonder over. In these later years Charles Francis Adams has given the pamphlet to the world, which amply vindicates the original communication made to President Jefferson. In a literary view it is one of the happiest of Mr. Adams' many labors. Its composition may not have been a labor of love; withholding it was an act of unexpected generosity or forbearance. What was he now to do? He was still in full vigor, hale, though worn. He had been a versifier from youth, and he published a rhymed description of the conquest of Ireland. He plunged into the Latin classics; he meditated a memoir of his father, and wrote the opening. The publication of this by his son occasions little regret that his plan was left unexecuted. Though fond of literature, few able men had less mental aptitude to become a successful writer.

CHAPTER IV.

AGAIN A MEMBER OF CONGRESS.

IN the summer of 1826, William Morgan, a thriftless tailor, of Batavia, New York, wrote an exposé of the secrets of Free Masonry. He was seized, carried to old Fort Niagara, and, it is generally believed, made way with. He certainly never returned. The event produced great excitement, aggravated by the alleged interference of members of the order, to prevent an investigation, and thwart the efforts made to prosecute parties charged with murder. The uprising against the order took a political form. The anti-Masonic party in western New York, cast seventy votes in 1829, and one hundred and twenty-eight in 1830. It spread to other states, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Massachusetts, Vermont, and elsewhere, and in 1832 ran Wirt for President, carrying Vermont, and probably diverting votes enough from Mr. Clay in Ohio, New York, and New Jersey, to re-elect General Jackson.

It was one of the charges of the Jackson men that Mr. Adams was a Mason; which charge was attended with odium. He was never a Mason, though he did not deny this accusation. In September, 1830, the anti-Masons and others, of the Plymouth district, which happily did not include Boston, by a formal delegation, offered Mr. Adams the Congressional nomination. They expressed the fear that, having been President, he would not accept. His reply was that he thought an ex-President might honorably accept the office of selectman, if elected by the people. The nomination for Congress was accepted and election followed. This post he continuously filled until his death, February 23, 1848, a period of seventeen years. During the year following his election to Congress, the anti-Masons of Massachusetts, nominated Mr. Adams for governor. The Everetts, and others, endeavored to induce the national republicans to accept him as their candidate, which it is believed they would have done, had it not been that it would re-open the old controversy with the federalists; as it was, each of

the three parties nominated a candidate. There was no election by the people. The national republicans had a majority in the legislature, in which the contest devolved, and elected their candidate, John Davis, who was advanced from that post to the senate. Mr. Adams would gladly have accepted an election as governor; his defeat only isolated him the more. For his greater mission, he was left solitary and independent of all men and parties. Mr. Adams took his seat in the twenty-second Congress in December, 1831. Viewed from the present standpoint, he seems to have stood alone, the one conspicuous figure of all the years of his service.

No man ever entered the House possessed of such vast stores of knowledge upon all subjects, or had his mental resources better at command. Conscientious in the discharge of all duties, punctual in attendance upon the sittings of Congress, he always voted and, though nominally of the national republicans, acted independently. Though called the "old man eloquent," the name was hardly appropriate. He had no quality of the orator, and little that pertained to eloquence. His voice was shrill, piercing, and liable to break. Not a rhetorician, nor yet lacking fitting words, he always had matter pertinent to the subject in hand. With no fancy, no wit, no humor, he was always intensely in earnest. A good parliamentarian, he was a hard fighter, loving a close, bitter contest; a master of sarcasm and invective, irritable, quick tempered, and aggressive, he himself never knew how hard he hit; and careless of consequences, he was accustomed to stand alone, never counting opponents, and regardless of their quality. Ready to defend a pass against a host, or single handed attack an army in the field, he soon became not only the most conspicuous figure in Congress, but will probably remain the most remarkable in American parliamentary history. Nor has he any parallel in the annals of the British senate. His days were days of strife, his career one of chronic war. Without allies or friends for several years, he was rich in enemies, and was seldom without a controversy on his hands. Like the French Marshal Massena, the heat, roar, and smoke of a battle, of his own seeking, seemed to clear his atmosphere, inspire, steady, and strengthen all his faculties. Though all men suffered who attacked him, he so exasperated the slaveholders and their allies that, blinded and reeling from his blows, a sort of fury possessed them to renew the attack. To their attacks he was impervious. There was no flaw in his character, no weakness in his armor, no mistake or fault in his information. Never caught at a weak point, nor in an unguarded hour, he was always alert, never wavering, never at a loss. Often losing temper but gaining strength and power by it, he never made a serious mistake, met a rebuff, lost a battle, or suffered a disadvantage. He was unlike any other man in the American Congress; stood so far apart from all men, that he can be compared with none. It is rather by contrasts that he is to be estimated. He had no followers. Admirers and friends could hardly touch him at the

point of sympathy. Men instinctively antagonized and prepared him for defense. Circumstances might compel coalitions; alliances with him were hardly possible. Men were assured of his sincerity, of his honesty, of his inflexibility of purpose, and this gave him power in the House, a great and growing influence in the nation.

It is barely possible for the younger generation to appreciate the thralldom in which the slave power held the north. A glance at the advantages already gained by the south, may help to a comprehension of its attitude, when Mr. Adams entered the House. On the formation of the national government no one attempted to justify slavery. It was permitted, and the African slave trade secured tolerance until 1808. Slavery was already prohibited in the Northwest territory, by the ordinance of 1787. The south had representation in the House based in part on her slaves. The northern states passed laws for the return of escaping slaves. These being unsatisfactory, four years after the organization under the Constitution, the first fugitive slave law was enacted by Congress. Already the Quakers of North Carolina had freed their slaves, which the state seized and sold. In 1800 Congress perpetuated the slave code in the newly created District of Columbia. In 1803 Louisiana was purchased. In 1804 the United States fought Tunis to free white slaves, and stole black ones from Africa. In 1806 intercourse with St. Domingo was broken off, because slaves there were in arms for freedom. In 1808 the foreign slave trade was abolished; coastwise and interstate slave traffic protected, thus securing a monopoly to the domestic producers of slaves. In 1810–11 Georgia sent an army into Florida to recapture slaves, and though at peace with Spain, Congress with closed doors connived at the seizure of Amelia island, which became a rendezvous for slavers and pirates. Spain complained, and the United States disclaimed. In 1816 Randolph pronounced a fierce philippic against the slave trade at the capital. In 1818, came the first Seminole war, for the capture of slaves, in which was blown up with hot shot old Fort Nichols, where fugitives had taken shelter. Of the captives, a few were handed over to the Indian allies for torture. The year 1820 saw the Missouri compromise, whereby slavery gained a kingdom and its northern supporters the name "doughface." In 1821 Florida was purchased. The "Maroons," children of slaves born there, were, by the treaty of purchase, to be protected, but a long war was waged for their capture and return to slavery. In 1826 the south fought the Panama mission in the interests of slavery, because it was feared that slavery might suffer in Cuba and Porto Rico, as well as at home. In Congress no voice had been raised in condemnation of slavery, save incidentally in the debates of 1820. Curiously enough, under Mr. Adams' championship of freedom, the whole controversy was conducted on the seemingly illogical issue of the right of petition, which

never made much figure in Congressional history, save in the time and under the lead of Mr. Adams against slavery.

Meantime the conscience of the North had been wonderfully quickened on the subject. Men were awakened to its moral, as well as political aspects; discussion arose, and action followed. Though Mr. Adams would have preferred the chairmanship of the committee on foreign affairs, a pending crisis with South Carolina on the subject of imposts, decided his appointment to the chairmanship of the committee on manufactures. Nullification really was one phase of the approaching struggle, though not necessarily connected with slavery. Mr. Adams deemed it wise to examine with care the subject of the tariff, with a view to such modification as might be just. Jackson's annual message of December 4, 1832, filled Mr. Adams with rage. In his judgment it was a total change of policy and a surrender to the nullifiers. Jackson's proclamation in reply to the ordinance of nullification, was more in accord with Adams' temper. The ultimate compromise, which was a concession without a vindication of the underlying principle, was very distasteful to Adams, who would have compelled the state to abandon her position. Jackson was glad to have the matter adjusted, and aided the compromise. Had Adams been re-elected President the matter would have otherwise terminated, and there might never have been a war of rebellion. In the main he was in opposition to the administration of General Jackson, though not from any feeling of personal rivalry. Jackson's final weakening to the nullifiers, his opposition to internal improvements, his characteristic war on the United States bank, and removal of the deposits, and his Kitchen cabinet, would have placed any independent man in opposition. In the matter of French spoliation Mr. Adams gave the administration efficient aid. A treaty had secured to this country five millions, as compensation for damages to American commerce, but it had never been paid. Jackson was determined to have it or fight. He sent a message to Congress recommending reprisals on French commerce, and ordered the American minister, Mr. Livingston, to demand his passports and go to London. The old hero so frightened his timid supporters, that he was in danger of being left in a minority. As in his extremity for the Florida invasion, Mr. Adams came to his rescue, and by a telling speech turned the tide in his favor. Timely and important as it was, it gained no recognition from Jackson. The speech was in support of a cause, and not of the President personally. An intense egotist, in his own estimation he stood for all causes. It is said that R. M. Johnson, of Kentucky, once attempted to renew friendly relations between Jackson and Adams, and decided Jackson ought to make the first advance, which he refused to do. Later, when the President visited Boston, it was proposed that Harvard college confer on him the honor of doctor of laws. So absurd was this that Mr. Adams, who was a member of the board, opposed it, and afterward spoke of Jackson's learning in terms of contempt

CHAPTER V.

HIS COURSE ON THE SLAVERY QUESTION.

SOON after Mr. Adams took his seat he presented fifteen petitions from Pennsylvania for the abolition of slavery and the slave trade in the District of Columbia. He moved their reference to the standing committee on the District, saying that he did not favor that part of the prayer which asked for the abolition of slavery itself. His real reason was he thought that should abide the fate of slavery in the adjoining states. The reference was made, and seemingly nothing came of it. The south was not alarmed and years of quiet followed. His diary is silent on the subject of slavery, and slavery remained undisturbed in Congress.

The project of the annexation of Texas, which assumed definite form after the success of the Texan revolution, in 1835, and which, it was believed, had for its object the extension of slave territory, aroused apprehension at the north. Mr. Adams took no part in the rising struggle, outside the House. He was not an outside leader or orator, attended no anti-slavery conventions, made no addresses, wrote no articles for the press, or letters for publication. His task was to conduct the case in the House of Representatives, and all he needed of support, was to be continued in his seat. Conscienceless wealth and respectability were against him; but his district was genuinely Puritan, and stood by him. Mr. Adams presented more petitions in February, 1835, for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia. The south and its sympathizers deemed it expedient to put a stop to this. The first battle was in the Senate, where Thomas Morris, democratic senator for Ohio, presented petitions for the abolition of slavery in the District. Buchanan denounced the agitation of the slavery question as a moral wrong. The Senate decided that all such memorials should be laid on the table. Mr. Calhoun brought forward a measure to exclude incendiary matter from the mails, and mobs in the south executed

the law in advance of its enactment. The northern states were called on for legislation, and Maine responded. Senator Ruggles declared there was not an abolitionist in that state. Arkansas was admitted, with a constitution prohibiting the abolition of slavery.

Mr. Adams, on the 4th of January, 1836, presented a petition in the usual form. Mr. Glascock, of Georgia, moved that it be not received, and a two days' debate followed. Pending this, Jarvis, of Maine, offered a resolution that the House entertain no petition to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia. January 18th, Mr. Adams offered another series; one from one hundred and forty-eight women, whom he declared he thought were citizens. A motion was made to refer, followed by a motion to lay that motion on the table. February 8th, this ingenious device to defeat the right of petition, was sent to a special committee, Mr. Pinkney chairman. May 8th, the committee reported: First, Congress had no power over slavery in the states; second, Congress ought not interfere with slavery in the District; third, these petitions were disquieting, and should neither be printed nor referred, but laid on the table, and no further action taken on them. Though he asked for but five minutes, the House refused to hear Mr. Adams on the first resolution, which was adopted by one hundred and eighty-two to nine. Mr. Adams asked to be excused from voting on the second proposition, and was indulged. The third, with its preamble, was read. He arose and declared it was unconstitutional; a violation of the rules of the House, and of the rights of the people. He was interrupted by shrieks and yells, but obstinately persisted. This proposition was adopted by one hundred and seventeen to sixty-eight—a respectable majority,—and the south again breathed easily. This was the first form of the famous Atherton gag, finally embodied in the twenty-first standing rule, for so many years the target of the assaults of Mr. Adams. December 21st and 22d the House was again in an uproar over this question, and Mr. Adams had to override the storm to make his sentiments heard. He had a quarrel with the speaker, first to get his name on the journal as voting on this proposition; then as to its form, insisting that his speech should also be recorded. This was voted out of order. Then he demanded that his motion and the ruling be recorded. This not being done he brought it up again the next day. In the debate that followed, a southern man declared that, if ever the issue came to a war, the south would conquer New England. Mr. Adams told him his "name should go down to posterity doomed to everlasting fame."

It was the fate of the south that the measures it adopted to quiet the agitation should work still greater woe, and lead to the destruction of slavery. The northern opponents of slavery, finding their right of petition denied determined to exercise it, and through Mr. Adams flooded Congress with their memorials. For a long time this made a great demand on his time, and

exposed him to no little danger. It made him the perpetual antagonist of the ruling power in the republic, and compelled him daily to face alone a bold, unscrupulous body of able, angry, persistent men; watchful and alert to catch or trap him. His opposition strengthened him, and the burdens placed upon him increased his power. When he came to have coadjutors and allies in the House, they were rather a source of weakness. He had to guard them from missteps and mistakes, to hold in check the extremists who, by precipitate action, might injure the cause. A public opinion must be formed, which should sustain every step. The north must first be conquered. The abolitionists desired to push him forward; his family and personal friends to hold him back. Between these conflicting opinions he must choose his own course, and that he did wisely.

February 3, 1837, was a day memorable in the life of Mr. Adams, and in the struggle. At the end of a series of two hundred petitions was one from ladies of Virginia, which he offered; as to the remaining one, he said he would ask the decision of the speaker before offering it. It purported to come from twenty-two slaves; he wanted to know whether it came within the rule of exclusion. The speaker hesitated, could not decide till he knew the contents of the paper. Mr. Adams said he suspected it was not what it appeared to be. He would send it to the chair. Objections. The speaker said it was so extraordinary, he would take the sense of the House. When that body came to get an idea of the case, the greatest excitement prevailed. Men rushed in from the lobbies, and many tried to speak at the same time. No one knew what the paper was. Few had heard what Mr. Adams said of it. The words "Expel him! Expel him!" were shouted. No one was equal to the emergency. No one was cool but Mr. Adams. Haynes, of South Carolina, moved to reject. Lewis, from Alabama, would punish Mr. Adams. Haynes withdrew his inadequate motion. Grantland would second Mr. Lewis, who thought if Mr. Adams was not punished, the southern men had better go home, as they did twenty-four years later. Alford, of Virginia, would move that when presented, the petition should be removed from the house and burnt. Waddy Thompson, of South Carolina, offered a resolution "that Mr. Adams, for his attempt to introduce a petition purporting to come from slaves, has been guilty of gross disrespect, and that he be instantly placed at the bar of the House, and severely censured by the speaker. He made a little speech against Mr. Adams, and threatened him with a criminal prosecution. Mr. Haynes wanted to amend this, and more excited speeches followed. Then another resolve, declaring that Mr. Adams by his attempt to introduce a petition from slaves for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, had committed an outrage, a flagrant indignity, extended the rights of freemen to slaves, incited them to insurrection, and that he be forthwith censured. Mr. Lewis was still in favor of going to

Alabama.* Mr. Alford preferred to remain "till this beautiful Potomac became a river of blood,"—and here Mr. Patton, of Virginia, got in a word of sense. He asked if Mr. Adams had attempted to offer the petition? Did it pray to have slavery abolished? Mr. Adams then arose and said, coolly for him, that he thought it proper to remain silent till the House called on him; when he supposed he might be heard. He did not offer the petition. He intended to get the decision of the speaker before taking a step. Should the House ever come to a knowledge of the contents of the paper, it would need to amend the last resolution. "The prayer was that slavery should not be abolished." The petitioners were the auxiliaries of the gentlemen! This was a pretty dish to place before the House! Sore discomfiture prevailed, during which poor Mann, of New York, the poorest man ever in the House, made a speech, full of stupid abuse of Mr. Adams, and a sad floundering among epithets. Then Thompson angrily assailed Mr. Adams, for trifling with the House—which was good; and offered three resolutions to meet the new aspect of the case, in substance—first, that Mr. Adams by an effort to present a petition from slaves was guilty of gross contempt of the House; second, that said member by creating the impression, and leaving the House under said impression, that said petition was for the abolition of slavery, when he knew it was not, has trifled with the House; third, that he be censured by the House.

Mr. Pinkney said Mr. Adams, by the possession of the petition, admitted communication with slaves, and *was indictable for abetting insurrection*, and censurable by the House. One gentleman thought if the petition was burnt, the presenter should share in the fire. On the next day, Dromgool of Virginia, the shrewdest of the southern party, brought in more resolutions. His first declared that Mr. Adams "has given color to the idea that slaves have the right of petition, and of his readiness to be their organ," and deserves censure; second, that he receive a censure from the speaker. In the debate of that day Mr. Alford deplored "this awful crisis of our beloved country." Mr. Robertson, though opposing the resolutions, denounced Mr. Adams. All the warm bloods took their time, and had their flings at the old man. His colleague, Mr. Lincoln, defended him, as did George Evans, of Maine,—both ably. Caleb Cushing, another colleague, then a young man, made a strong and effective speech for him. In the main, however, he was left to care for himself, to which he was quite equal. Long before the south talked itself out, and before Mr. Adams had said a word, the champions came to feel, there was absolutely nothing in their case; and were content with a mild, rather soothing form of condemnation; one generally condemning petitions from slaves; and that as Mr. Adams had solemnly disclaimed disrespect, and avowed his intention not to present the

*Al-a-bama (Indian)—"Here we rest."

petition, "therefore all further proceedings in regard to his conduct do cease." Mr. Vanderpool, of New York, moved the previous question, intended to cut Mr. Adams off from speaking at all. No southern man would do that. There was not enough of that nerve which is the meanest cowardice, to carry it, and Mr. Adams had the floor. Poor, badgered, berated, abused old man; he needs no pity. His enemies became objects of pity under his fiery lash, but contempt places them out of the reach of pity even. In the previous session he had made a masterly speech against the acquisition of Texas, which had asked admission as a state As this effort had a personal element, it was more pungent. He claimed that slaves had the right to petition, and his only offense was asking a question. The speaker had entertained and put it to the House. What did he deserve? He showed the folly of the numerous resolutions aimed against him, and was especially happy in dealing with Dromgool's definition of his offense—"giving color to an idea." In language once used by him on the floor, and never reported, Adams "consecrated him to everlasting ridicule." Each assailant was dealt with in turn, and each was eager to explain. He justified every word he had said, and disclaimed all idea of apology or abandonment of his course. There was much excitement during the delivery of his speech. When he closed, no one attempted a reply, and his assailants, abandoning all idea of censure, contented themselves with a resolution that slaves could not petition the House. How much they profited by the lesson will appear at a later and greater day. Mr. Adams supposed that the petition was prepared by a master, who had the names of his slaves appended, to place him in a position of embarrassment, perhaps danger; as he held it to be his duty to present all petitions. It was a part of the prayer that Mr. Adams be expelled from the House, if he presented more petitions against slavery.

The months rolled on. Mr. Adams' diary shows how they passed with him. Under the dates of September and October, 1837, we find his estimate of his own position, as well as that of his friends. Much of September was occupied in arranging his weapons offensive, with which his arsenal was now well supplied. Among the petitions offered was one from Gregory, who wanted to be declared an alien by act of Congress, till slavery was abolished, and justice rendered the Indians, also. September 28th he put in a number of petitions and offered a resolution on the coast slave trade. The next day he showered down fifty more. All December he plied the House. He insisted that those referring to Texas should go to the foreign committee. On the 29th of the month he offered them in bundles.

Mr. Slade, from Vermont, entered the House with the twenty-fifth Congress, and presented the resolutions of his state legislature against slavery, when the slaveholders in a body withdrew from the House—the first seces-

sion. They came back and substantially passed the Pickens Senate rule; thirty-four northern democrats voting with them.

On the assembling of Congress in December, 1838, Mr. Atherton, of New Hampshire, presented the slavery caucus platform, understood to be from the brain of Calhoun. This fixed upon the House the rule of the year before, and pilloried the name of Atherton; the thing was henceforth known as the "Atherton gag." Joshua R. Giddings, from Ohio, took his seat at that session, and soon became second to Mr. Adams in the contest, and his friend in the House. January 3d, Mr. Adams presented about a hundred petitions; January 13th, fifty; January 28th was spent in receiving and assorting petitions; February 14th following, he presented some three hundred and fifty, all except three or four bearing upon slavery. Some were of an unique character, and even under the rules raised great excitement. At the last Mr. Adams was required to state what they were, who they came from, and what their object. On the 13th of the same month a commotion was raised by Giddings, who gave as a reason why he would not vote to build a bridge over the Anacosta—eastern branch of the Potomac—that slavery made the city of Washington an unfit capital of a free country. Mr. Adams went promptly to his aid, as he had aided Mr. Slade in his contest the same month against the Atherton resolution.

Nearly every day saw an excitement in the House over the subject of slavery. Mr. Adams had a difficulty with the speaker, on that notable 14th of February, in his persistence to get upon the journal of the House his reason for a vote on the same subject. March 12th following he presented ninety six petitions, one of which prayed to have the declaration of independence expunged. Men were ingenious in inventing forms in which to express their horror of slavery and exacerbate the souls of slaveocrats. December 20th he opened with a battery of fifty anti-slavery petitions, three of which asked to have the independence of Hayti acknowledged, which was specially offensive. These he demanded should go to the committee on foreign affairs, as not within the rule; as they were not: or, they should be sent to special committee, as the foreign relations would never report on them. The chairman of the committee said "that was an insinuation not to be made against a gentleman." Mr. Adams retorted that it was "not an insinuation. It was a direct charge." January 7, 1834, he cheerfully put in ninety-five anti-slavery petitions. In July of that year the *Amistad*, with a small invoice of freshly imported slaves, sailed from Havana for the south side of Cuba. Four days out, regardless of the American union, the misguided Africans arose, killed the captain, some of the crew, captured the rest, whom they put ashore, and ordered Montez and Ruaz, their purchasers, to steer for Africa. They headed north, and drifted upon the coast of Connecticut, and were seized by Lieutenant Gedney, of the coast survey. He libeled the ship and crew for salvage, as property.

Montez and Ruaz were liberated. Generally all captured slavers had been carried into southern ports, and the slavers tried for piracy by a jury of slave buyers, and nobody convicted. Now there was to be a trial of slaves, before freemen, where pirates were prosecutors. The Spanish minister also demanded they should be given up as criminals, which the President, Mr Van Buren, favored; and he sent an armed vessel to be in waiting to receive them, the moment they were decided to be amenable to such a fate. The American world was profoundly stirred, and looked forward to the result with the greatest solicitude.

Mr. Adams offered a resolution in the House enquiring why persons charged with no crime were held in prison, which of course was rejected by the majority. On the trial the negroes were declared free men; Montez and Ruaz appealed to the supreme court of the United States, and Mr. Adams volunteered as counsel for the Africans. The court held that they were never legally reduced to slavery; and therefore could not be held. As Mr. Dromgool would say, "giving color to the idea" that there was a legal way in which free men might be reduced to slavery. March 30, 1840, was a brisk day for Mr. Adams, and he made offer of five hundred and eleven anti-slavery petitions. The north was not quieted by the Atherton regimen. April 13th, he presented a petition to abolish the whipping of women in the District, and it was a fairly good day for others.

As a whig, Mr. Adams supported General Harrison in the presidential contest of 1840. At the extra session of 1841, there was the usual wrangle over the "Atherton gag." There was a rain of anti-slavery petitions during all the months Congress was in session. Among them were many queer specimens. Men took advantage of Mr. Adams' position to attempt to involve him in unpleasant predicaments, but always failed. Virginians asked that all free colored persons be sold or expelled from the country. He declared his abhorrence of it, but handed it in, saying that the twenty-first rule—the "Atherton"—did not exclude it. So he received one from Virginia asking that Mr. Adams be arraigned at the bar of the House, and expelled. He asked that both be referred. Mr. Dromgool would move to lay the last on the table, unless the gentleman desired to give another direction. Mr. Adams said carelessly, that "the gentleman from Massachusetts cared very little about it," and the table received it.

The 21st of January, 1842, was a memorable day. Mr. Adams opened with a petition from Georgia, praying that he be removed from the chairmanship of the committee on foreign relations, where he had been placed by the whig speaker. Mr. Adams took advantage of the question of privilege thus presented, and proceeded, under the wildest excitement, to defend himself; which meant an excoriation of the pro-slavery men. The speaker got rid of it by saying that the petition must go over under the rules of the House. Mr. Adams still had the floor, and he went on his usual way, pre-

senting petitions, which dropped into the bottomless sink of the twenty-first rule. His blood was up, as was that of his enemies. Toward evening, with Giddings, Slade, and Gates (of New York), around him, and Wise, Gilmoer, Holmes, and others, confronting him, exhibiting a paper, he said: "I hold in my hand the memorial of Benjamin Emerson and forty-five citizens of Massachusetts, praying for the peaceful dissolution of the Union of these states." An ominous silence fell on the House. He went on to state the reason, a condensed indictment of the south, in language courteous, and evading the fatal rule. A whirl of turmoil swept through the House, during which Mr. Adams moved its reference to a select committee, with instructions to report that the prayer of the petition be denied; and resumed his seat. Half a hundred men sprang to the floor, shouting "Mr. Speaker!" At last the wary old man had delivered himself into the hands of his foes, and they sprang forward in fierce competition to mangle him Hopkins, in a rage, demanded that the paper be burnt in the presence of the House. Wise wanted to know if a resolution of censure was in order. Mr. Adams thought that it was. A motion was made to adjourn. Mr. Adams thought that if a vote of censure was to pass, it had better be on that day. Mr. Gilmoer offered a resolution of censure. A question of reception was made. Mr. Adams hoped it would be received. He had waited long for what such a resolution must bring—a great day for brave speech, when speech would be greater than even deeds. The House adjourned without action. Men with clinched hands, and scowling brows, cursed the abolitionists. Many exulted that "the old man" was now in the hands of the fierce democracy. The southern whigs would stand by them.

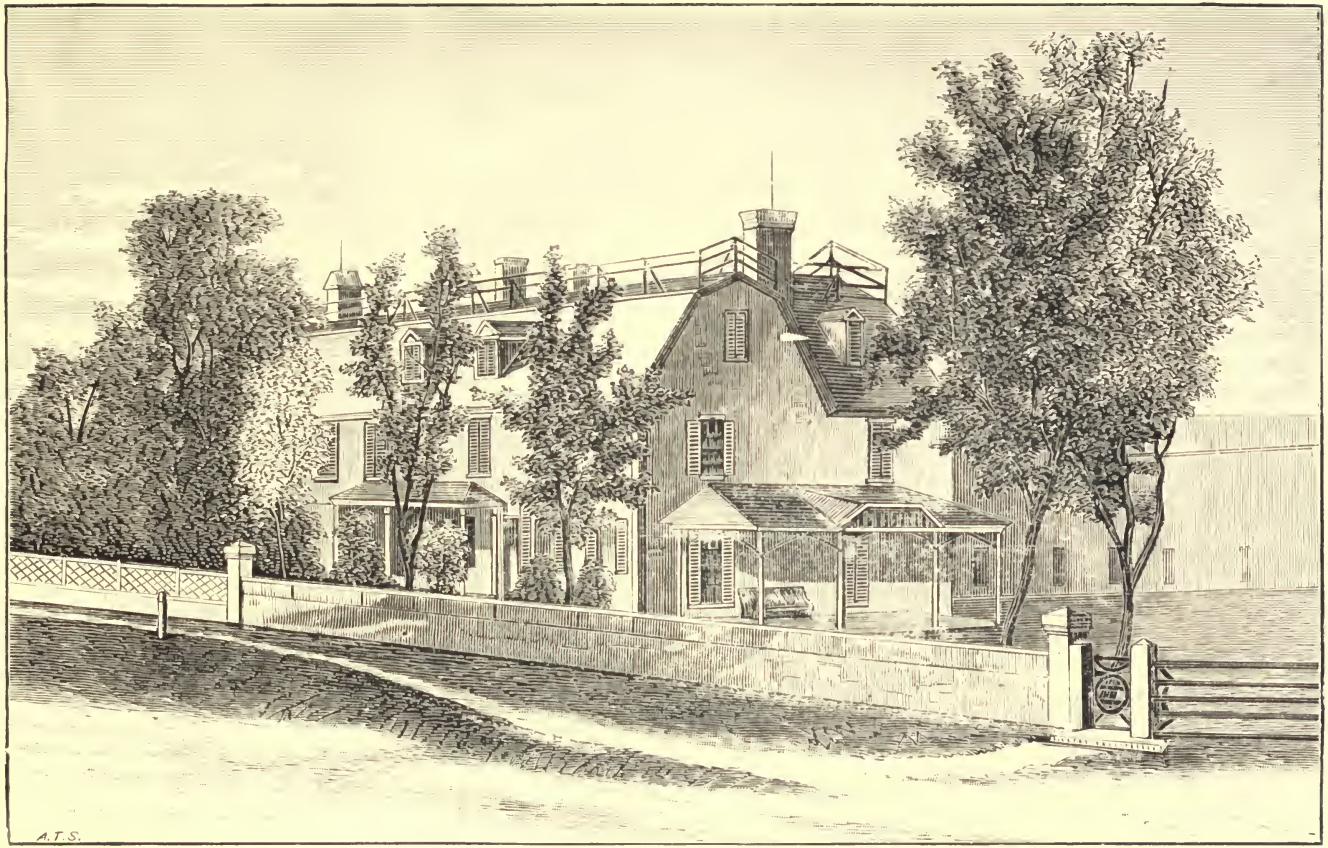
A meeting of the slavery leaders was held that night. Mr. Giddings made a vain effort to secure a meeting of northern men, who would stand by Mr. Adams. He was coldly answered that such a meeting would look like a sectional movement. Slade and Young, of Vermont; Calhoun, of Massachusetts; Henry Lawrence and Simonton, of Pennsylvania; Gates and Crittenden, of New York, only responded kindly, and met in Mr. Giddings' room. Dr. Leavett and Theodore Weld were also present. Mr. Adams was sent for. So long unused to kindness and sympathy was the old man, that the message moved him greatly. He declined to attend, and indicated to the committee who waited upon him, some points upon which he wished for authorities; and dismissed them. At the slavery council it was decided to place the prosecution in the hands of a slave-holding whig, to lead the assault. The choice fell on Thomas F. Marshall, nephew of the chief justice of that name. He had the family ability, was a brilliant speaker, and emulous of the place. In the presence of the foreign ministers, attachés, and privileged persons, and the crowd always ready to assemble at the capital, the House the next day opened. The preamble to the

resolutions as finally offered glorified the Union. Mr. Adams had offered the greatest possible insult to the people, for which he merited expulsion. The House in mercy would only severely censure, and leave him to the indignation of his countrymen.

Mr. Marshall quite met the occasion, in the public estimation. He denounced Mr. Adams as a traitor. Mr. Adams arose, was recognized, asked if the House would entertain the resolutions, and called for the reading of the first paragraph of the declaration of independence. It was read down to the point which declared the power *to abolish or change a government, when it failed to secure the true ends of government.* He then, with severe clearness, pointed out the wrongs and injustice wrought by the government, through the coalition of the slaveholders and democrats, and asserted that it was time the people should, by petitions, arouse the nation.

Mr. Everett, of Vermont, moved to print and postpone the resolutions a week. Mr. Wise supported the resolutions in a long prepared speech of great bitterness. Adams retorted his part in the tragedy of the Graves-Cilly duel, and turned on Marshall with a withering speech of sarcasm and ridicule, recommending him to go back to his books. Marshall, as if in defiance, arose and stood facing him. A hush fell on the thronged House, as the old man, worked up to his greatest power, poured on him mingled wrath, scorn, and derision. Then he turned to the subject matter of debate. Not so much as a breath, a rustle, was heard. Reporters were charmed, slaveholders shed tears. When he took his seat, Marshall remained standing, until a friend recalled him to the consciousness he had lost. Marshall never fully recovered, and said later, to John Campbell, that he "would rather die a thousand deaths than encounter that old man." Giddings, and the little band about Mr. Adams, were no longer anxious; and the whigs of the north began to gather around him. Not only these, but Mr. Botts, of Virginia, who later behaved so shabbily in Mr. Giddings' case, came to his aid, though he needed none. Marshall again addressed the House, preparing the way to a retreat.

January 3d, Mr. Gilmore proposed to Mr. Adams to withdraw the petition and he would withdraw the resolutions of censure. Mr. Adams refused, entered upon his personal defense, and spoke the rest of the day, reviewing his past course. He and his friends justly complained of the report of this speech, and the next morning he demanded a delay, until a competent reporter could be procured. Marshall objected, and moved the previous question. In the face of this attempt to cut him off, he went on. Dr. Leavett was a competent reporter, and Giddings smuggled him into the House to take down the speech. The slaveholders had him turned out, and he got a place outside the bar. The southerners were so incensed that they soon called Mr. Adams to order. The speaker sustained him, and the House, on an appeal, sustained the chair. Mr. Adams consumed the day, without



RESIDENCE OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

finishing. As he was about to resume the next day, a Georgian wished to know how much time it would require. Mr. Adams, in a business way, said he could not tell, but he thought "he could finish in *ninety days*." This opened new views to the prosecutors. Mr. Adams had used the most of three days in his arraignment of slavery, and proposed to go on for three months. Mr. Botts intervened with a motion to lay the whole subject on the table. This prevailed—one hundred and six to ninety-three, and so the prosecution ended in defeat and humiliation.

The resolutions in Mr. Adams' case being disposed of, the question came up on the reception of the petition he had offered, which was lost—forty for reception, one hundred and sixty-six against it. Thereupon, Mr. Adams being still fresh, and there being some daylight left, worked on and presented over two hundred petitions before the House adjourned. On the 14th of March following, D. D. Barnard, of New York, presented a similar petition to that of Mr. Adams, which the now docile House disposed of very placidly.

This inglorious defeat of slavery, in the case of Mr. Adams, had temporary success in the case of Mr. Giddings. In the famous *Creole* case he offered a set of propositions, somewhat similar, in reply to Mr. Calhoun's formula, on the same subject matter in the Senate. He was censured without being permitted to defend himself, resigned, and in five weeks was in his seat again to work woe on his enemies.

The *Creole* case stimulated a conspiracy to remove Mr. Adams from the head of the committee on foreign affairs, and replace him by his colleague, Caleb Cushing. On the collapse of the resolution of censure the four southern members of the committee asked to be excused from further service on it, because, as their note said, the House might not remove him, and they were unwilling to serve with him. The House excused them with a shout of acclamation. Others, in notes personally insulting to Mr. Adams, refused to accept the vacant places; the notes were published, and a gross breach of privilege perpetrated, but of this Mr. Adams took no notice.

CHAPTER VI.

LAST YEARS OF MR. ADAMS' CONGRESSIONAL SERVICE—STRICKEN WITH DEATH WHILE AT HIS POST—SUMMARY.

IT will be remembered that Mr. Adams made one of his strongest speeches against the admission of Texas, in the earliest years of the controversy, placing the whole subject in the clearest light. The agitation never ceased. Annexation was inevitable. It was one of the sources of strength to the growing anti-slavery sentiment of the north. The Tyler administration patched up a hasty treaty of annexation, and General Jackson, at the Hermitage, signed a letter urging its ratification by the Senate. It was proposed to correlate Texas with Oregon, the northern boundary—50° 40′—of which Great Britain disputed. Mr. Webster, secretary of state, gave place to Mr. Upshur, who was soon after killed by the explosion of a gun on the war steamer *Princeton*, and Mr. Calhoun was placed at the head of the state department. The treaty of annexation was his work. Mr. Benton killed that project in the Senate—beat it to death, southron and slaveholder as he was.

The presidential election was at hand, and parties were divided on the acquisition of Texas. On the defeat of the treaty, Mr. Tyler sent a message to the two houses, asking that Texas be annexed by joint resolution, which question was debated to the end of the session, and in which Mr. Adams bore a conspicuous part. In this condition of affairs, a presidential election pending, Mr. Van Buren, the prominent candidate for democratic nomination, wrote a sensible letter against the acquisition of Texas; and Polk was nominated in his stead. The democratic cry of the campaign was: "Polk, Texas, and the tariff of 1842,"—passed by the whigs. Mr. Clay made a speech at Raleigh, wrote a letter against Texas, and was nominated by the whigs. He wrote two more letters on Texas during the canvass, and was beaten. Mr. Adams cordially supported Mr. Clay, as did some of the few pronounced anti-slavery whigs. On the re-assembling of the House, a

close canvass showed a majority of thirty against the annexation scheme Mr. Adams had no confidence in the opposition of any democrat. On the final vote in the House, February 28, 1845, the Senate annexation bill passed by a vote of one hundred and thirty-two to seventy-six. A cannon on the west terrace of the capital announced the victory to the city, which answered with bonfires and revelry. That was the darkest hour ever seen on the western continent for the cause of freedom and justice. The recoil against slavery threw many strong men from the democracy into the ranks of its enemies, among them John P. Hall, Preston King, and Brinkerhoof. Finally, Congress rejected the "Atherton gag"—the twenty-first rule was rescinded. Against this Mr. Adams had steadily fought since its adoption. Steadily the majority for it diminished. In 1842 it was but four; in 1843 it was three; in 1844, the battle over it raged for weeks, with doubtful result. At the next attempt Mr. Adams' motion to rescind was not laid on the table, by a vote of yeas eighty-one, and one hundred and four nays. On the final vote his motion prevailed by one hundred and eight to eighty. It was a victory—a great victory, but how barren. The next petitions for the abolition of slavery, were referred to the committee on the District of Columbia, where they slept as profoundly as in the cavern of the twenty-first rule.

The next battle for the right of petition was over the election of the speaker, mostly after Mr. Adams' departure. If men had a right to petition, they had the right to be heard and decently answered, and coming from the speaker's hand, that depended on the structure of the committees. Mr. Polk announced to the Twenty-ninth Congress, the latest democratic programme: notice to England to terminate the joint occupancy of Oregon, a delivery of the whole, or war. The whigs were supine. To Mr. Adams and the small band now by his side was it left to make head against it. The Senate resolution of notice to England came up in the Senate, February 5, 1846. Mr. Giddings took the floor, and declared that a war with England would add Canada as well as Oregon to the free north. War with England meant emancipation. The black regiments of the British West Indies would land on the helpless southern shores, and slave insurrection and rapine follow. Mr. Adams followed in a speech equal to his old efforts, though now enfeebled. He put forth his old doctrine—that under the war power, as a means of war, aggressive or defensive, slavery could be abolished. This he announced as early as 1835; and he had brought it forward once or twice since. On this occasion he declared himself in favor of holding the whole of Oregon. The south recoiled with horror. Not long after, Great Britain offered the forty-ninth parallel, and Mr. Polk made haste to accept it.

General Taylor was sent to take possession of Texas, passed into Mexico, found General Ampudia and a Mexican army, and fought the battles of the 8th and 9th of May. Then followed the whole miserable war, lasting beyond Mr. Adams, who, as counsellor and adviser, still kept his place at the head,

though he now seldom mingled in debate. His last speech was made in March, 1847. It was in reference to his old clients, the negroes of the *Amistad*, who had gone home. Mr. Giddings detected in an appropriation bill—smuggled in by a Senate amendment—an item of fifty thousand dollars, to pay Montez and Ruaz for the men whom the supreme court had decided were not slaves, which rider he assailed on the floor of the House. It aroused Mr. Adams to his old battle fury—the trumpet call to the old knight in armor, and he flashed out with all his wonted vigor and wrath. Members left their seats, reporters dropped their pens, and all gathered round him. When he closed, the Senate amendment was rejected by the House *unanimously*. It was the last speech of the "old man eloquent." He was to linger for yet nearly a year, with impaired strength.

Fierce hater, warrior, and hard hitter though he was, and ever in strife, yet intensely sincere and of immaculate purity of character and conduct, it is not to be supposed that his better qualities were not recognized in all these years, even by his enemies; none of whom, as it would seem, but profoundly respected while they hated him. In time this respect, in view of his long life and eminent service, came to be a reverence, which unconsciously manifested itself in various striking ways. On one memorable occasion he was enabled by his position, and the possession of qualities which marked him as a leader and a ruler of men, to perform an eminent service to the House itself, and to the country at large. It was an emergency in which overruling devotion to party had involved the House while an inorganic body, and so, in parliamentary language, not a House—in a chaotic condition, from which no opening was apparent, and the country was greatly alarmed by it. Men whose memories cover forty-three years of political history can vividly recall the New Jersey contested election case. The democratic power was waning and that of the whigs increasing. The parties had nearly reached a point of equilibrium in the House, and a few votes passed from one party to the other would change the majority. The Constitution and statutes were silent as to the method of organizing the House on the convocation of a new Congress. The usage was to leave the matter largely in the hands of the clerk of the last House; who was for all purposes out of office, and had no real power in the premises. He made up the list of members-elect, and called the roll. Members whose terms held over took upon themselves the power and duty of organizing the House. It had also been a rule to recognize such claimants to seats, and such alone as came authenticated by the authorities of the state they claimed to represent. This was a *prima facie* title, resting on more than usage. The Congressional election in New Jersey for 1838 was by general ticket. It was close. Both parties claimed the victory; the state government was in the hands of the whigs, and they gave the certificate and seal of election to the whig claimants. The democrats made such inferior showing as they could secure, and

December, 1839, saw both parties at the capitol, claiming seats. The party that secured them would control the House. The duty of the clerk was plain. The whigs should have been placed on his roll. They alone had evidence of election that he or anybody short of the organized House could examine or go behind. He was a democrat, and chose to blunder in favor of his party. He placed one whig on the list, and said, as to the five others their seats were contested. He omitted them. When the House should be organized it could deal with them. In the temper of the times, and the importance of the matter involved, both of the great parties were in array, ready to fight out the impending battle to any result. Acrimonious debate ran through the first day. A motion was made to adjourn. The clerk said he had no power to put it or do any act, save make and call the roll; and the members adjourned themselves by consent.

The next morning Mr. Garland, the clerk, whose re-election depended on the success of his programme, undertook to read an explanatory note, and the day was spent in discussing his right to do that. He again declined to put a motion to adjourn, and the members dispersed as before. The next day was spent in vain wrangles, no light appearing from any quarter. In this condition the thoughts and eyes of all men turned to Mr. Adams. Leading men of both sides earnestly besought him to interfere and extricate them. He was reluctant to mix in the disgraceful squabble, and nothing but the gravest apprehension of possible consequences induced him so to do. When for the first time he arose, on the 5th of December, his rising was greeted as the advent of a superior power. "Fellow citizens—members-elect of the twenty-sixth Congress!" was his address, with his back to Mr. Clerk Garland, whom he excoriated before resuming his seat. He told the House to organize itself. He then offered a resolution ordering the clerk to call the members from New Jersey who possessed credentials from the governor of the state. The puzzling cry went up, "How shall the question be put?" "I will put it myself," was the prompt reply. A tumult of applause greeted the declaration. The members recognized a man here. Rhett, of South Carolina, moved that Williams, of North Carolina, be chairman of the meeting. Williams substituted the name of Mr. Adams. He was elected with a shout; and Rhett and Williams conducted him to the chair. Afterward Wise, of Virginia, addressed a speech of compliment to him for his prompt response, "I will put the question myself." The south behaved handsomely toward their great enemy on this occasion. Even with Mr. Adams in the chair, with no more power than attaches to the presiding officer of any informal body without rules, the struggle for the control of the future House was long and bitter. The issue was decided December 16th, by the election of R. M. T. Hunter, of Virginia, as speaker. There was talk of a vote of thanks to Mr. Adams. He did not wish it. It would have led to acrimonious debate, in the embittered feeling of the

democracy, who lost the speakership, with all its advantages, precursor of the greater defeat so soon to follow.

At the best, the career of Mr. Adams was dreary. He performed his tasks sternly, rather than cheerfully. There is found in his diary of 1835, a list of the public men of that day, whom he regarded as personal enemies, which included nearly all the most eminent of that time; to most of whom he had been of service. His complaint was, that the best acts of his life made him enemies, and subjected him to obloquy. His diary was the great depository of his woes and enmities. He himself said that the last years of his life were spent in paying for the success of his early career, brightened as they were by several unconscious marks of confidence—of veneration by the members of the House, though less striking than in the New Jersey case.

Mr. Adams feared a failure of health in 1833; in 1842 he thought the ensuing session would be his last in the House. In March, two years later, he drew a pitiful picture of his physical condition. November 19th, he was struck with paralysis in Boston, but recovered. Three months later, when he entered the House, all the members arose spontaneously; business was suspended; his old seat surrendered, and the members conducted him to it. Though punctual in attendance, he took no part in the debates. February 21, 1848, he was in his seat. At a little after 1, as the speaker arose to put a question, he was arrested by cries—"Stop! stop!—Mr. Adams!!" Those near the old man thought he attempted to rise as if to claim the speaker's attention. In an instant he fell unconscious. Members thronged about him. The House adjourned. He was carried to the speaker's room, where he lay in his last fight. Some almost inarticulate words in the late afternoon were heard and translated—"The last of earth." He passed quietly away early in the evening of the 23d.

Mr. Adams performed much Congressional work not here referred to. He contributed largely to the establishment of the Smithsonian institute; was industrious on committees; managed a large correspondence; received throngs of visitors; read three chapters of the Bible daily, and carried forward his colossal diary, the published portions of which, edited by his son, constituted twelve large volumes. Beyond this he was an inveterate versifier, composing with facility. In addition to the literary work already referred to, while in Berlin, he translated Wieland's Oberon, and later wrote a series of letters of travel in Germany, which were published in London, and translated into French, and also into German. While in the Senate he was also professor of rhetoric at Harvard, and a volume of his lectures, long since neglected, were printed in 1810. While minister to Russia he wrote a series of letters, to his son, upon the Bible and its teachings, a pious work, as a labor of love, otherwise not greatly esteemed. As we know, he commenced a biography of his father, and wrote a poem descriptive of the conquest of Ireland. In addition to his other labors, he delivered many

addresses and lectures. The following may be taken as a specimen of his labors. He started from Boston one Monday morning to attend the opening of Congress. That evening he delivered an address before the Young Men's institute in Hartford, Connecticut, the next evening another to the young men of New Haven. On Wednesday evening he lectured before a New York lyceum. Thursday evening he delivered an address in Brooklyn. Friday another lecture in New York; and thence on to Washington to be at the House the following Monday. Opposition to slavery by no means absorbed his attention, or claimed his entire time. He kept abreast with his time in the advance of science, and was familiar with later ideas of the newer and younger men.

Like many strong natures, Mr. Adams was reverent. He was a profound worshiper, and regulated his life by the precepts of religion; was by constitution austere in his observances of them, never occasioning a suspicion of his intense sincerity. Mentally, Mr. Adams was the more forcible as a speaker. He was a fluent writer. It is said his manuscript showed few erasures; his style verbose, a little in the manner of pre-revolutionary times. He had not the idiomatic simplicity and elegance of his father, nor had he his father's wit and sparkle, though a master of sarcasm and invective. His father was apt to indulge in fine philosophical generalization entirely foreign to the younger, who had not a particle of humor, nor any conception of its cause or effects. He could never see anything in Falstaff, nor his attendants, Bardolph and Pistol. In intellectual structure, as in person, he resembled his father, with more learning and less genius. In indomitable will, unshrinking courage, energy, and perseverance, he was the equal of any man in history, as in power of continuous, hard, dogged labor. Both father and son will always be held up as embodiments of the essential life, spirit, and mind, of the New England of their times. They could have been produced nowhere else, or in no other period. In many respects the younger was the more fortunate. Both rendered large measures of public service; both as disinterestedly patriotic and pure in public and private morals as any of the leading figures in history. The early part of John Q. Adams' life was fortunate, the last brilliant and illustrious; yet there are those who regard it on the whole as less satisfactory. Both were prudent housekeepers, managing their private affairs with skill—family traits which survive them—and both left handsome estates.

John Quincy Adams lies buried under the portal of the church at Quincy, where by his side his wife was laid four years later. No man in American history in his lifetime was more maligned or so little appreciated. As he recedes in the distance, and falls under the law of perspective, the harsh, unlovely lines of his character, that gave tone to the malevolence of his day, disappear, and he rises on the horizon more distinct and conspicuous, justly regarded as one of the greatest and most discerning of men.

While glimpses have been given here and there of the oratorical powers of John Quincy Adams, no extended extract from any of his many public addresses has been attempted. As illustrating his mode of thought, his force of expression and patriotic sentiment, this brief sketch of his career can be closed in no more fitting manner than the presentation of the following extract from one of his best known public speeches:* "The convention was held at Annapolis in September of that year. It was attended by delegates from only five of the central states, who, on comparing their restricted powers with the glaring and universally acknowledged defects of the confederation, reported only a recommendation for the assemblage of another convention of delegates to meet at Philadelphia in May, 1787, from all the states and with enlarged powers.

"The Constitution of the United States was the work of this convention. But in its construction the convention immediately perceived that they must retrace their steps, and fall back from a league of friendship between sovereign states to the constituent sovereignty of the people; from power to right; from the irresponsible despotism of state sovereignty to the self-evident truths of the Declaration of Independence. In that instrument the right to institute and to alter governments among men was ascribed exclusively to the people—the ends of government were declared to be to secure the natural rights of man; and that when the government degenerates from the promotion to the destruction of that end, the right and the duty accrues to the people to dissolve this degenerate government and to institute another. The signers of the declaration further averred that the one people of the United Colonies were then precisely in that situation—with a government degenerated into tyranny, and called upon by the laws of nature and of nature's God to dissolve that government and to institute another. Then in the name and by the authority of the good people of the colonies, they pronounced the dissolution of their allegiance to the king and their eternal separation from the nation of Great Britain, and declared the united colonies independent states. And here, as the representatives of the one people they had stopped. They did not require the confirmation of this act, for the power to make the declaration had already been conferred upon them by the people, delegating the power, indeed, separately in the separate colonies, not by colonial authority, but by the spontaneous revolutionary movement of the people in them all. . . .

"The convention assembled at Philadelphia had themselves no direct authority from the people; but they had the articles of confederation before them, and they saw and felt the wretched condition into which they had brought the whole people, and that the Union itself was in the agonies of death. . . . A constitution for the people and the distribution

* "The Jubilee of the Constitution." Delivered in New York on April 30, 1839.

of legislative, executive and judicial powers was prepared. It announced itself as the work of the people themselves; and as this was unquestionably a power assumed by the convention, not delegated to them by the people, they religiously confined it to a simple power to propose, and carefully provided that it should be no more than a proposal until sanctioned by the Confederation congress, by the state legislatures, and by the people of the several states in conventions specially assembled, by authority of their legislatures, for the single purpose of examining and passing upon it.

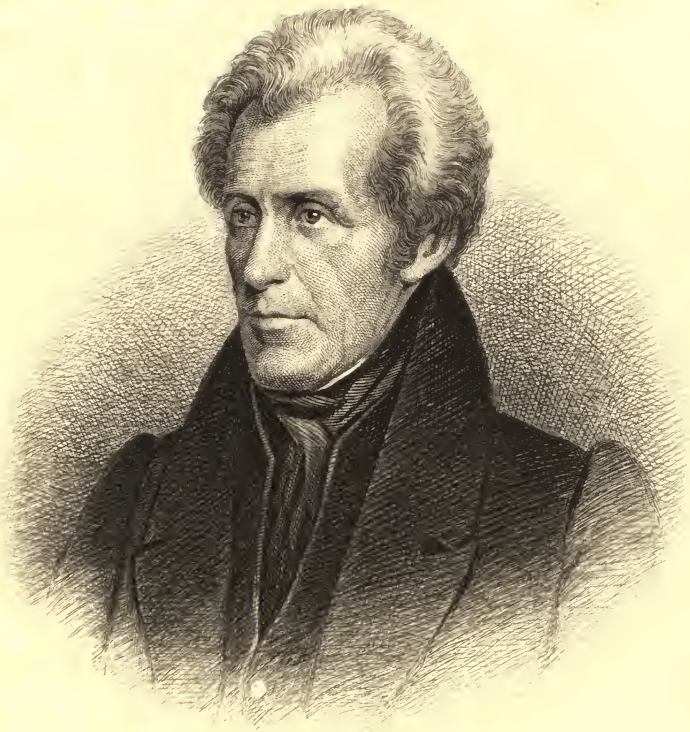
"And thus was consummated the work commenced by the Declaration of Independence—a work in which the people of the North American Union, acting under the deepest sense of responsibility to the Supreme Ruler of the universe, had achieved the most transcendent act of power that social man in his mortal condition can perform—even that of dissolving the ties of allegiance by which he is bound to his country; of renouncing that country itself; of demolishing its government; of instituting another government, and of making for himself another country in its stead.

"And on that day, of which you now commemorate the fiftieth anniversary on that thirtieth day of April, one thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine, was this mighty revolution, not only in the affairs of our country but in the principles of government over civilized man, accomplished.

"The Revolution itself was a work of thirteen years, and had never been completed until that day. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States are parts of one consistent whole, founded upon one and the same theory of government, then new, not as a theory, for it had been working itself into the mind of man for many ages, and had been especially expounded in the writings of Locke, but had never before been adopted by a great nation in practice.

"There are yet, even at this day, many speculative objections to this theory. Even in our own country there are still philosophers who deny the principles asserted in the declaration as self-evident truths; who deny the natural equality an inalienable right of man; who deny that the people are the only legitimate source of power; who deny that all just powers of government are derived from the consent of the governed. Neither your time nor perhaps the cheerful nature of this occasion permit me here to enter upon the examination of this anti-revolutionary theory, which arrays state sovereignty against the constituent sovereignty of the people, and distorts the Constitution of the United States into a league of friendship between Confederate corporations. I speak to matters of fact. There is the Declaration of Independence, and there is the Constitution of the United States—let them speak for themselves. The grossly

immoral and dishonest doctrine of despotic state sovereignty, the exclusive judge of its own obligations, and responsible to no power on earth or in heaven for the violation of them, is not there. The Declaration says, 'It is not in *me!*' The Constitution says, 'It is not in *me!*'"



Andrew Jackson

ANDREW JACKSON.

CHAPTER I.

BIRTH, EDUCATION, AND EARLY POLITICAL SERVICE.

NO ONE of all the men who have attained political prominence in America, presents a character so difficult to describe by generalization as does Andrew Jackson, seventh President of the United States. He was everything in a measure; nothing throughout. One might call him a great general,—if military success in a limited field could justify the use of that adjective, yet the term calls for limitation in the light of facts; one might call him a demagogue, yet he was not altogether such; a Cæsar, did he not often startle us by some unexpected act of right and justice, diametrically opposed to his own interest, only to anon upset our new theory of disinterestedness and patriotism, by some high-handed and arbitrary assumption,—some exhibition of personal pique, some irrational revenge. He would cling to a bad policy, or a bad minister, in the face of the most unquestionable proof, if his personal feeling were enlisted in behalf of the man, or of the measure; he would reject good counsel and the wiser course, with equal insistance if pique, or *amour propre* moved him in such a direction. He was a man, the appreciation of whom calls for a minute personal knowledge, for a very careful study of the questions and issues of the time, and for a separate and distinct examination of the influences which determined his action in each matter which came before him, for the reason that personal feelings and temporary influences were so far potent in determining his course, as to set theory at defiance and apparently warrant the student in assuming an almost complete lack of political principle.

Jackson came from a family, and grew up amid an environment, most unpromising for the production of a President, to say nothing of a well disciplined thinker or a statesman. His father, Andrew Jackson, was an ignorant Irish immigrant, who came to America in 1765, and settled in Mecklenburg county, North Carolina, very near the line of South Carolina. He brought with him a wife and family, but had no capital, and never obtained a foothold upon the soil. Andrew Jackson, the son, was born March 15, 1767, within a few days of his father's death; where he was born,—on which side of the line dividing North Carolina from South Carolina, has been a subject of disagreement among historians and biographers, but we have the best of hearsay evidence;—that of Jackson himself,—for assigning South Carolina as the scene of that event, he having so declared it in at least one proclamation, in letters, and in his will.

After the death of her husband, Jackson's mother abandoned her home, and, according to the inference of one writer,* depended for a support very largely during his childhood, upon the assistance of relatives scarcely less poor than she. The details of that childhood are among the thousands upon thousands of unrecorded annals of the poor. It was hard and bare; luxuries were scarcely missed, for they had never been known; sometimes, doubtless, there was actual scarcity of food and clothing, in the little cabin of the poor Irish widow. Of book education there was little; of mental discipline, in the true sense, less; of refining influence, none. Go among the common Irish squatters in any rural district where such can be found, and you will see at work upon ragged, ill-kept, dirty urchins, the influences that formed the habits and character of the seventh President. The first object of every individual is to sustain life; there is no respect for, or knowledge of the amenities of society; little regard for the feelings or opinion of one who has not the physical strength to give them sanction. In the absence of regard for mental refinement and moral beauty, there grows up an inordinate admiration for this brute force; a pride in sustaining one's position not in the forum, but in the arena; a spirit that may inspire a Jackson, but can never produce an Adams or a Jefferson.

Nowhere in America was there more bitter feeling, during the war of the Revolution, than in the primitive and rude community where Andrew Jackson and his young brothers were growing up. Every man was a partisan; most were actually engaged upon one or the other side of the contest. The deadly hatred of whigs for tories, and tories for whigs; of neighbor for neighbor, sometimes of brother for brother, quite obscured the original cause of quarrel and made the feeling between the principal combatants seem mild by comparison. The history of the repeated expeditions of the British into the mountains of the Carolinas, their ill-founded hope for a gen-

* Life of Andrew Jackson, by William Graham Sumner.

eral uprising in their behalf, and the determined efforts to that end, has already been told.* Andrew Jackson had at that time two brothers. Upon one of these periodical visits of the British every effort was made to draw the sturdy Irish boys into the ranks. However this might have otherwise resulted, a single incident was sufficient to change the face of the whole matter. The three boys were at the British camp, when an officer arrogantly ordered Andrew to brush his boots; with the instinctive independence and aversion to servility which even at that time had penetrated to most unlikely quarters and among most unlikely people, Jackson refused; a blow was his reward and another his answer; the officer then drew his sword, severely wounded the unarmed stripling, ordered himself and his brothers into confinement, and the three were marched to Camden as prisoners of war. Both his brothers died before the war was over; the warm Irish heart of the lonely mother moved her, though she could do nothing for her own boys, to aid others in as sad a plight, and she set out upon the weary journey to Charleston, to offer her services as nurse for the American prisoners there. Upon the way she died, and when Andrew obtained his liberty he found himself absolutely alone in the world,—and all on account of Great Britain. It is characteristic of the man, that, from that time, he entertained a bitter personal hatred for everything British, as bitter and implacable as if the war had been distinctly and solely directed at the destruction of his kindred and the desolation of his home.

There is no survival of detail regarding his life at that time,—how he supported himself or where he lived. All that can be asserted is that he essayed the saddler's trade and, in the year 1784, deserted it for the study of the law. It is a common thing to encounter, in the pages of the world's biography, stories of men who seemed consecrated in the cradle to greatness; who lisped in poetic numbers, who drilled their school-fellows in arms, or who, when in knickerbockers, deserted the sports of their carnal-minded fellows, to address imaginary senates and juries; men who chafed under the narrow and sordid restraints of poverty and determined with unnatural precocity, to tread the narrow and thorny path to greatness, though feet might bleed and hands be torn and blistered.

Jackson was no such man. He did not exercise any great amount of self denial; he had none of the fire of aspiring genius; he had no marked talent for the law, and never practiced enough to test the limits of his ability. His stubborn devotion to his own ideas and his blind partisanship might have made him a successful advocate,—they are assuredly the distinguishing characteristics of the ideal pettifogger,—but he had none of the mental qualities of the broad and scientific lawyer. There were none of the self-contained, studious, and philosophical qualities about Jackson, during the

*See Life of Washington; ante.

time of his law studies, that distinguish the budding days of great and well-biographied men. He preferred a well contested cock fight, or a close horse race, to the finest distinctions of the text writers; and a decided penchant for the bar of the rustic tavern, drew him long and often from his closet. In fact, he studied law because he believed he could make money faster and easier as a lawyer, than in stitching traces or stuffing horse collars, and, perhaps, because he saw in the law a means of attaining the still greater ease and emolument of official station. These words may sound somewhat hard and unjust, but they represent the truth of history as nearly as it may be gathered from the scanty records which exist. Sumner goes so far as to say: "He never learned any law, and never, to the end of his life, had a legal tone of mind; even his admirer, Kendall, admits this. His study of the law had no influence on his career, and no significance for his character, except that it shows him following the set or fashion of the better class of young men of his generation. If conjecture may be allowed, it is most probable that he did not get on well with his relatives, and that he disliked the drudgery of farming or saddle making."

The time was not far distant when Jackson was to exchange his rude life and associations for those still more rough, in the farther west. In 1788, a friend of Jackson, John McNairy, was appointed judge of the superior court of the western district of North Carolina, from which the state of Tennessee was later erected, and appointed Jackson prosecuting attorney. His life in this half-savage community, though not in itself of great significance, is worthy of more than passing notice as furnishing the second of a series of formative influences, which combined to determine one of the strongest and most anomalous characters in the history of America. Again to borrow the ideas, though not the words, of Sumner: the condition of society upon the frontiers was far from the best. The rude men who formed the society, and about whose character and achievements, poets, novelists, and historians of the imaginative school have united to cast a veil of false ideas, were demoralized, if not debased. They encountered the rude forces of nature in light array, and, surrendering the privileges of civilization, they cast off in large degree, its wholesome restraints as well. Legitimate amusement could not be obtained, and they turned from the arduous duties of the day, to the gaming-table, the cock-pit, and the bar-room. The excitement which busy men in the city draw from commercial and professional struggles was lacking; men crave stimulation as wild deer, salt, and these men found it in the bottle. Intellectual exercise was usually beyond their ability; always beyond their reach, and they found their interest in gossip; every man's affair became public property and the subject of general discussion. The bare necessaries of life were easily obtained; men ate game and fish, and wore skins; but money was lacking, and, taking advantage of the easy confidence of the day, every man "coined false money from that cruci-

ble called debt." Cards, drink, debt, gossip,—what seed for quarrels! Quarrels arose, and many of them. At first they were settled by contests of physical strength. Then came the second wave of emigration; the scum and off-casting of the east; rakes, spendthrifts, murderers, who were more polished but infinitely less respectable than the pioneers. These men brought more polite vices, and, save the mark, having no honor, a code of honor! They taught the rude frontiersman that it was not gentlemanly to settle a quarrel with his hands, and the duello at once became a fixed institution. Men were challenged for a smile and killed for a sneer; as always among the ignorant, an imported fashion being adopted and carried beyond its acceptance by lifelong devotees.

In this community the regular administration of justice by a court of law, was a new and galling thing. The pistol and the bowie knife were resorts so much more simple; so much more gentlemanly! To set the authority of law in place and there maintain it was a very delicate and difficult duty, and it largely devolved upon the prosecuting attorney. Had he been a man of the cities,—a lawyer and a gentleman; had he endeavored to base his authority upon the sanction of his commission, and to enforce respect for the law by terror of its penalties, he would have had his labor for his pains, and it is more than likely would have suffered personal indignity or injury. Jackson was the man of all men for the place. He showed his new neighbors that he was as ready to drink, game, quarrel "even, on due provocation to kill, as any of them. Thus he gained their respect" and the friendship of many. They submitted to his official acts because he was Andrew Jackson; he made many and bitter enemies, but, when these sought to drive him from the country for taking charge of collection cases, they found his friends rallying to his support, and that these friends were in a majority. He feared nothing and performed every duty with the most inflexible determination. When he found himself peculiarly unpopular at Nashville, and threatened with violence by his enemies there, he at once removed his effects to that place and made it his home. And it may be well to here say, that this act was characteristic of his policy through life. He never encountered opposition that he did not become at once and unequivocally the aggressor. The only means of self-justification he ever tried, was retaliation, and he almost uniformly succeeded. These years of arduous service in Tennessee gave Jackson his first taste of popularity; taught him that the people were easier won by mastering than by courting them, and so developed his naturally independent and inflexible habit, as to make him the daring and arbitrary man whom the world knew at New Orleans, in Florida, and at Washington.

Not many years after Jackson's removal to Tennessee occurred a series of circumstances which cast a shadow over his domestic life, and had no small influence in embittering his disposition, to say nothing of leading him

into many and serious quarrels. The house in which he boarded was that of Mrs. Donelson, widow of a pioneer, who, early in the history of the territory, lost his life in a skirmish with the Indians. Living in the same house were Lewis Robards and his wife, the latter of whom was the daughter of Mrs. Donelson. Robards was a man of extremely jealous temperament; he distrusted his wife, whether with reason we cannot know, nor is it profitable to inquire. He had before accused her of specific infidelity, and repeated the charge in connection with the name of Jackson. The marriage had occurred in Virginia, and there was at that time no divorce law in that state. Hence Robards forwarded a petition to the legislature, praying that a divorce be granted by special act, accompanying his petition with affidavits tending to show that his wife was living in adultery with Andrew Jackson. This petition was forwarded early in 1791; the legislature declined to grant it, but passed an act authorizing the supreme court of Kentucky to try the issue with a jury, and, in case the allegations were sustained, to grant a decree. News of this action reached Jackson and Mrs. Robards in a distorted form, and the two, supposing that a divorce had actually been granted, were married during the summer of 1791. Robards did not at once take advantage of the Virginia enactment, but, in 1793, applied to the Kentucky quarter sessions of Mercer county, Kentucky, and, there being no trouble in proving the existing relations of Jackson and Mrs. Robards, was granted a decree. When news of this came to Jackson in January, 1794, he made Mrs. Robards his wife. There was doubtless a fault and a serious one. Jackson, as a man and a lawyer, should have taken no verbal testimony as evidence in so important a matter, and one involving so delicate a thing as his wife's good name and honor; there was scandal and gossip at the time, and more still when his exaltation made him a target for envious attack. Having, however, committed a fault and placed a woman whom he loved in a false position, he made the only reparation in his power. Though she was his inferior at the time of his marriage, and vastly out of her element as wife of a man prominent in national affairs, he clung to her with tender devotion during thirty years of married life, and was as true to her memory during the many years following her death and preceding his own. His chivalrous attachment for her is one of the few gleams of sentiment which adorn a life of stern practicality, bitter struggle, and passionate prejudice. He knew but one punishment for the man who spoke slightingly of her; that was death. His own position made him exceptionally punctilious as to the treatment of other women, and probably in no other administration since the American government was established, would it have been possible for a mere social slight, like the refusal of the wives of certain ministers and officials, to recognize the bride of a cabinet officer, to be made a question of state, threaten to disrupt a cabinet, break off

political friendships of the President, and at last become almost a party issue, as in the case of Mrs. Eaton (Peggy O'Neil).

Up to the month of December, 1796, Jackson's knowledge of the world, or the polite portion of it which abides in cities, was limited to the experience obtained during a visit to Charleston, made in the year 1783. Having served during January, 1796, as a member of the convention which met at Knoxville, and framed a constitution for the new state of Tennessee, and that state having been admitted to the Union in June, 1796, against the opposition of the federalists, he was, during the following autumn, elected its first representative in Congress. Proceeding to Philadelphia to assume his seat, he arrived at the time first above mentioned. The admission of Tennessee was a federalist defeat; Jefferson was the representative of the democratic-republican party, and Jackson was probably not only a Jeffersonian democrat by instinct and personal sympathy, but by reason of the opposition of the federalists to the recognition of his state. Coming from a rude frontier community, and little skilled in the arts of legislation, he probably excited more curiosity than deference. When he took his seat the presidential contest was at its height. As between Adams and Jefferson, he had no hesitation in espousing the cause of the latter, and at this there is no reason to be surprised. It was not, however, long before he showed the first indication of the obstinate and fatuous partisanship which so often, in after life, excited the hatred of his enemies and the commiseration of his friends. When Adams had been elected, and a resolution of regret at the retirement of Washington was offered in the House of Representatives, Jackson was one of the twelve members who offered a gratuitous insult to a great and good man, by voting in the negative. In the light of the present day we can see that the financial and foreign policy, which called down the hatred of the Jeffersonian democrats upon the federalists, and the hatred of the unthinking minority of that party upon Washington, was in fact the wisest and best, that could have been adopted, under the circumstances then existing; even then, it was possible for a man not utterly blinded to the truth, to see how even a course Washington steered between the somewhat too radical policy of Hamilton and the unpractical theorizing of Jefferson; how singly he labored for the good of his country in the best and most permanent sense; how he accepted praise, without exaltation; misrepresentation and abuse without irritation; the insidious hints of monarchists with contempt, and met the mad demands of the Gallic propaganda with patient resistance.

A year after Jackson's election to the House of Representatives, the death of Blount, of Tennessee, rendered vacant the senatorship from that state, and Jackson was appointed his successor. He served in the Senate only until April, 1798, when he resigned his seat. In the course of his service, his vote reflected the opinion of Jefferson, opposing every provision

for possible war with France, and favoring the embargo. During the whole course of his congressional service he appeared as the champion of but one important measure,—that the indemnification of Tennessee for losses and expenses in the Indian wars upon her borders. This he pushed to a successful issue, thus laying the foundation of a great and lasting popularity in his own state.

It is evident that Jackson at that time cared little for office; he might have remained United States senator indefinitely, had he so chosen, and it is difficult to ascribe his resignation to any cause unless to indifference, or to financial trouble, and there is no evidence of the existence of the latter at that time. Gallatin has left these words regarding his appearance in those early days of his public life: "A tall, lank, uncouth-looking personage, with long locks of hair hanging over his face and a queue down his back, tied in an eel skin; his dress singular, his manners and deportment that of a rough backwoodsman." Jefferson, in 1824, expressed this recollection of him: "When I was president of the Senate he was a senator, and he could never speak on account of the rashness of his feelings."

Thus turning his back upon Philadelphia, Jackson was, in 1798, appointed a judge of the supreme court of Tennessee,—a strong illustration of the looseness of such selections. Never a good lawyer, no worse man could have been found for a judge; a partisan by nature, incapable of looking at a question without taking sides; utterly lacking in self-control, and without the first spark of the judicial instinct, his appointment was indeed a commentary upon the social and legal standards of the day. As an illustration of this unfitness, it may be stated that while Jackson was upon the bench, he engaged in a bitter and unseemly quarrel with Governor Sevier, of Tennessee. It began with childish jealousy between the two men; Sevier, an old politician, could ill brook the daily advancing popularity and influence of Jackson, who was more than twenty years his junior. Various influences combined to heighten this rancor and render it mutual, and only a pretext was needed to make the quarrel a public one. Finally this came; the militia of Tennessee was to elect a major-general in 1801. Both Sevier and Jackson were candidates, and the latter,

> ". . . Who never set a squadron in the field,
> Nor the division of a battle knew
> More than a spinster,"

was successful. This was too much for Sevier's philosophy; he was soon after elected governor of the state; immediately the two—the highest executive and the highest judicial officer of Tennessee—engaged in a public discussion and quarrel, because one had been chosen before the other, to command the raw militia of the state! Each had his adherents, parties were formed, and a collision actually occurred, which might well have resulted fatally. Kendall, who is inclined to be a devotee of Jackson, says that this contest contributed greatly to his political strength.

In 1804 he resigned his position upon the bench, and became a planter. During his previous experience as a merchant, Jackson had become involved by reason of the universal credit system. There was little money in the state; land speculation in its wildest form was upon the people; real estate values were inflated to the last point; land became a currency; men paid for sugar with land contracts, and gave deeds in exchange for garments. Finally inflation was carried too far; the market broke; the backward swing of the pendulum brought prices down to almost nothing, and men who could not eat a quarter section, or wear a deed, were like to starve. Jackson was one of the sufferers by this collapse, but his judgeship tided him over the worst, and re-embarking in business, he soon cleared himself, and was once more a free man. So soon as he had accomplished this, he gave up his store, and devoted himself entirely to the care of his plantation.

Enough has already been said of Jackson's fiery and ungovernable temper, and of the social ideas of his day, so that it excites no surprise to read that he fought as well as quarreled; had he quarreled without fighting he would have been deemed a braggart, not entitled to the respect of gentlemen. Already, in 1794, he had fought a duel with a fellow-lawyer named Avery, over no more serious matter than the usual professional sparring of the court room. This did not result seriously. In 1806, however, he fought a much more excusable duel, which was made the basis of political attack and personal abhorrence of him during the remainder of his life. Charles Dickenson made a remark referring to Jackson's marriage in a manner injurious to his wife. A challenge followed, and was accepted. Each man meant to kill his opponent. They fought with pistols, and at short range. Jackson's aim was the truer; Dickenson fell mortally wounded, while his bullet broke two of Jackson's ribs, weakening him for life. The affair was a sad one in itself, and very unfortunate in its effect upon the survivor, both personally and politically.

In 1805, Aaron Burr, in furtherance of his treasonable schemes of empire, called upon Jackson and urged the latter to enter into an arrangement to furnish boats for the transportation of his expedition down the Mississippi. Jackson was not a crafty man, and he seems to have been at first favorably impressed with Burr, and not entirely opposed to his project. It is but fair to say, however, that he does not appear to have at all understood the full import and significance of the latter. His mind was of a cast which delights in aggression and glories in conquest; he was, after all, ill educated, little informed, and inexperienced, He lived, and had for years lived, along the Mississippi, among people whose vital interests were centered in the control of that river; who regarded the Spaniards as standing in the way of their unquestionable rights, and subject to the penalties of such wrongful interference. He never found it easy to grasp an abstraction, and the moral discriminations of politics were hard for him to understand. He

saw no reason to favor the Spaniard, and, as Burr very wisely refrained from making him the confidant of his ulterior schemes, he was not averse to the idea. Later there dawned upon his mind the idea that Burr's project embraced the plan of an independent empire; even then he found it hard to relinquish interest in so tempting a plan, and felt inclined, to borrow a vulgar illustration, emulating the short-sighted sportsman, to so shoot as to "hit it if it were a deer and miss it if it were a calf;" to give his covert support until he found treason actually lurking behind; then to be in such a position that he might safely and speedily withdraw. Yet there is no doubt that had he at first suspected treason, he would have had none of it, and, when it was fairly forced upon his belief that Burr was not so disinterested as he chose to appear, there was little delay in his action. It seems unquestionable that Burr, while apparently seeking only transportation, had much deeper schemes regarding Jackson; he made systematic efforts to engage such men as he in his plans. Particularly did he do so, if he believed them to have any cause of discontent against the government. He worked upon Wilkinson, Truxton, and Eaton, on this ground, and, knowing Jackson to have applied to Jefferson for the governorship of New Orleans, and been rebuffed, he relied upon that fact to influence him.

Wilkinson, who appeared as Burr's accuser, was in command at New Orleans; for this and some other reasons, Jackson cordially hated him, and this fact, taken in connection with an undoubted soreness toward Jefferson, prevented his ever looking coolly and dispassionately at the matter of Burr's trial, and, even years later, he seemed to feel that there was injustice somewhere in the matter, though where he could scarcely tell.

But one more episode remains to be related before passing to the second period of Jackson's career. Let it be in the words of Sumner: "The next we hear of him, however, he is committing another act of violence. Silas Dinsmore, the Indian agent, refused to allow persons to pass through the Indian country with negroes, unless they had passports for negroes. It was his duty by law to enforce this rule. There were complaints that negroes ran away or were stolen. This regulation, however, interfered with the trade in negroes. This trade was then regarded as dishonorable. It has been charged that Jackson was engaged in it, and the facts very easily bear that color. He passed through the Indian country with some negroes, without hindrance, because Dinsmore was away, but he took up the quarrel with the agent, and wrote to Campbell to tell the secretary of war that, if Dinsmore was not removed, the people of west Tennessee would burn him in his own agency. There is a great deal of fire in the letter, and not a little about liberty and free government. Dinsmore was suspended, and things took such a turn that he lost his position and was reduced to poverty. Parton gives a story of an attempt by Dinsmore, eight years later, to conciliate Jackson. This attempt was dignified, yet courteous and becoming. Jack-

son repelled it in a very brutal and low-bred manner. Dinsmore did not know until 1828, when he was a petitioner at Washington and the papers were called for, that Jackson had been the cause of his ruin."

No man in the world ever had a more logically illogical, or consistently inconsistent development than did Jackson. The canons of taste of the Waxhaw settlement, where his youth was passed; the code of manners of early Tennessee; the disregard even of law, when it tended to his inconvenience, were at times as evident during his second presidential term, as when he wantonly ruined poor Dinsmore; when he banished the French from New Orleans, and hanged inoffensive non-combatants in Florida. To understand the vagaries of the President, one needs but to read the history of the man.

CHAPTER II.

TO THE BATTLE OF NEW ORLEANS.

THIS work has now brought the life of Jackson in meagre outline to the point where he was to change from civil to military employment. It would be pleasant and profitable to go more minutely into the relation of incidents—especially profitable for the reason that few prominent men have ever been so largely influenced by daily experience. Some men seem to be evolved by natural processes, by thought and study; and would develop to greatness in a monastery or a cave. Others are formed from without, by the force of circumstances and the attrition of events. Jackson belonged to the latter class; he was an *a posteriori* man. It is, however, only possible to touch here and there a salient point in his earlier life, selecting, as far as possible, those which are characteristic of the man, and typical of the influences which combined to form the rugged outlines of his character.

When Madison, having for four years struggled with the policy left him by Jefferson, until the United States had become an object of contempt abroad, and the administration had earned the displeasure even of its own party at home,—when, after all this, as a condition for re-election, Madison yielded to those who demanded a stronger government, war was regarded as inevitable. When came the declaration of war, Jackson at once offered his service with that of two thousand five hundred volunteers. It was considered that the enemy was likely to make New Orleans an objective point, and Jackson moved in that direction, at the same time assuring the secretary of war, that neither he nor his men had any constitutional scruples, and that they were prepared to push the campaign to any extremity, even to the planting of the American flag at St. Augustine.

Reaching Natchez, Jackson opened his campaign by a quarrel with his old enemy, General Wilkinson, upon a question of rank. Thomas H. Benton served under Jackson and, thinking his commander in the wrong, so declared, thus producing a breach which was never fairly healed. Some one

said, during Jackson's lifetime, that, if he met an enemy at the gate of heaven, he would keep St. Peter with the latch in his hand, while he "had it out." This rencontre left Jackson in a frame of mind none too amiable, and his temper was not sweetened by the fact that he received orders from the war department that, as no attack upon New Orleans was immediately apprehended, he should disband his troops and dismiss them to their homes. He was eager for action, and the order was in itself a sore disappointment. Then, too, no provision was made for pay, rations, or transportation, and this careless dismissal of his troops, so far from their homes, enraged him. He did not long hesitate as to his course, but pledged his own credit for boats and supplies, and kept his organization until he reached the district in which his troops had been raised, then disbanded them. This was probably an act of impulsive generosity on his part, yet it could not have served him more admirably, had he been a Cæsar. The men who formed his command never forgot this kindness, and it laid the first substantial foundation for the unbounded and unthinking popularity which still survives, and the almost superstitious love and veneration in which his name is to-day held by a large section of the American people. The war department later ordered that the men receive pay and rations, and Thomas H. Benton, overlooking his quarrel, procured an appropriation from Congress, reimbursing Jackson. This promising overture for a reconciliation, was rendered ineffective by subsequent events. Jesse Benton, a brother of Thomas, became involved in a quarrel; a challenge and duel followed, and Jackson acted as second of Benton's antagonist. From this circumstance gossip arose; Thomas Benton made some injurious remark about Jackson, and the latter publicly threatened to horsewhip him. The three, Jesse and Thomas Benton, and Jackson, met in a hotel in Nashville; words led to blows, blows to shots, and Jackson retired from the scene with a bullet in his shoulder. Thus was another violent act added to the list which would at this day hopelessly ruin a politician, if it did not earn him, instead of office, the punishment of the law.

Shortly after the rencontre with the Bentons, and while Jackson's wound still confined him to his bed, came information of the massacre of whites at Fort Mims, Alabama, which began the Creek war. Tecumseh, the able and wily chief, had determined upon allying the Indians for a general war upon their common enemy. The beginning of the war of 1812 gave him not inspiration or incentive, but opportunity. He saw in it the chance of uniting the Indians from Canada to the Gulf, and, either by alliance with England, or by an independent movement, while the Americans were engrossed in the contest with their civilized enemy, sweep them back, and recover the country which they occupied. Tecumseh's death prevented the forming of an alliance or the waging of a common war, but the Creeks, by their massacre at Mims, began a war, serious in its immediate effects, and which promised disastrous results for the future. Alabama was almost deserted by

settlers; Georgia, Tennessee, and the Carolinas were alarmed, and immediate preparations were made for aggression and defense.

Jackson chafed in his sick-bed that he could not at once take part in the enterprise; he concerted with General Cocke, the junior major-general of the state, the measures to be taken in the emergency, and, at the earliest moment, joined his forces in the field. The campaign, like every extended enterprise, attempted with pioneer militia—was attended by the double difficulty of defeating the enemy, and of keeping coherent a raw, undisciplined, insubordinate and homesick army. Sumner has been quoted as saying some severe things concerning Jackson; he gives him much credit for the conduct of this war, saying: " The character of the commander was all important to such an army. On three occasions Jackson had to use one part of his army to prevent another part from marching home, he and they differing on the construction of the terms of enlistment. He showed very strong qualities under these trying circumstances. He endured delay with impatience, but with fortitude, and without a suggestion of abandoning the enterprise, although he was in wretched health all the time. He knew how to be severe with them, without bringing them to open revolt, and he knew how to make the most efficacious appeals to them. In conduct of movements against the enemy, his energy was very remarkable. So long as there was an enemy unsubdued, Jackson could not rest, and could not give heed to anything else. Obstacles which lay in the way between him and his unsubdued enemy, were not allowed to deter him. This restless and absorbing determination to reach and crush anything hostile, was one of the most marked traits in Jackson's character. It appeared in all his military operations, and he carried it afterward into his civil activity."

Jackson justified every military movement by making it successful; men hastened to enlist under him, because they deemed him invincible; his name went out through the United States with a new significance and a new *eclat.* He hanged a man for a technical offense, in a case where clemency might not have been amiss; his army but respected him the more; the odd affection they had for the man, who was their master as well as their general, was not one whit lessened.

He defeated the enemy at Tohopeka, Alabama; he followed him to the Hickory Ground and the Holy Ground, near the junction of the Coosa and the Tallapoosa rivers. The savages believed no white man could follow them to this Holy Ground, deeming it a charmed place of refuge. They found their mistake; Jackson followed them hotly, cruelly; they were beaten on the Hickory Ground; driven from the Holy Ground; the survivors fled into Florida, and the war was over. Fort Jackson was built on the Hickory Ground, and the good behavior of the Creeks was assured, for a time at least. The Tennessee militia was dismissed April 10, 1814, after a campaign of only seven months, which had contributed very largely to the

reputation of General Jackson, who would else have remained, in the estimation of the country, nothing more than a prominent local politician and a leading militia commander.

As a result of the new recognition, Jackson was, on the 21st day of May, 1814, appointed a major-general in the army of the United States, with command of the army of the south, and established his headquarters at Mobile, as there was renewed fear that either that place or New Orleans would be attacked by the British. The enemy did, in fact, soon appear, and took post at Pensacola, thus raising, at the very outset of the southern campaign, the question of the relations of Spain to the combatants. Pensacola was within Spanish territory, and Spain was ostensibly a neutral, yet by thus giving harbor to the enemies of the United States, she seemed almost to invite retaliation. Jackson's personal feelings were opposed to any consideration of Spanish rights; he only wished a pretext such as was then furnished, to move against Spain as an enemy. His army was, however, a small one, and very ill supplied with the necessaries of war. Hence he curbed his impatience, long enough to send north, representing his own condition and the state of affairs, and requesting of the secretary of war reinforcements and instructions. That was the darkest time of the war; the British troops had even then captured the city of Washington, and destroyed the public buildings; neither reinforcements nor instructions came, though the secretary of war wrote a letter in which he told Jackson that before any violation of the neutrality of Spanish territory, it must be clear that British occupancy of Florida was with the privity and consent of Spain. This letter Jackson never received.

On the 15th of September, the British, as a preliminary of an assault upon Jackson's main position, attacked Fort Bowyer, upon Mobile point, but were repulsed with loss, retreating to Pensacola. This was enough for Jackson, who at once advanced upon the latter place, with three thousand men; he attacked it with characteristic energy, and with his usual success. The Spanish surrendered the forts held by them, while the English blew up their fort and departed. His double object,—the dislodgment of the British and the punishment of the Spanish, being thus accomplished, Jackson made a rapid retrograde movement to Mobile, fearing a second attack at that point. Not remaining long, he removed his army and his headquarters to New Orleans, where he arrived December 2, 1814.

The condition of affairs at that point was especially discouraging; there were no arms, no supplies; no public spirit. Not the slightest preparation had been made for defense. Jackson's first act was to proclaim martial law; his next, in logical sequence, to impress men,—soldiers and sailors—arms, stores, and whatever private property he deemed necessary for the purposes of war. During the month of December the British appeared upon the coast, as expected. Had they come but a few days sooner,—or had they

found opposed to them, a man less active and indefatigable, New Orleans, the key to the south, would inevitably have fallen into their hands. Their first movement was to attack, with their flotilla of forty-three vessels, the five American gunboats on Lake Borgne. These were captured, almost as a matter of course. Then an advance was begun toward the city. Jackson adopted the policy that ruled him, in civil and in military affairs, throughout his life; that of aggression. On the 22d day of December he threw forward a force of two thousand men to attack the enemy. The first collision occurred on the morning of the 23d, at a point about nine miles below the city. The British first had two thousand five hundred men in action, but soon increased this number to nearly five thousand. The battle was an extremely hot one, and when, after nearly two hours of close fighting, the American force was withdrawn to its works, five miles nearer the city, it was with a decided advantage. The British loss in this action was four hundred killed, wounded, and prisoners; that of the Americans twenty-four killed, one hundred and fifteen wounded, and seventy-four prisoners. After the retirement of the Americans the enemy advanced and entrenched within easy shot of their works, and a tremendous artillery duel followed, which, like every rapidly succeeding incident of the short contest in that immediate quarter, seemed to be almost miraculously favorable to the Americans, the British works being battered almost into ruins, while those behind which lay Jackson's men, constructed as they were, of mingled earth and cotton bales, were scarcely injured. On the 8th of January, 1815, the English made a general assault upon the American works. Under Jackson's orders his men reserved their fire until the enemy was quite upon them; then fired a well aimed and deadly volley from their rifles, which threw the enemy into hopeless confusion, compelled his retirement, and won the battle. The British lost two thousand killed, wounded, and missing, including the three senior officers of the army; Jackson lost but seven killed and six wounded.

Thus ended the posthumous battle of New Orleans, in many respects an anomaly in warfare: a decisive battle, it was won after the conclusion of a peace; the victors were less in number than the vanquished; they escaped almost without loss, while the carnage in the ranks of the enemy was terrible; they were raw, undisciplined levies, commanded by a man of the smallest experience, and arrayed against veterans fresh from victory over the greatest of soldiers, under the command of the grand old "Iron Duke." No one had dared hope for a victory in the south; succeeding defeats,—the loss of Detroit; the sacking of Washington; the blockading of the coast, had accustomed the people to disaster, and the news from New Orleans, coming almost simultaneously with the tidings of the peace, created a revulsion, and there can be little doubt that the majority of the people in the United States were glad that the tardy announcement of the result at Ghent,

did not come in time to prevent the complete and humiliating overthrow of the British arms.

In New Orleans the enthusiasm at the result was of the wildest; the mercurial French, so newly brought into the American family, had little direct interest in the war, but, in common with the Spanish, had an inherited grudge against England, and felt a humiliation at the defeat of their demi-god, Napoleon, which assured their sympathy with Jackson, and their delight at his success. Upon his return to the city he was given a welcome that would have delighted the heart of Cæsar, and perhaps to this, as much as to the intoxication of victory, was due his subsequent arbitrary and ill-advised action. He was wise in maintaining, as he did, an attitude of vigilant preparation. He not only continued, but strengthened, his organization. He could not know that the British would be content to accept their defeat as decisive; he feared they might attempt, by a sudden attack, to change their willows to bays, and he bent every energy to the task of bringing his defensive disposals to the best possible condition. In his intent he was quite right; his means were less adequate. His mind was incapable of minute distinction in matter of motive. He did not give due weight to the fact that the people of New Orleans were aliens in everything but the legal obligation which resulted from the purchase of Louisiana. Differing in blood, language, religion, traditions, and social tone from the remainder of the American people; knowing little and caring less about the cause of quarrel between England and the United States, no great degree of active enthusiasm could be expected of them, and, so long as they did not obstruct the operations of the American army, they should have been acquitted of fault. Jackson could not recognize the possibility of indifference; every man who was not with him, he conceived to be against him. While in the immediate presence of war, the French had waived the special privileges and immunities guaranteed them for twelve years by the treaty of transfer; they had housed the army, contributed to its sustenance, and many of them served in its ranks. When, the battle being fought, and the enemy withdrawn, they found the irksome restrictions of martial law, and the even more irksome demands of military support and service continued, many of them pleaded their nationality, and claimed their immunities as Frenchmen. Jackson regarded this as an evasion of common duty; he had all the spirit of Louis le Grand, expressed in the words "*l'état est moi*"; laws, treaties, even constitutions, lost their binding force over his mind, and often over his acts when they clashed with his inclination or thwarted his plans. Consequently, he was arrogant, overbearing, and oppressive.

In September, 1814, there had been a mutiny among the American militia, two hundred of whom deserted in a body, and set out for their homes. Most of these afterward returned, some under compulsion, others voluntarily. Six of the men who had been most prominent in fomenting

the revolt were tried by court martial and sentenced to death. This sentence was carried into effect by the order of Jackson, on the 21st day of February. On the 18th of that month Edward Livingston returned from an embassy to the British commander, on board the fleet. He brought with him news of the treaty of Ghent, received, it is true, from a British source, but bearing at least a presumption of truth. This announcement was not sufficient to excuse any neglect of the strictest precautions of war, as it might have been simply intended as a cover for some bold *coup de main*, but it not only excused, but demanded, a modification of Jackson's course toward the citizens of New Orleans, and the reprieve of the six homesick militiamen who were executed three days later. The only justification of punishing desertion by death, is the necessity of preserving the discipline of an army in the face of an enemy, and the clemency of the executive would doubtless have commuted the sentence of these men, had Jackson permitted it to be invoked.

Jackson did not, however, in the least alter his policy by reason of this news; on the 28th day of February he issued an order, commanding all who had certificates of French nationality to leave the city and go to Baton Rouge, on or before the 3d day of March, insisting that he would have no one within its limits who was not under obligations to assist in its defense. He had the grace, however, to alter his mind, and, on the 8th of March, rescinded the order, except as to the French consul. On the 3d day of March, one Louaillier contributed to a French newspaper an article in which he made public the British report as to the treaty of Ghent, and made it the basis of a criticism of Jackson's order of February 28th, and a demand that civil law be replaced. Jackson was infuriated by this publication, and caused the editor of the paper to be arrested and brought before him; the latter, to save himself, revealed the name of his contributor, and Louaillier, who during the continuance of hostilities, had been a warm and valuable advocate of active defense, was arrested and placed in confinement. Judge Hall, of the United States district court, upon the application of friends of Louaillier, granted a writ of *habeas corpus*. On the 6th day of March came a courier from Washington, bearing news of the peace. By some oversight he did not bring the announcement in what Jackson deemed an official form, and in spite of absolute moral certainty as to the truth of his statement, the commander, blinded by personal feeling and deaf to reason, refused to recognize him, and, on the same day, organized a court martial for the trial of Louaillier. To this he caused to be presented a list of formal charges. On the same day he sent an officer to arrest Judge Hall, and to compel the clerk of the court to surrender the original *habeas corpus*, which, as a portion of the public record, was especially within the protection of the government. The court martial struck out every charge against Louaillier except one of illegal and improper conduct, and acquitted him upon that.

Jackson was even more indignant at a court martial which dared disagree with him, than at the prisoner which it was called upon to try. With characteristic inconsistency he discharged his militia on the 8th, deeming the information received sufficient to warrant him in so doing; yet he sent Judge Hall out of the city under an escort, discharging him four miles from its limits, and re-committed Louaillier to confinement, not releasing him until came the formal documentary announcement of the peace.

On the 21st day of March, Jackson was cited by the United States court to show cause why he should not be punished for contempt, in disobeying the orders of the court, in wresting from it an original document, and in arresting and imprisoning the judge. He declined to make any regular and formal defense,—as, indeed, how could he?—and was fined one thousand dollars. Some persons resident in New Orleans, who had not felt the weight of his hand, offered to pay this fine, but he preferred to discharge it himself. It was a just punishment, only objectionable in that it was not sufficiently severe. There was little reason for the arrest of Louaillier in the first instance, but this might have been excused on the ground of the necessary discretion of a commander administering martial law. When the duties of an officer are thus discretionary he is, however, in a manner held to stricter accountability than if acting under definite instructions; the notice of the peace received by Jackson from the courier was sufficient to impose upon him the duty of restoring Louaillier to his liberty, replacing the judge in authority, and obeying the mandates of the court, even had his previous action been defensible. It was reserved for John Tyler, the most insignificant and farcical President of the United States, to recommend the remitting of this fine and refunding it to Jackson. This measure was as arrant a piece of political juggling as was ever attempted. Congress was then excellently constituted to receive such a proposition with favor, and in 1844 the sum of $2,700, being the amount of the fine with accrued interest, was extracted from the treasury and paid to Jackson. Dallas, who was secretary of war during the New Orleans campaign, wrote Jackson a letter in which he expressed the surprise of the President at the reports of his actions which had reached Washington, and called for particulars and an explanation. The war was, however, over; the joy at the peace, and the enthusiasm regarding Jackson, the victorious general, were too much for this never very vigorous inquiry, and it never developed to results.

The war being over Jackson replaced New Orleans in the possession of its autonomy, and set out for Nashville, his home. At that place he was met with the utmost enthusiasm, which showed itself in a formal reception and a public meeting in the court house. This enthusiasm was only more emphatic than that shown at other points. In many states legislative resolutions of approval and thanks were passed, and Congress took its cue, passing similar resolutions and voting a gold medal to Jackson, in commemora-

tion of the victory at New Orleans. Called to Washington, he was accorded public honors at every important place upon the way. If ever the actions of man can be placed beyond cavil and criticism by the popular approval of the hour, Jackson is entitled to the expunging of his foolish abuse of power in New Orleans from the record of his case.

This visit to Washington was made in the autumn of 1815, and its object was to consult as to the peace footing of the army. As an index of the extent of the popularity which a single victory had won for a man who but a few weeks before had been little known beyond the borders of the new state of Tennessee, it is interesting to note that, so early as the time of this visit to Washington,—in 1816, Jackson was named as an available candidate for the presidency, and it is still more interesting to note that this suggestion was received and considered, though made by the traitor, Aaron Burr, then living in retirement at New York city, only gaining his liberty by the indulgence of the government, and his own insignificance. The following quotations will show the tenor of the matter. The first is from a letter written by Burr to his son-in-law, ex-governor Allston of South Carolina, under date of November 15, 1815: "Nothing is wanting," says he, "but a respectable nomination before the proclamation of the Virginia caucus, and Jackson's success is inevitable. Jackson is on his way to Washington. If you should have any confidential friend among the members of Congress from your state, charge him to caution Jackson against the perfidious caresses with which he will be overwhelmed at Washington." On the 11th day of December, Burr wrote to Allston, saying that, since his last, "things are wonderfully advanced; there will require a letter from yourself and others, advising Jackson what is doing—that communications have been had with the northern states, requiring him only to be passive, and asking from him a list of persons to whom you may address your letters." Colonel Allston's reply to this second letter was written February 16, 1816, and informs Burr that his communication was duly received in January; he adds: "too late, of course, had circumstances been ever so favorable to be acted upon in the manner proposed. I fully coincide with you in sentiment, but the spirit, the energy, and the health necessary to give practical effect to sentiment are all gone. I feel too much alone; too entirely unconnected with the world to take much interest in anything." The advocacy of Burr was, fortunately for Jackson, a covert one. It is not apt to assist the cause of any man, if it be publicly known that the devil is retained as his counsel, yet enough is seen in these glimpses of the political manipulation of 1815, to show that the embryo Jackson movement was not regarded as beyond the hope of a happy issue, and it is certain that never, from 1816 to 1828, was Jackson without a skilful and determined following of men who were devoted to the plan of making him President. He was well satisfied with the nomination of Monroe, which he would have much preferred to that

of Madison in 1808, but he was soon called to the south, and engrossment in his duties as commander of the department forbade his taking an active part in the campaign. Most important of these duties was the negotiation of a treaty with the Indians of the southern states, which resulted in the recession by them of certain lands surrendered at the close of the Creek war, but given up by the government upon the representation of the Chickasaws that the treaty was injurious and unjust to them. The fact that this modification by the administration of one of his treaties, was carried out by Crawford as secretary of war, formed the basis of one of the inveterate and unchangeable hatreds which marked Jackson's life, and this fact was sufficient, had other motives been lacking, to insure his adherence to Monroe. It was one of his characteristics, that he would support a stranger to injure an enemy, with as much energy as he would support a friend to gratify himself.

It was at this period of Jackson's life that there appeared a man who, acting always in the dark and beneath the surface, probably did more to advance him to the presidency and to shape his policy after his election than any other. This person was William B. Lewis, a neighbor and intimate friend of Jackson, and husband of one of Mrs. Jackson's nieces. He was a very singular man; of his personal life and ambitions we know little or nothing. He seemed to confine the latter to pushing Jackson into power, and managing him afterward. He was a subtle and far sighted man; he could draw a letter or message that would condense a whole system of political philosophy in a few lines, or, if occasion demanded, could cover pages with graceful and specious platitudes, sufficient to deceive any but a careful analyst, without in fact making one definite and tangible declaration. There will hereafter be sufficient occasion to speak of this wily prime minister of the "kitchen cabinet"; it is now enough to explain his first discoverable connection with Jackson's public life. In October, 1816, a letter purporting to be from the pen of Jackson was forwarded to Monroe, urging the appointment of William B. Drayton, of South Carolina, to be secretary of war. The object of this letter, which was written by Lewis, is impossible to discover, unless we are content with the explanation that Lewis had already begun the manufacture of capital for Jackson, in which he was later so largely and profitably engaged. Drayton was everything that Jackson was not,—a member of the South Carolina aristocracy; a polished and fastidious gentleman, and, above all, a federalist. In after years Jackson declared that he did not know Drayton in 1816, and it is quite probable he did not himself fully appreciate the import of the letter when he wrote it. Two apparently incidental features of the communication did good service for Jackson in 1824, and had no little effect in 1828. The first of them was the declaration that, had he (Jackson) been in command of the eastern department in 1815, he would have hanged the leaders of the Hartford convention; the second, the advice to Monroe to cease the proscription of the

federalists as such, and to distribute offices among the good men of both parties, in a spirit of conciliation. This latter is very amusing in the light of history, and there is no question that Lewis, then as later, caused Jackson, for political effect, to subscribe a piece of arrant and deliberate hypocrisy. Drayton was not appointed. Monroe wrote Jackson acknowledging the abstract truth and justice of his propositions, but urging political necessity as an excuse for keeping the loaves and fishes for republican consumption. The letter fell into oblivion, from which it would probably never have emerged, had the Jackson propaganda not made artful use of it in later years, to secure the votes of federalists, and this was doubtless its sole *raison d' etre*. The following in an extract from the letter:

"Your happiness and the nation's welfare materially depend upon the selections which are to be made to fill the heads of departments. Everything depends on the selection of your ministry. In every selection party and party feelings should be avoided. Now is the time to exterminate that monster called party spirit. by selecting characters most conspicuous for their probity, virtue, capacity, and firmness, without regard to party, you will go far to, if not entirely, eradicate those feelings which, on former occasions, threw so many obstacles in the way of government; and perhaps have the pleasure and honor of uniting a people heretofore politically divided. The chief magistrate of a great and powerful nation should never indulge in party feelings. His conduct should be liberal and disinterested, always bearing in mind that he acts for the whole and not part of the community." How closely this advice was followed by Jackson himself, when he came to the presidential chair, future pages will illustrate.

CHAPTER III.

JACKSON IN FLORIDA—HIS PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION.

THE irritation of Jackson against Crawford has already been mentioned; it was no doubt reciprocal, and during the year 1817, led Jackson into a series of hasty and ill-considered acts, such as constantly re-appear in the story of his life. Crawford was secretary of war in Madison's cabinet and, although he had been a strong opponent of Monroe in caucus, was continued in that office until he received the treasury portfolio in the cabinet of the latter. During his administration of the war office, he on several occasions gave orders to general officers of the southern departments, without consulting Jackson, and, as a matter of course, this assumption of direct control often deranged the plans of the commander, and served to vex him beyond the point of discretion. On the 17th of April, 1817, Jackson issued a general order, instructing his subordinates to disregard any orders of the war department, not promulgated through department headquarters. There was certainly every reason for Jackson's feeling upon the subject, but this public defiance of his superiors, without any previous effort to remedy the evil, was as certainly inderogation of discipline, and had Crawford not given place to Calhoun, it is quite likely that an effort might have been made for his punishment. Calhoun overlooked the offense and recognized the justice of the complaint by communicating concerning the affairs of the department, only with Jackson. General Scott, who was an advocate of the strictest military etiquette and discipline, learning of Jackson's order, expressed unreserved disapproval of it. Jackson, in some manner, heard that Scott had denounced his action as traitorous, and at once wrote a letter in the sharpest terms calling Scott to account. This Scott answered, admitting in substance the use of the words complained of, but urging that they were uttered in private conversation. Jackson replied, very abusively; the correspondence became less decorous and, finally, Jackson came to his ultimatum in an argument, a challenge to fight. Scott replied that religious scruples and

patriotic motives united in preventing him from engaging in a duel; then the letters of both were published. Thus a matter of personal feeling and wounded pride led Jackson into a succession of wrong headed acts, which affected the war department, the reputation of the leading general officers of the army and his own private standing, when a little forbearance would have remedied the matter in the beginning. Such episodes as these cast much light upon Jackson's peculiar and contradictory character, especially necessary in studying his presidential career, as it enables one to judge what of his action was spontaneous, and what emanated from the basement statemanship of the "Kitchen cabinet."

The Florida war was at hand, and in no event of our national history, save perhaps the later war with Mexico, is there so much to regret. The doctrine of manifest destiny, that cover for covetousness and excuse for theft, was effective to its precipitation, but as a means, not as a primary cause. The slave power was behind and above it all, and the greed of land speculation came next. Georgia had lost many slaves who found refuge in the everglades; these deep retreats in alien territory were as a city of refuge to fugitive bondmen. The whole south, the Carolinas and Georgia in particular, having gone far with the spoliation of the Creeks, Cherokees, and Chickasaws, were mad with the greed for further plunder. Some of the fugitives of the Creek war had escaped Jackson's fire and sword and, like the negroes, had found refuge in Florida. Both black and red men had been received by the peaceful Seminoles, and many intermarriages had done much to merge the tribes and races, and this very new community of interest concentrated the hatred and the determination of the Georgians to possess the land. The closing year of the war of 1812 gave a pretext, which, had it been used, would have given color of justice to the invasion. The British, as has been said, made use of Florida as a base of operations against Louisiana. Spain was not strongly enough represented in her province to prevent this breach of neutrality, had she so desired. The British officers were licentious and irresponsible, and their movements upon the frontiers of the United States gave ample excuse for the demand of indemnity or of Florida from Spain. This opportunity was not embraced, yet the grievance was still felt, and the people of the south felt that they had cause of quarrel with the negro population of Florida, that they were fugitives from their lawful owners; with the Creeks that they had escaped punishment; with the Seminoles that they had given the Creeks and negroes harbor; with the Spaniards, that they had not maintained neutrality during the war with England. These were the grounds upon which the war was sought to be justified. It was precipitated by a succession of outrages, small and great, committed by lawless people on either side of the border; there was wrong on each side, and to balance it was then difficult and is now impossible. The English, during their occupation of Florida, had constructed a fort about

fifteen miles from the mouth of the Appalachicola river; at the cessation of hostilities it had been taken possession of by a bodyof negroes and a few Creeks, who appropriated the arms and ammunition left by the Spaniards, and held the post as a garrison.

During 1816, the United States received permission from the Spanish governor to convey in boats, up the Appalachicola, materials for the construction of a fort in Georgia. Some state that, in passing the negro fort, one of these boats was fired upon by those within, others that the first shot came from the boat; at all events, some one fired, the fort was bombarded; a hot shot exploded the magazine, and, of the three hundred inmates,—men, women, and children,—two hundred and seventy were killed outright, while the few who escaped from the ruins were massacred by the Indian allies of the Americans. This occurrence was rather a relief to the Spanish governor, who had not been too well pleased at having so formidable a work within his jurisdiction, and in the hands of negroes.

Spain was at that time at war with her revolted American colonies, and the occasion was taken by pirates and freebooters to ply their trade against the vessels of whatever nation came in their way, under cover of a pretended service in the cause of the provinces. Amelia island, upon the coast of Florida, was the headquarters of such a band of filibusters, pirates, smugglers, ready for anything and everything that promised a profit, and it was deemed necessary to the protection of the commerce of the United States to put a stop to it; hence the island was occupied by the United States, and the band scattered. All these occurrences united to bring on the war. Spain had not the force, with all other demands upon her, to preserve order in Forida, yet she was jealous of the United States, and resented any trespass or intervention, however slight. Word of the successive events thus hastily sketched was sent to Washington, and disseminated through the press of the north, by interested persons, always exaggerated and distorted to make it appear that every aggression came from the Spanish side of the line; that the Georgians were weak and abused victims of the outrages of a powerful and barbarous enemy, and that the very existence of the southern border states depended upon the intervention of the strong arm of the federal government.

This was the condition of affairs at the beginning of 1817; during that year the border outrages increased, responsibility for them being still very equally divided. On the 20th of November, General Gaines, commanding, under Jackson, upon the frontier, sent a force of one hundred and fifty men to Fowltown, the principal village of the hostile Creeks. As the detachment approached, it was fired upon, and in retaliation captured and burned the town after a protracted fight. There seems to have been no better reason for this expedition than the refusal of the Creek chief to comply with a summons of Gaines to come to his headquarters and tell whether or no

he was less hostile than before. With the fight at Fowltown began the Seminole war; the Indians and negroes arose, attacked boats ascending the Appalachicola, and cut off straggling Americans wherever they could encounter them.

When news reached the war department of this affair, Jackson was instructed to take personal command in Georgia. Immediately upon receiving this order he hastened to comply, and dispatched a letter to Monroe: "Let it be signified to me through any channel, (say Mr. J. Rhea), that the possession of the Floridas would be desirable to the United States, and in sixty days it will be accomplished." This letter afterwards played an important part in Jackson's career; Monroe was ill and absent from Washington. He always disavowed knowledge of the Rhea letter, and it is highly improbable that he ever received it. Jackson claimed to have received from Rhea a letter in which the writer stated that the President approved of the suggestion conveyed; but he never produced the letter during the controversy of after years. He construed Calhoun's orders, however, upon an assumption that the secretary of war knew of his letter and was agreed with the President in approving it. It will be seen that Jackson had as few "constitutional scruples" in 1817, as when he first took command of the Tennessee militia, previous to the Creek war, and when he moved from Mobile against Pensacola.

In the meantime Jackson was busy in constructing a contingent army from the militia of Tennessee and Georgia, which he gathered with his accustomed vigor, then made a forced march to the frontier, arriving there in March, 1818. A portion of his provisions he dispatched to Fort Scott, by the Appalachicola, sending word to the Spanish governor that if any of these boats were molested or hindered, he should regard it as an act of hostility to the United States. He then advanced and captured St. Marks. Sumner says: "Jackson's proceedings were based upon two positive but arbitrary assumptions: (1) That the Indians got aid and encouragement from St. Marks and Pensacola. (This the Spaniards always denied, but perhaps a third assumption of Jackson might be mentioned; that the word of a Spanish official was of no value.) (2) That Great Britain kept paid emissaries stationed in Florida, to stir up trouble in the United States." There is not, in fact, an atom of evidence tending to show that England was ever guilty of the contemptible acts charged, and, in the absence of such evidence, the fact that the entire fighting force of the Creeks and Seminoles did not number two thousand men, reduces the assumption to an absurdity. Nicholas, who commanded the British force at Pensacola, in 1815, was certainly guilty of a breach of neutrality, but his offense was rather against Spain than America; he as certainly encouraged the Indians, and led them to believe that they might hope for support from England, but his object was probably to obtain their immediate assistance. Certain

it is that England censured him for his action, and disavowed all responsibility for it. The worst sin of Spain in the matter was her weakness, which rendered her incapable of protecting her territory. Jackson, with his overwhelming force of eighteen hundred whites and fifteen hundred friendly Indians, probably quite twice the entire number of adult male hostiles in Florida, pushed on and occupied St. Marks. There was Alexander Arbuthnot, a Scotchman, seventy years of age, who had long been a trader among the Indians of Florida. With the wise foresight necessary to his success in trade, he had made the Indians his friends; he had advised them in matters of peace, but never, so far as can be learned, in any warlike emergency. He had told the Creeks that the treaty of Ghent had guaranteed them the re-possession of their lands, and so much reason did he have for this interpretation, that it required no little diplomatic skill on the part of the United States to secure a different decision. At the approach of Jackson's army, Arbuthnot mounted his horse and set out from St. Marks, but was pursued, captured, and confined, simply because he was a white man, and it pleased the general to suspect him of being an emissary of England.

Several American vessels of war anchored in the bay of St. Marks, and, by hoisting the British flag, enticed two Indian chiefs aboard. Nothing appeared against these men but that they had been engaged in an expedition against other Indians, conducted after the accepted rules of Indian warfare, and that a number of their enemies had been massacred. These chiefs, thus foully entrapped by cunning and device, were, by the order of Jackson, hanged. This precious specimen of civilized warfare completed, Jackson moved on toward the Seminole town upon the Suwanee river, where lived Boleck, or Billy Bowlegs, the principal chief. Arbuthnot had a trading post at this point. Upon learning of Jackson's approach, and before his own arrest, he had sent word to his son, who was in charge, to remove the goods to a place of safety, and to advise Boleck not to resist the coming army. Boleck and his warriors were no less wise than Arbuthnot, and, more confident of Jackson's clemency when out of his reach than when in his power, they fled to the deep woods, where they could not be pursued. Hence, when the Americans reached the town, they found only empty and deserted lodges, which they burned. Jackson was furious at being thus balked of his prey; he charged Arbuthnot with having warned the Indians, and there is no question that the doom of an unfortunate and innocent man was sealed by this disappointment. While in this unamiable frame of mind Robert Ambrister, late a lieutenant of British marines, was captured in the neighborhood. He was thirty-three years of age, and seems to have been an adventurer, left in the track of a retiring army. That he was a worthless fellow, is likely enough; that he represented the British government, or anything, or person, beyond his own very insignificant self, is beyond the limit of credence. He was, however, an Englishman, and

that was enough for Jackson, who placed him under arrest and returned to St. Marks. A court-martial was immediately organized for the trial of Ambrister and Arbuthnot, and charges were formulated, against the former of inciting the Indians and levying war against the United States; against the latter (1) of inciting the Creek Indians to war against the United States, (2) of being a spy and aiding the English, (3) of inciting Indians to the murder of two white men named. It should be borne in mind that no war existed at this time, as war is regarded among civilized nations. The Indian tribes not recognized as nations having belligerent rights, or as having any rights as citizens. Had the so-called Florida war been fought upon American territory, the hostiles would have ranked, in the ordinary sense, not as enemies, certainly not as rebels. This being the condition of affairs, there is grave question whether Arbuthnot and Ambrister could properly have been held to strict accountability for the acts charged, even had they been clearly proven guilty and had the acts been committed within the jurisdiction of the United States. In fact, Jackson was an invader upon the territory of a friendly power—a trespasser; he had no more right to try men for inciting Indians to hostility in Florida, than would an American officer of to-day have to cross the border of her majesty's dominions, arrest and try an Indian trader or a casual traveler in Manitoba on the same charge. Two necessary conditions precedent to the regularity of the proceedings were lacking—a state of war and territorial jurisdiction.

The trial of Arbuthnot first occurred, and he was found guilty upon the first charge and upon the second, save of being a spy; upon the third he was acquitted. He was sentenced to be hanged. Ambrister threw himself upon the mercy of the court and was sentenced to be shot. This decision was later reconsidered and the sentence modified to fifty lashes and one year's imprisonment at hard labor. When Jackson heard of this change he was furious, and demanded that the original sentence be restored. The court obediently complied, and both men were executed, by Jackson's order, on the 29th day of April, 1818.

The minutes of these trials are now in existence,* and the sweeping assertion may be made that not the smallest atom of evidence of the guilt of Arbuthnot can be discovered and that none was produced. His presence in the Spanish province of Florida; his notice to his son to remove their stock in trade across the Suwance—these were all the facts that tended to the support of the prosecution; for the defense this very letter to his son spoke loudly, in the advice given to Boleck not to resist the advancing invaders. So far as Ambrister is concerned, his weak and misdirected plea for mercy cuts us off from a consideration of his case upon its merits, but this was doubtless made in a fit of terror, and there is not the slightest reason for believing him to have been guilty as charged. Aside from the evi

*Niles Weekly Register, 15–270.

dence, he had been tried for his life, convicted, sentenced to death, and his sentence mitigated. By every rule of law, his life, thus once imperiled and spared, was safe, but Jackson intervened and insisted upon his death. Here were two men, tried by a court without jurisdiction, in the territory of an alien power, with which the United States was at peace; convicted without evidence, and hastily executed without appeal. No blacker crime darkens the pages of American history, and Jackson, as its inspirer, aider, and abettor, was, before God and the tribunal of nations, a murderer.

On the same day when occurred the execution of these two unfortunate victims, Jackson, having no other enemy to conquer, and deeming the "war" at an end, set out upon his retrograde march for the Georgia frontier, leaving a garrison in St. Marks. Some one told him that Indians had taken refuge in Pensacola, and, upon his way, he turned aside and took possession of that place, leaving a garrison there as well. General Gaines was instructed to seize St. Augustine for a similar offense, and with this parting provision, the general, with the larger part of his army, returned to American soil.

The Florida service had occupied but five months, and, during that time, Jackson had broken the power of the Indians, established the peace of the frontiers, and, in effect, crushed the weak authority of Spain in its own province, and all this without a shadow of authority from the President or the war department, either laboring under a very extraordinary misunderstanding in connection with the Rhea letter, or moved by his own hot-headed and unreasoning ambition for conquest.

This was the close of Jackson's active military life, though he did not take leave of his army until July 21, 1821. His whole service in the field, including the Creek war, the southern campaign of 1815, and his Florida expedition, covered a period of but twenty-three months. During the Creek war he led a superior force against a savage enemy, but under especial disadvantages of organization and discipline, which made the task a difficult one, and well entitled him to great credit for the result. At New Orleans he advanced his force, largely composed of militia, against an enemy splendidly disciplined and equipped and more numerous than his own army; every circumstance contributed to his success—not the least the imbecility of the British leaders. There was no finesse or strategy in the battle, and the result, as compared with the means, has no parallel more recent than Samson's slaughter of the Philistines with the jaw-bone of an ass. In Florida,—but enough has been said of Florida.

Jackson won the reputation of being a great general more cheaply than has any other military personage since Joshua. His subjection of Florida was as easy as the capture of Jericho; his victory at New Orleans could not have been accomplished by generalship, nor without the intervention of all those fortuitous circumstances which make up what men call good luck.

The immediate effect of the Florida campaign was to erect Jackson upon

a pedestal, from which he has never descended. He was regarded by the people at large as a military hero; of the moral aspects of the case they knew little and thought less, and so strong was the sentiment in his favor, that a resolution introduced in the House, censuring him for the execution of Arbuthnot and Ambrister, was defeated.

The administration of Monroe was the logical result of those which had preceded it. The United States of that day may be here described by a very homely simile. It was a ready made country; its constitution was the result of an emergency, and its rulers were called into power untried and uninstructed. Before 1787 the colonies had lived only such a life as taught subservience; it required many years for the young nation to recognize its own power. The administrations of Washington, Adams, Jefferson, and Madison, had largely effected by skillful diplomacy, what might have been secured by a peremptory demand; and this humility as to the foreign policy, came as an heritage to Monroe. The action of Jackson, uncontemplated as it was, produced something very like a panic in the cabinet. It had been the desire to win Florida by dollars, and not by the bayonet, and the forcing of a direct issue with Spain and of a serious general complication, was a little too much for the nerves of Monroe and his constitutional advisers. Calhoun, secretary of war, was much displeased at Jackson's course; the President, and with the exception of John Quincy Adams, secretary of state, the whole cabinet, were of the same mind. The general inclination was for the restoration of Florida and the paying of any reasonable indemnity to Spain. Upon Adams would fall the whole burthen of a contrary course if such were adopted, and this he boldly took upon his own shoulders and, by his surpassing ability, carried the cabinet with him, smothering the personal inclinations of its members and dictating the policy of the administration. Sumner well states the attitude of affairs: "It was agreed that Pensacola and St. Marks should be restored to Spain, but that Jackson's course should be approved and defended, on the grounds that he pursued his enemy to his refuge, and that Spain could not do the duty which devolved on her. The President, however, countermanded the order which Jackson had given Gaines, to seize St. Augustine, because some Indians had taken refuge there. All the members of the cabinet agreed to the policy decided on, and all loyally adhered to it, the secret of their first opinion being preserved for ten years. Calhoun wrote Jackson, according to agreement, congratulating and approving. Jackson inferred that Calhoun had been his friend in the cabinet all the time, and that his old enemy, Crawford, had been the head of the hostile party. The political history of this country was permanently affected by the personal relations of Jackson to Calhoun and Crawford in that matter. Monroe had a long correspondence with Jackson to try to reconcile him to the surrender of the forts to Spain. In that correspondence Jackson did not mention the Rhea letter."

During the years 1818 and 1819 Jackson's action in Florida came up in Congress as a political question. The action of the cabinet had clearly committed the administration to the defense of Jackson; and Clay, who had become the recognized leader of the opposition, took the matter up as the most available subject upon which charges could be predicated. It is quite evident that it was not alone the reputation of the administration, or yet the military responsibility of Jackson that was at stake. The four men below the President who were at that time most prominent and influential in affairs were, Adams, secretary of state; Crawford, secretary of the treasury; Calhoun, secretary of war; and Clay, in the opposition. All of these men were presidential aspirants, and all must, at that time, have recognized in Jackson a possible competitor. Working, perhaps, for the same end, but influenced by various feelings and alliances, the outward manifestation of a common desire was very different. Clay's attitude has been stated. Adams had staked his reputation upon justifying Jackson to Europe; the two were ostensibly friends, and the name of Adams for President with Jackson for Vice President, was commonly suggested; Calhoun, as secretary of war, was in a measure complicated in the affair; he could not oppose Jackson, maintain the secrecy of cabinet deliberations and, at the same time, clear his own skirts of responsibility; hence his general effort was coincident with that of Adams. Crawford hated Calhoun, hated Jackson, regarded Adams as a rival, and, hence, worked earnestly in the cause of the opposition. The Senate committee regarding the Seminole war reported adversely to Jackson from the beginning of his recruiting service until the close of the Florida campaign, but at this point, the matter passed from the hands of the legislative to that of the executive branch of government, and no further step was ever taken in the matter.

Adams made a very ingenious and specious defense of the government, so far as it was involved in the matter of the enticing and execution of the two Seminole chiefs, and the death of Arbuthnot and Ambrister. No advocate ever pleaded a wrongful case more plausibly and successfully. The result of all was the purchase of Florida by the United States. In thus obtaining title to the land and its appurtenances, America may be said to have acquired, as well, all claims of Spain for territorial injuries, and such were merged in the title, and were thus forever set at rest, leaving only the shameful wrongs of Creeks and Seminoles and the judicial murders of the war, to cry out from the soil of the flowery land, as a perennial reproach to the United States. The annexation of Florida was a hasty and short-sighted measure in at least one particular. Beyond the Mississippi and to the Rio Grande, stretched the wild and little known territory of Spain, which now forms the state of Texas. There were sticklers even at that time, for a "scientific boundary," yet these could not see in the wild and savage miles beyond the Mississippi anything worth the having, and, while

it might have been bought for a trifle, and thus have saved the commission of a great wrong and the waging of a needless war, it was held as of little consequence by either Spain or America, and remained under the jurisdiction of the latter. The cursory reader of American history is likely to very greatly underestimate the importance and territorial extent of the Louisiana and Florida purchases; the words of Robert P. Porter, in the Princeton Review for November, 1879, so well summarizes the matter as to excuse quotation:

"If the reader will take the trouble to glance at Walker's statistical atlas of the United States, he will observe that prior to the Louisiana purchase in 1803, the United States was bounded by the Mississippi river on the west, and the Spanish possession of Florida on the south. The cession of Louisiana gave us all west of the Mississippi and north of the Red river, and of Mexico to the Pacific ocean—a territory considerably exceeding the previous Union. The annexation of Texas in 1845, and the Texas cession of 1850, added a domain nearly equal to the states north of the line of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi; and the first and second Mexican cessions of 1848 and 1852 completed the line of our "scientific frontier" by giving us a territory about as large as the states south of the great lakes and east of the Mississippi. The United States of 1810 was therefore a country only one-ninth as large as the United States of to-day."

While Jackson had no voice either in the legislative or executive branches of the United States government, his standing and influence were such that Adams consulted him as to the matter of boundaries to be demanded in the negotiation with Spain. Jackson's mind was distinguished by intensiveness rather than extensiveness of view. He was at that time especially interested in Florida; he did not see beyond it, and gave his approval of the limits of the cession, as finally fixed. There is abundant evidence of this fact, yet, in later years, he denied having so approved the treaty, or being consulted concerning it, and the disagreement was the cause of much ill-feeling between himself and Adams.

In the spring of 1821, Jackson was appointed governor-general of Florida. The cession was not consummated until July of that year, and Congress had not time to provide laws for the government of the new territory. Consequently Jackson was appointed to a very anomalous office. He was given the powers of the captain-general of Cuba and of the late governors of Florida, save only as to levying taxes and granting lands; the body of the Spanish law was continued in force, it being afterward decided that no laws of the United States, save as to the revenue and slave trade, applied to Florida. On the 21st of July, Jackson formally assumed his office and issued a farewell address to the army of the south.

It required but two months for the new governor to get his bearings sufficiently to complicate matters by a quarrel such as distinguished every

public service in which he was engaged. Certain persons complained to him that Callava, the ex-governor, had made grants of lands, between the formulation of the treaty of cession and its ratification, and that he was preparing to remove the evidence of such action from the country. Jackson assumed these charges to be true, and sent a very peremptory demand to Callava, to deliver the papers to him. The ex-governor replied, refusing to recognize the demand, unless a particular description of the papers were given, and the demand addressed to him as Spanish commissioner. Jackson had one resort in such cases. He locked Callava in the guard-house during the night and, after searching his house and appropriating such papers as he desired, released the captive in the morning. Callava took the matter as rather a good joke, summoned a number of his friends to the prison and the party passed a very hilarious night. Elegius Fromentin was at that time United States judge for the western district of Florida; he assumed his power to be co-extensive with that of other federal judges within the territories of the United States. Consequently he issued a writ of habeas corpus for the imprisoned Callava. Jackson cared very little for judicial writs or for the dignity of the ermine. Consequently he disregarded the process and summoned the judge before him to explain his disrespect of the vice-regent of the Spanish king and the commissioned governor of the United States. The judge delayed a day, on plea of illness, then came, and a stormy interview ensued. Jackson, perhaps remembering his expensive experience in Florida, forebore to hang or imprison the judge, and each of the functionaries contented himself with preparing a statement of the affair and forwarding it to Washington. Subsequently Fromentin went in person to Washington and urged his claim. After his departure certain persons in Pensacola published a defense of the judge, and Jackson gave them four days in which to leave the territory, notifying them, at the same time, that if they failed so to do, they would lay themselves open to all the penalties which lay in his power, as the American administrator of the old Spanish law, to inflict. During the month of February he became disgusted with his office and, resigning it, returned to Washington, where he had the satisfaction of eliciting a decision that Fromentin's power, as a United States judge, in Florida, was limited to the enforcement of laws relating to the revenue and slave trade, thus again relieving him from the possible consequences of a rash action.

In 1823, Jackson was offered the ministry to Mexico, but declined the honor, later publishing an explanitory letter in which he severely reflected upon the Monroe administration, though it cannot be denied that it had done very much to shield him not only from popular disapproval, but from the direct penalties of his over-zeal in Florida.

This history has now passed the second period of Jackson's life—that distinctly associated with his military experience. This was in fact a very

narrow one, marked by one brilliant success, but marred, wherever the personality of the man appeared, by errors growing out of overweening self-esteem, morbid sensitiveness, and the arrogance that power is apt to develop in a conceited and sensitive man. We now come to the time when, in his own mind and in the estimation of his friends, Jackson was recognized as an aspirant for the Presidency. A few words as to the campaign of 1824 are necessary, for the reason that many of the expedients which tended to the election of Jackson in 1828, were devised and put in operation then. Jackson was a disorganizer in the campaign; he set out without definite party or sectional support; in other words he was outside any of the machines. The candidacy of John Quincy Adams, of Calhoun, Crawford, and Clay was recognized. Adams was, undoubtedly, from the highest point of view, best entitled to the support of the country. His strength was in his thorough statesmanship, his long diplomatic and ministerial experience, and his unquestioned honesty. These were in a measure offset by the facts that he made no effort to gain friends, hence had few; that, having come to the democratic from the federalist party, in 1807, the soundness of his party allegiance was doubted, and that he had the smallest and least carefully organized body of workers of any candidate. Adams favored the tariff of 1824, considering further protection unnecessary. Calhoun was the young man's candidate, drawing large support from north and east, as well as south. He was a states-rights man, then as later. Clay was a pronounced protectionist. He had opposed the re-charter of the bank, and favored the early recognition of the South American republics. His political philosophy was of the popular kind, and, supported by his splendid eloquence, tended to draw to him a certain and enthusiastic, if not a very discriminating, support. Crawford was the regular candidate, controlling the machine, certain of a majority in the congressional caucus; confident of success. He had been a warm friend of the old bank. His administration of the treasury had been distinguished by zeal, and a measure of success; he had, however, distributed the deposits of the government among the banks in such manner, as he thought, to insure harmony. When the crash came the government was a very considerable loser, and Crawford was charged with having hazarded the funds of the nation, to produce political capital for himself.

Jackson's better political self, Lewis, now began the preparation of the people for his candidacy. He went to South Carolina to arouse the citizens of that state in his favor; a member of Congress was procured to write him a question as to his opinion regarding the tariff, and this gave opportunity for Lewis, in Jackson's name, to pen an answer which it would be difficult to surpass as an example of masterly evasiveness.

Crawford, having a well defined majority in the House, favored a caucus; the other candidates, recognizing Crawford's strength, opposed the caucus, though covertly. When it was held, Crawford received sixty-four

votes. Adams two, Jackson two, Mason one, while Gallatin was nominated for Vice President; in other words, scarcely any but Crawford men attended the caucus. Even at that early day New York had a machine; Van Buren was at its head, and it was committed to Crawford. It was proposed as this machine—the Regency—controlled the legislature of the state, to take the election from that body and give it to the people. Even the Regency did not dare oppose a measure so obviously just as well as popular, but procured it to be so amended that its own friends had to kill it out of pure compassion. Why Jackson should have won Pennsylvania to his cause is hard to say. That he did so is indisputable. The federalist convention held at Harrisburg on the 22d of July, 1824, declared for him, and the Democratic convention held in March was cleverly stampeded to his support.

Clay was obviously out of the race, and he was coquetting with one and another candidate. Jackson certainly expected his support. The electoral vote, as cast, gave Jackson ninety-nine votes; Adams, eighty-four; Crawford, one; Clay, thirty-seven. The election was thus thrown into the House. Adams received the votes of thirteen, Jackson of seven, and Crawford of four, states. The popular vote was: For Jackson, one hundred and fifty-five thousand, eight hundred; for Adams, one hundred and five thousand, three hundred; for Crawford, forty-four thousand, two hundred; hundred; for Clay, forty-six thousand, five hundred.

Immediately after the inauguration, Adams appointed Henry Clay his secretary of state. This was such an opportunity as Lewis most wished for. He at once placed Jackson in the light of an injured man. Having received fifty thousand popular votes more than were received by Adams, with a clear plurality in the electoral college, Jackson had yet been defeated by Adams, but how? Clearly by the means of a corrupt bargain with Clay, whereby Clay's friends in the House voted for Adams, on condition that their leader should be appointed secretary of state. There was at that time not the slightest evidence of such a bargain, unless the election of Adams and the appointment of Clay be so esteemed, but these facts were enough to serve the double purpose of Lewis by arousing a public feeling against Adams and Clay, a popular sympathy for Jackson, and, perhaps most of all, by working upon Jackson's marked self-esteem, and arousing him to the active effort which opposition and the desire to defeat and humiliate an opponent were always enough to awaken in him.

Jackson took upon himself the dissemination of the news, and, as always, outrunning the zeal of those who incited him to the act, dinned it in the ears of every man he met; gave the statement the authority of his name, and, when Clay demanded that he produce the evidence upon which he based his allegations, or retract them, gave the name of Breckenridge. The latter evaded the matter if he did not prevaricate; Jackson, had he been more logical, would have been unhorsed. As it was, he simply placed

Breckenridge upon the list of his enemies; refused to retract, upon Clay,s demand that he should do so, and, on the contrary, on every occasion re-affirmed the charge of a corrupt bargain. This was a two-edged sword, certain, if Clay was so influenced by it as to decline the portfolio, to make him much less formidable in the future; if he braved it and took his place in the cabinet, to injure both himself and Adams before the people.

Another point made by Lewis and his associates was that the House of Representatives, in the event of a presidential election falling to it, was morally bound to respect the will of the popular majority, as indicated by the vote at the polls. There is no more pernicious political fallacy than this, nor is there any more difficult to extirpate. The Constitution, in providing for the electoral college, intended to so balance numerical and territorial representation, as to secure the few against the thousands of crowded centers; the thousands against the thinly populated square miles of the frontiers. This false and specious proposal would annex to the Constitution a tacitly understood amendment, reversing its original intent, and in some cases disfranchising a large numerical minority, representing in fact the greater territory, by the vote of a crowded city or a single state, devoted to a given candidate, or influenced by a local issue. The people at large do not make careful distinctions; they are devoted to the abstract idea of majority rule, and do not recognize that numerical majority, in federal politics, is but a single, and that, too, a secondary element. Hence the appeal to the prejudices of the masses, founded upon the assumption of a corrupt bargain between Adams and Clay, and of injustice on the part of the House of Representatives, though there was no foundation for the latter, and probably none for the former, found ready credence, and its effect vindicated the claim of Lewis to the reputation of being the shrewdest politician of his time.

The years of Adams' administration must be very briefly dismissed. Every one recognized Jackson as the "coming man." Parties and factions trimmed, that their sails might be filled by the breeze which should bear him him into power. Van Buren, in New York, at the head of the Regency, had supported Crawford, and DeWitt Clinton had been removed from office, because he was a Jackson man. Van Buren read the signs of the times and wheeled into the Jackson line; the Albany Argus, which had written Jackson down as a presidential impossibility, took him up and supported him as a presidential certainty. Thus New York, Pennsylvania, and Tennessee, were secured for Jackson; he was the second choice of the Clay states,—Kentucky, Missouri, and Ohio, and stood upon terms of equality with his available rivals in other states. The opposition was organized in Jackson's favor, and a more ill-assorted medley it would be difficult to conceive. There was between its elements no sympathy save that arising from community of discontent. There was not even the pretence of a principle, yet the so-called party rallied at the battle cry of reform, and its campaign was

one of the most vigorous ever known in the history of the United States. Party organs had before existed, but they had been of the moderate order which have some regard for truth and a measure of judicial fairness. Lewis brought into being, all over the country, a journalism now familiar enough, which subordinated everything to the single idea of electing Jackson. There was for that purpose but one side to any question, and no distinction between truth and falsehood. Calhoun was an enemy of Adams, and his place as president of the Senate was unhesitatingly used to injure the President. Every committee was framed with a view of making it a clog upon the executive; its appointments were confirmed tardily, if at all, and the efforts of Calhoun in the chair and Randolph upon the floor, were single in their object, the placing of a second candidacy of Adams out of the question. Adams, on his part, was one of the purest and best presidents that was ever elected. He was almost morbidly sensitive about the admission of personal considerations to influence his action. He would not appoint a man to office because he was his friend or remove him because he was his enemy. He placed the dagger in the hand of his foe, bared his breast, and said: "Strike; I am a just man, and an innocent." He did not lack for blows. Sumner, in an admirable summary of the charges against Adams, so well epitomizes the matter, illustrating the trivial and inconsistent nature of the war made upon him, that quotation is profitable: "Against Adams were brought the charges that he gave to Webster and the federalists, in 1824, a corrupt promise; that he was a monarchist and aristocrat; that he refused to pay a subscription to turnpike stock on a legal quibble; that his wife was an Englishwoman; that he wrote a scurrilous poem against Jefferson, in 1802; that he surrendered a young American serving woman to the emperor of Russia; that he was rich; that he was in debt; that he had long engrossed public office; that he had received immense amounts of public money, namely the aggregate of all the salaries, outfits, and allowances he had ever received; that his accounts with the treasury were not in order; that he had charged for constructive journeys; that he had put a billiard table in the white house at the public expense; that he patronized duelists (Clay); that he had had a quarrel with his father, who had disinherited him; that he had sent out men in the pay of the government to electioneer for him; that he had corrupted the civil service; that he had used the federal patronage to influence elections." Jackson did not escape assault. His marriage; his military record; his many duels; his Florida administration —of all these the most was made to his injury.

The elections of the country were held in the various states from October 31st to November 19th. Jackson received 648,283 popular votes; Adams 508,064, and a large majority in the electoral college. Richard Bush was elected Vice president, and the two were duly installed. The result was considered a great triumph for the reformers, though no one

seemed to have any very definite idea of where existed the abuses that called for correction. John Quincy Adams went out under a cloud of odium almost as dense as that which had enveloped his father, and made way for the *novus homo*,—the little educated, headstrong, opinionated Andrew Jackson.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST JACKSON ADMINISTRATION.

IT would be interesting and profitable to preface an account of Jackson's administration, with a general and comprehensive account of the political conditions which existed at the time, and of the state of public opinion upon the principal questions of the day, as well as the social, financial, and industrial aspects of American life. Some slight knowledge of these matters is, in fact, essential to a just appreciation of Jackson's attitude and policy, but the glance here given must be very cursory.

Jackson's accession to the presidency may be said to mark an epoch in American politics. He came as the first fruit of a new philosophy, the foundation of the machine methods and personal expedients of to-day. The six men who preceded him in the presidential chair, differing widely in policy and political ethics; varying much in ability, were, nevertheless, alike in being cultivated, refined, and representative of the best American social and intellectual life. No one of them came to the presidential chair, with garments soiled by any unseemly personal struggle for place, or with the odor of a doubtful method about him. Every one had lived a regular and unquestionably exemplary life. There was about them all, even about Jefferson, with all his democracy, a certain dignity and propriety approaching stateliness. This line was at last broken, and the man of the people was come. Every means—the direct personal propaganda; the assault upon the enemy; the secret "setting of stakes," and creating of false public opinion,—all this had been exhausted to make this parvenu a President. His receptions were attended by a rabble, which he met as if he were one of them, yet this was largely affectation, for no man could be more the gentleman than Jackson, when he chose to be such. There was before him a very stormy, difficult, and trying administration. The financial affairs of the country were upset, and first, as it was the most prolific of all the sources of evil, stood the banking system, then in force. The other important questions of the

time arose from the commercial relations of the United States with the British colonies; claims against France for injuries to American commerce; the federal judiciary; Indian relations; the land system; internal improvements; tariff; nullification; the banking system.*

Aside from these matters of public and general import, Jackson's first administration was particularly interesting in its personal and internal—perhaps it may be permissable to say,—its domestic relations. While Jackson was supposed to be a President of the Jeffersonian succession, his was, both in its social and political phases, a very different administration from that of the great republican.

His cabinet was a weak one, but quite equal to the demands made upon its wisdom. Van Buren, by virtue of his "services" in New York, was secretary of state; S. D. Ingham, who had been active in Pennsylvania, secretary of the treasury. John H. Eaton, of Kentucky, received the war portfolio; John Branch, of North Carolina, that of the navy; John M. Berrian, of Georgia, was attorney general. William T. Barry, of Kentucky, received the appointment of postmaster general, and was the first incumbent of that office admitted to a seat in the cabinet. It was a ministry carefully selected to pay the debts of the administration, without danger of impertinent interference with those who made the President and were predetermined to manage him, and we cannot but recognize in its framing, the fine Italian hand of William B. Lewis. Out of the public view, living in Washington; holding but insignificant offices, if any, were the men who administered the affairs of the nation, through the person of the President. He was, to be sure, given to rebellion; to the making of erratic ventures at independence; but his policy as it stands before the world, may justly be said to have been that of the famous "Kitchen Cabinet." William B. Lewis, of whom enough has been said, was its prime minister. Amos Kendall, Duff Gunn, and Isaac Hill were his colleagues. Lewis was made second auditor of the treasury. Kendall was born in Massachusetts, went to Washington when a young man; became a member of the family of Henry Clay; removed to Kentucky, where he edited a country paper and managed a country post-office. He fell out with Clay, and hence adhered to Jackson. An influential worker for the Jackson "second choice" movement in Kentucky, he received the office of fourth auditor of the treasury. He was a man of exceeding ability, but of low moral perceptions, and, as a politician, was the incarnation of the worst evils of the American system. Harriet Martineau wrote of him. "I was fortunate enough once to catch a glimpse of the invisible Amos Kendall, one of the most remarkable men in America. He is supposed to be the moving spring of the whole administration,

* The valuable work of Professor Sumner contains this classification, and the author acknowledges a heavy indebtedness to that writer, materials laboriously collected by him being used in many portions of this biography.

—the thinker, planner, and doer; but it is all in the dark. Documents are issued of an excellence which prevents their being attributed to persons who take the responsibility of them; correspondence is kept up all over the country for which no one seems to be answerable; work is done of goblin extent and with goblin speed, which makes men look about them with superstitious wonder; and the invisible Amos Kendall has the credit of it all. He is undoubtedly a great genius. He unites, with his great talent for silence, a splendid audacity."

Miss Martineau while her conclusions as to the extent of Kendall's work are somewhat erroneous, in that she gives him credit not only for his own but for much of Lewis' accomplishment, yet undoubtedly voices accurately and vividly the opinion of her time, as to the mysterious man whose influence was then so potent. As Lewis and Kendall were the minds of this anomalous administration, Duff Green was the arm. To him was committed the editorial charge of the Jackson organ, and it may be said that before his time the purely selfish and partisan journalism so common to-day existed only in the rudest and most primary form. Whom Kendall tried and Lewis condemned to political death, he executed cruelly, ruthlessly. To his mind, as to that of his associates, the world contained but two classes of people, the friends and the enemies of Jackson. The former were to be supported, however wrong; the latter crushed, however right. The only principle he knew was advisability. Last and perhaps least important was Isaac Hill, a new England editor, who had collected the scattered and impotent opposition of New Hampshire, and under the name of democracy had well nigh accomplished the defeat of Adams at his very door. Such was the "Kitchen cabinet;"—an aggregation of silent yet powerful and irresponsible influence, such as the nation had never known before, and such as we should fervently hope may never hereafter find a parallel. Into the councils of this circle, but one member of the ostensible cabinet of the President—Eaton—was admitted, and he rather upon sufferance than by virtue of any recognized right. This diversion of the President's council from recognized channels was not the only complicating element in the administration. Calhoun was again Vice President; his ambition for the higher honor had been balked, not crushed by defeat. He believed that Jackson would not be a candidate for re-election; he saw in Jackson's friendship, which he was destined so soon and so innocently to lose, the best prospect for his own succes. Van Buren, the crafty and ambitious New York politician, the first example of the effect of those pernicious political methods which have produced what in the slang of to-day is called the boss, was secretary of state. He too had swallowed Lewis' skillfully baited hook, and regarded Jackson as a one-term President; he, too, looked longingly to the succession, and between his interests and those of Calhoun the conflict was irrepressible. As between the two, Jackson's per-

sonal inclinations were in favor of Van Buren, who had given him New York; he believed, however, that Calhoun had stood his friend in the Monroe cabinet when the matter of the Seminole war, and with it his own reputation, was in the balance; this mistaken belief had made him Calhoun's friend, as it had made him Crawford's enemy, and, tenacious of his friendships as of his hatreds, he stood for the time neutral. There was no immediate necessity for taking sides in the matter; the "Kitchen cabinet" had determined, though it had not announced, that Jackson should again be President; when came the proper time the unfailing influences of that wonderful coterie of political managers were set at work and Calhoun was crushed.

This somewhat over long treatment of the internal influences which surrounded Jackson has been given because essential to an understanding of his administration. The statement may be made without reservation that the wisdom, the folly, the justice, the wrong, the new and startling political methods—everything that made Jackson's administration what it was, was due to the silent influence of these four men. They showed their wonderful adroitness in so long and uniformly influencing so unmanageable a man. Their success was due to their thorough understanding of his peculiarities; they knew him too well to allow him to discover that he was in fact not a free agent; they filled his ears with hints, insinuations, and respectful suggestions; they kept him closely in their own atmosphere, and isolated from councils which might conflict with their own, until he had so thoroughly absorbed their opinions and had become so imbued with their ideas that he adopted the measures and followed the policy which they had outlined for him, not for a moment doubting that they were original with himself, and that his action was quite spontaneous.

To the Jackson administration belongs the responsibility for having originated and applied the plan of making the machinery of government a vast engine for supporting an administration, and perpetuating party power. The principle was formulated in the famous dogma of William L. Marcy, "To the victors belong the spoils." Jackson's letter to Monroe, with its advice regarding the civil service, its protest against proscription, and its warm advocacy of a conciliatory policy, seems absurd and contemptible enough in the light of the course taken during his administration.

Up to that time the civil service had been almost an estate in itself; it was looked upon as a moderately profitable, but a safe and permanent occupation. Washington, during his administration, removed nine persons from office, one a defaulter; Adams, ten, one a defaulter; Jefferson, thirty-nine; Madison, five, three of whom were defaulters; Monroe, nine; John Quincy Adams, two, both for cause. It will thus be seen that, from 1789 to 1829, a period of forty years, there had been but seventy-four removals from federal office, for more than half of which Jefferson was responsible.

Jackson's inauguration was followed by a descent of hungry vandals,

such as history has since made very familiar; it had, up to that time, been unknown. The office-seekers were the "workers" who claimed to have borne a share in making Jackson President; the office-holders were tried and trusty public servants, many of whom had passed a quarter of a century in the departments; some of whom dated their service from the organization of the government, under the Constitution. Vague premonitions of a proscriptive policy had preceded Jackson's installation; his inaugural more definitely foreshadowed it, and, soon after, began the first practical application of the spoils system. Men were removed, right and left, for the most trivial causes, or for no cause at all. In their places were put the henchmen of the new President, and, while the public service lost in efficiency, the Jackson administration gained in strength.

The responsibility for this policy has never been fixed. Lewis and Kendall both opposed it; and it was the effect, probably of one of Jackson's "spasms of independence," he having, as Sumner suggests, taken all the campaign charges of dishonesty and corruption as literally true. Another quotation from Sumner will sufficiently illustrate the extent and effect of Jackson's policy:

"Thirty-eight of Adams' nominations had been postponed by the Senate, so as to give that patronage to Jackson. Between March 4, 1829, and March 22, 1830, four hundred and twenty-nine postmasters and two hundred and thirty nine other officers were removed, and, as the new appointees changed all their clerks, deputies, etc., it was estimated that two thousand changes in the civil service took place. Jackson, as we have seen, had made a strong point against the appointment of members of Congress to offices in the gift of the President. In one year he appointed more members of Congress to offices than any one of his predecessors in his whole term. The Senate, although Democratic, refused to confirm many of the nominations made. . . . Webster said that, but for Jackson's popularity out of doors, the Senate would have rejected half his appointments." One effect of the vacation of so many offices was to precipitate a struggle between Calhoun and Van Buren, each of whom desired to serve himself by having his adherents in a majority. Thus the administration was more than ever divided against itself, and its councils still further distracted.

Jackson's first administration was not without its serio-comic episode. As Troy was betrayed by a wooden horse, and Rome saved by a flock of geese, so was the whole fabric of American affairs shaken to its center by a woman. John H. Eaton, secretary of war, had been the husband of a niece of Jackson's late wife, then deceased. In January, 1829, he married Mrs. Timberlake, *nee* Peggy O'Neil. Timberlake, while upon the Mediterranean station had committed suicide, anticipating the death of a drunkard. His widow, in her maiden days, had been very well known in Washington, and not in the most exalted connection. Here was indeed a sad predicament

for the leaders of Washington society. They at last determined to place social principle above advisability, and refused to recognize her. Some persons remonstrated with Jackson for having countenanced the marriage. He answered that Mrs. Eaton was not to be in the cabinet; she attempted to force herself into notice; he supported her in the effort. The President personally remonstrated with members of the cabinet; each answered, with consummate policy, that he could not undertake to interfere with his wife's social conclusions. Mrs. Donalson, grand niece of a Tennessee boarding house keeper, niece of Jackson's late wife, was at the head of the White House menage. See proved as recalcitrant as the rest, and was banished to her native wilds. So went on the war, ruthless as is every war waged by women; Van Buren, a widower, paid the young wife attention. Perhaps this fact made him President; at least it won Jackson more strongly to him than before. Mrs. Calhoun would none of the new cabinet lady, and her husband lost in proportion. Parties and cliques were formed; Eatonians and anti-Eatonians had their adherents, and the anti's were the enemies of Jackson.

Next to the Peggy O'Neil embroglio, perhaps the relations of Jackson with Calhoun were most interesting. The President had begun to look upon Calhoun with distrust; he believed that the latter was only moved to his adherence to him, in 1825 and 1828, by advisability. Much has been said of the relations of Crawford and Calhoun to the Florida question, when it arose in Monroe's cabinet; Jackson believed Calhoun to have advocated the support of his Florida policy and Crawford to have opposed it. In this he reversed the attitude of the men. Neither of them had, however, acted as his friend or as his enemy; the matter had been viewed purely in its relations with the nation and the administration. Parton embodies, in his Life of Jackson, a statement of Lewis as to the relations of Jackson and Calhoun, which covers the matter as fully as could be wished. As early as 1819 an effort had been made to imbue Jackson with an idea that Calhoun had not, as he had previously supposed, been his friend in the matter of the Seminole war. Lewis, at that time, wrote to the Aurora, intimating that opinion. But Jackson was not yet ripe for the thought, and wrote to Lewis from Washington to dismiss the suspicion which he entertained of Calhoun. Again, to quote from Sumner:

"In November, 1829, at the height of the Peggy O'Neil affair, Jackson gave a dinner to Monroe. At this dinner Ringold affirmed that Monroe alone stood by Jackson in 1818. If Ringold did not have his cue, he was by chance contributing astonishingly to Lewis' plans. After dinner Lewis and Eaton kept up a conversation within earshot of Jackson, about what Ringold had said. Of course, Jackson's attention was soon arrested, and he began to ask Ringold questions. Lewis then told him that he had seen,

eighteen months before, the above mentioned letter of Forsyth to Hamilton.*

Jackson dispatched Lewis to New York the next morning, to get that letter. In all this story it is plain how adroitly these men managed the general, and how skilful they were in producing "accidents." It is evident that they did not think it was time yet to bring about an explosion. Lewis came back from New York without Forsyth's letter, and said it was thought best to get a letter directly from Crawford containing an explicit statement. In this position the matter rested all winter. It is perfectly clear that the Jackson managers lost faith in Calhoun's loyalty to Jackson and the Jackson party, and that they were hostile to him in 1827 and 1828, but could not yet afford to break with him. Jackson clung to his friendships and alliances with a certain tenacity. As Calhoun was drawn more and more in nullification, the Jackson clique took a positive attitude in opposition to him.

The movement against Calhoun was one of the most adroitly executed of any ever adopted by that remarkable coterie of conspirators—the kitchen cabinet. It brought against him every possible consideration that could have weight with Jackson. It brought against him, not only these personal considerations, but those that might have influence with the public at large, thus reaching Jackson at once in two different directions—his private feelings, and his own estimate of the effect of the matter upon the public at large; it undermined Calhoun by every insinuation known to the methods of the most consummate politician; worked against him upon his record in the Monroe cabinet, and was not slow to use the facts in regard to the Peggy O'Neil affair, to affect Jackson's personal feelings, and still the Crawford letter was held back as a possible means of influence, should everything else fail.

In the spring of 1830, Lewis wrote Colonel Stambaugh, of Pennsylvania, suggesting that the Pennsylvania legislature might well address to Jackson an appeal that he be a candidate for re-election. This was the first public announcement of a long standing plan of the Kitchen cabinet, that Jackson should be a second time president. There was enclosed to the prominent members of the legislature an address, already prepared for signature, suggesting this re-election. Lewis, with his consummate knowledge of political methods, and his wily partisanship, suggested to Stambaugh that it would not be well for any of Jackson's friends at the capital to be apparent in the movement for re-election, and that from Pennsylvania, which in the previous campaign had been the stronghold of his popularity, should come the first and ostensibly spontaneous movement for his candidacy. Pennsylvania was then, as later, absolutely in the hands of managers, con-

*A certain letter of one Forsyth to Alexander Hamilton, affirming that Jackson's enmity against Crawford was groundless, since it was not he, but Calhoun, in Monroe's cabinet, who had favored the censure of Jackson regarding the Florida proceedings in 1818.

sequently the address came back properly signed with twenty-eight names, —a large majority of the legislature. It was published and adroitly circulated, and everywhere was made to do duty as a spontaneous and irresistible call of the supporters of the "old hero," urging him not to desert his office in the hour of need. Yet the Lewis faction had much to oppose. The Calhoun party was not to be defeated by such flimsy methods as these, and, all along the line, contested every inch of ground.

In the spring, a caucus of the New York legislature responded to the "sentiment of the legislature of Pennsylvania." No one could doubt whence this prompting came—from Van Buren at Washington. Of course, then, as since, the example of New York was followed, and other legislatures were ready to give in their adherence to the Soldier President.

Taking into consideration the antecedents of Jackson, his attitude toward previous measures, and his well known southern tendencies, it must be surprising to every student of history that he was not distinctly and openly an adherent of the nullification doctrines, of which Calhoun was the principal exponent. Yet such was not the case. With one of those peculiar and inexplicable assertions of independence, which made his administration a surprise, not only to his friends but to his enemies, he, from the first suggestion of nullification to the close of his administration, was unquestionably its enemy. The 13th of April, 1830, the anniversary of the birth of Jefferson, was suggested by the friends of that great statesman as a proper time for the celebration, which should at the same time draw together the principal leaders of the old democratic party, and, covertly, be made an excuse for forwarding the then young principles of the nullification party,—if party it may be called. On that occasion Jackson was present, and he proposed a toast, which probably more than any other that could have been suggested, tended to the defeat of the enemies of the real, though not partisan federalism,—"Our federal Union."

This was at the same time a paralyzing blow to the nullifiers, and was a note of encouragement to the not small minority of federalists who looked upon the preservation of the Union, and to the continuation of the methods which had been adopted by Washington, forwarded by Adams, and allowed to pursue their even course under Jefferson, Madison and Monroe as superior to party aims, and at the same time was a distinct declaration of war against Calhoun, his own secretary of state; against the methods which Calhoun represented, against the party which professed to support Calhoun as a Presidential nominee. Perhaps this was Jackson's work, but it seems altogether unlikely, to one who has been a close student of his administration, and of his previous history, that he should have struck spontaneously so aggressive a blow against, not so much at the party, as at the man who headed it—Calhoun. It has been previously shown in these pages that Jackson had, up to the time named, considered Calhoun to be his friend. There



HERMITAGE—THE RESIDENCE OF ANDREW JACKSON.

had unquestionably been at work upon him during this interval, the mystery of which history may not penetrate, some influence which convinced him that he had been mistaken in his former estimate of Calhoun, and, this influence having once convinced him that one whom he had considered his friend had, in fact, not been such, it resulted in making him the bitter enemy of that man.

It was not until the 1st of May, 1830, that a letter was at last received, written by Crawford himself, which disclosed the true attitude of Calhoun on the cabinet issue of 1818. In that communication the Rhea letter, to which reference has already been made, for the first time, came into public notice. In it the whole matter of the Florida war was discussed, the whole matter of the cabinet deliberations which followed that war was rehearsed; in it the attitude of Calhoun, distinctly in opposition to Jackson at that time, was brought out; the attitude of Adams as Jackson's only champion in the cabinet; the attitude of Crawford, who was in fact a neutral,—all these were exposed and every tendency of every line was such as to wreck any small remaining confidence which Jackson might have in Calhoun.

The position of Kendall in the "Kitchen cabinet" had been owing to his influence in Kentucky politics; that influence had been due to his advocacy of relief measures, and his opposition of the bank of the United States. The first disruption in this famous basement cabinet was due to the fact of Jackson's opposition to Calhoun, which turned Duff Green, editor of the administration organ, against the man who inspired his pen. This being so, there was nothing but to search through the country for another man who might edit the organ of Jackson, and such a man was found in Francis P. Blair, whose coming, in the year 1830, was the first appearance in Washington of that famous family. This man had been all that Kendall was, the friend of relief politics in Kentucky, the enemy of the bank of the United States, a friend of what would in this day be called communism, against those persons who claimed that a reasonable investment presupposes the right of recovery against the solvent debtor. From this time on, the "Kitchen cabinet" was changed by the substitution of Blair for Green. It was not until the latter part of 1830 that the quarrel between the Vice President and President became public property.

In February, 1831, Calhoun published a statement of the whole matter. There was then but one thing to be done,—to compass the removal of his three friends Ingham, Branch and Berrien, from the cabinet. To accomplish this result, those who were in the councils of the "Kitchen cabinet" resigned, Eaton first, Van Buren afterwards. Van Buren stated his reasons for resigning in a letter, dated April 11, 1831. The main ideas of the letter and those of Jackson's reply, were, first, that Jackson did not wish to retain in his cabinet any person who might be a candidate for the succession; second, that the cabinet was originally solely devoted to Jackson, and that

he did not wish any deviation. Of course, this had the effect intended.

In the complication which followed, the affair of Mrs. Eaton, and everything connected with the Florida war, had a part. The first test of the matter arose when Van Buren was appointed minister to England, and a great contest in the Senate arose as to his confirmation. Finally, Calhoun defeated this by his casting vote. Nothing more than this was necessary to induce Jackson to take up the battle against Calhoun as a personal matter, and it was in connection with this contest that William L. Marcy uttered the famous words: "to the victors belong the spoils." The cabinet being thus disrupted, Jackson appointed a new one, of which Edward Livingston, of Louisiana, was secretary of state; Louis McLane, of Delaware, was secretary of the treasury; Lewis Cass, of Michigan, was secretary of war; Levi Woodbury, of New Hampshire, was secretary of the navy; and Roger B. Taney, of Maryland, was attorney-general.

Having now come to the end of the private administration of Jackson, it remains to give a slight outline of the public questions which were considered during his first term. The trade between the American colonies of Great Britain and the United States had early been made a point of disagreement between the new power in the west and England. In the negotiations of 1818, a complete reciprocity had been offered as to ships and goods, but England would not surrender the bonds dear to her under her colonial system. Then arose the policy of retaliation, than which none more mistaken was ever introduced into the politics of the United States. It is unnecessary to repeat the provisions of those acts, which under Jefferson and his successors were adopted with the intention of crippling English commerce, and which accomplished so thoroughly the paralysis of all American trade. The immediate result of these was to force concessions, which strengthened the popular faith in the policy of the administration, and at the same time strengthened the popular bitterness toward Great Britain. Early in the administration of Jackson, McLane was sent to England to open negotiations which had failed by reason of the diplomatic deadlock of 1827. The idea which prompted McLane's appointment, and which accounted for his policy, was that the election of Jackson had rebuked the action of the former administration, and had left the new President the champion of more liberal commercial ideas.

Finally, Congress made a provision that the acts of restriction passed from 1818 to 1823 should be repealed, and every American ship should be allowed the same privileges in trading to the West Indies that British ships had in trading from the United States, and that they should be allowed to convey goods from the colonies to any known British port to which English ships were allowed to carry. This act was all that England required. The colonial duties were raised; a differential duty in favor of the North American colonies was laid, and the trade was open. So ended the most brilliant

commercial achievement of the Jackson administration. It was boasted of as a triumph of diplomacy, yet it accomplished nothing, save what England demanded; protected nothing which America valued, and was only a success for the administration in the sense that it for the time being set at rest some questions which might have been embarrassing, and laid open the way for settling quietly and unobtrusively, in favor of England, certain matters, which might else have made trouble for Jackson and the men who were his supporters and advisers.

The matter of the American claims against France, and against those nations which had been associated with France under Napoleon, for the spoliation of American commerce, were settled by virtue of a treaty signed at Paris on July 14, 1831, by which France agreed to pay the sum of twenty-five millions of francs to the United States.

No matter in connection with the Jackson administration had more influence immediately, or has had more effect historically, than his attitude toward the Indians of the gulf states. Jackson seemed to have from the first no idea more elevated regarding the Indians, than that they were usurpers of the soil; that whatever could be done with them consistently with his own success, might be done consistently with moral law. It is impossible, as unnecessary, here to follow the course of the various treaties that were made by the Creek, Cherokee, and Chickasaw nations during his administration; it is only necessary to say that one of these treaties was submitted to the supreme court of the United States, as a test case. It had been contracted by certain chiefs of the nation, as was alleged, under the influence of liquor. Certainly these chiefs were not in a condition personally, or in relation to their fellows, to make a binding treaty, still they conveyed their lands to the state of Georgia. A law of the state of Georgia then in force, provided that all lands so transferred, should be divided by lottery among the citizens of the state. This made a common interest among these citizens opposed to that of the Indians. The matter came to the supreme court of the United States as a test case, and was decided in favor of the Indians. Jackson, the President, refused to exert the power of the executive to enforce a right which the supreme judicial power of the country had determined belonged to the Indians, and left them deprived of their lands and helpless, although their title had been thus approved.

Next to the Indian question came that of internal improvements. So early as 1802 this matter came up, when it was proposed that a road should be built to the Northwestern territory. In 1812 a provision was suggested for a road from Robinstown, Maine, to St. Mary's, Georgia. Thus, at the very outset, practically came up a difference, which must have killed the internal improvement system as a permanent policy, had circumstances not otherwise brought it to an end. To bring to mind a very familiar illustration, like the river and harbor bill, which annually agitates the Congress of

to-day, it brought up local matters. The congressman from Maine would not vote for an improvement in Kentucky, if the congressman from Kentucky would not vote for an improvement in Maine; and this was the whole key to the difficulty. It was proposed in 1816 that the bonds and profits of the bank of the United States be devoted to internal improvements. A bill to that effect was passed, and Madison had the good sense to veto it. Monroe, in his message, affirmed the same opinion that Madison held. The judgment of the people was at fault on the subject. Whether it arose from the existence of the bank or the inexperience of the people as an independent nation, they still held that an expenditure of funds by the nation was something in the nature of a right which was limited by locality, and directed by party. The party in power could not rid itself of the idea that this expenditure should be made in the direction of its perpetuity. The sectional element could but believe that every dollar which was expended for any locality against itself was wrongfully applied. Thus appropriations for internal improvements ran wild. There is no knowing to what extent they might have gone, had not Jackson, in May, 1830, put the stamp of his disapproval upon the policy as a whole, by vetoing a bill providing for a subscription of the United States to the Maysville and Lexington road—a road prospectively to penetrate the district in which he was strongest. In this veto we see one of the rare and unexpected illustrations of that power in Jackson which his enemies call obstinacy, and his best friends consistency. It was neither obstinacy nor consistency. To one who looks at this veto from the standpoint of the historian, it is simply the occasional and very rare assertion of his own independence against the opinion of men who would have made him strong at the expense of his personal reputation. Jackson's worst enemy must see that he had in himself great elements of strength; that these elements lacked opportunity of manifestation, perhaps because in his latter days he was under the influence of men stronger in method, if not in brain, than himself, and because in his early life he was denied those privileges which would have given him an opportunity to compete with men often less than himself in intellectual endowments. It may be said that Jackson's first intimation of hostility to the policy of internal improvements was never relinquished. He held in his hands a bill for the Louisville canal, which was also in his own territory, and another for the establishment of lighthouses, over a session, and returned them without his signature. At later sessions his emphatic disapproval of this policy was absolutely overruled by the vote of Congress, but it may be said with truth, that following minutely the history of the struggle on this subject, Jackson from the first held what is now esteemed to be unquestionably the only correct constitutional view of the subject, that the United States had properly no traffic with any matter not strictly included within the constitutionally provided functions of government. Much has been

written in these pages, drawn as justly as possible from the pages of history, and altogether to the disadvantage of Jackson. It is only proper to say that in this one matter of internal improvements he took and held at once a wise, a proper, and an unpopular stand upon a great public question.

The tariff question was one of the most serious of the Jackson administration. The fact remains recorded in the political history of to-day, that the tariff was in that day as it is now, an injustice as regards the purely producing communities of the United States, but the tariff at that time lacked, as it does not lack now, the advocacy of persons subtle and skillful enough to blind the eyes of the producers to this fact, consequently the south as a whole was set absolutely against the tariff policy, which its people considered taxed them for the benefit of the manufacturing producers of the north and east. This appeared everywhere throughout the cotton states. Meetings were held; in private conversation, in stump speeches, even in sermons this artificial system set up for the protection of the east against the south (as they viewed it) was made the subject of criticism and condemnation. In no matter relating to public interests did the Jackson men make a worse record than upon this. Again quoting Sumner, the condition of affairs may be stated: "The industrial interests of twelve millions of people had been thrown into the arena of economical principles, and there was no information about the industrial state of the country, or about the special industries; it being assumed that the legislature could, would, and was about to confer favors and advantages, there was a scramble to see who should get the most. At the same time party ambitions and strifes seized upon the industrial interests as capital for President-making." The tariff then adopted has passed into history as the tariff of abominations. It is without the province of this work to state its particular provisions: for those the reader must turn to broader treatises; yet it remains a fact that the wildest vagaries of modern protectionists have produced nothing more absurd."

The matter of nullification had its head and front in Calhoun, and may be said to have arisen from the tariff. As has been said before, the southerners were bitterly opposed to protection. They felt that the operation of the system was distinctively against their interest; imposing a tax upon them for the benefit of others who happened to hold the balance of the federal power. They looked upon it as an experiment, for which they had paid the expense, and which, having proved a failure, should be abandoned. As early as 1828 the first declaration of nullification principles in relation to the tariff was introduced by McDuffie, of South Carolina. He made a careful review of the subject, and declared as a result that the tax fell upon the southern states while the benefit accrued to those of the north. It is impossible to follow here the intricate course of this insidious doctrine of nullification, which certainly had a degree of excuse in the state of affairs which then existed. Its primary statement was this, that in so far as any provision

of the Constitution protected or excused a measure which was inimical to the national rights of a given state, that doctrine was null and void. From this word "null" originated the phrase so significant in the history of America, "Nullification."

Jackson, in 1831, wrote a letter to certain citizens of Charleston, who had invited him to deliver a 4th of July oration in that city, in which he indicated clearly his opposition to nullification. This announcement came as a surprise to the south, and remains to-day as a surprise to every person who has studied Jackson's antecedents and associations. He nullified the Constitution in 1815, when he imprisoned a judge of the supreme court, in New Orleans, for interposing a process of that court between himself and a prisoner whom he had arrested. He nullified the Constitution in 1817, when he hanged two chiefs of the Creek nation who had been decoyed aboard an American man-of-war at St. Marks; he nullified the Constitution in the same year when he executed two British subjects in Florida, against whom there was not even fair *prima facie* evidence; he nullified the Constitution in Florida in a later year when he expelled a United States judge from its limits for daring to release a second prisoner from his custody under process of the court;—yet he was opposed to nullification.

The great question of the Jackson administration was that of the national bank. The bank of North America was first proposed and formed previous to the adoption of the Constitution. From that time on it was made the subject of popular and partisan contests. When, after the accession of Washington, Hamilton founded the bank of the United States, he met the same doubts and disapproval, reinforced by no less a man than Thomas Jefferson. From this time on, until Jackson had passed into private life, there never was a day when the national bank was not a subject for controversy.

The old bank instituted by Hamilton, went out of existence, and left for the country only the local state banks with their flimsy currency, worth whatever one deemed it worth; received in one place, rejected in another; without a basis of anything valuable, dependent purely upon the hopeless credit of local institutions. In the session of 1815 and 1816 there came up a plan for a bank intended to accomplish a return to specie payment, rather than (as had been the former national banks) a reserve for the national government. Its charter became a law in the spring of 1816. In its constitution it approved the wisdom of the banking system which Jefferson had so strongly opposed in the early days, by very closely following that of Alexander Hamilton. It was far from perfect; it was equally far from being what its enemies would have men believe, either a fraud upon the public or a creation of a financial visionary. It was first established in Philadelphia, with nineteen branches, which ultimately grew to twenty-five. Nominally, specie payments were resumed in February, 1817; after which time, as

Congress declared, the treasury of the United States received only specie, or notes of the bank of the United States or of specie paying banks, or treasury notes, in payment of indebtedness to the government. It will thus be seen that Congress from the first legislated in favor of this new scheme.

The legal restraints upon its circulation did not permit of a sufficient currency to transact its business. There grew up then, in 1827, a system of branch drafts issued by any one of these twenty-five outside branches of the bank, which were passed into circulation, and in effect, being accepted by the main bank, increased its circulation. It will be seen that this expedient introduced an indefinite and irresponsible inflation of the currency. The bank received the deposits of the United States. It was the accepted and authorized fiscal agent of the United States; it represented, as nearly as anything in those days could represent, the treasury of the United States as it now exists. Every note and draft of that bank bore the endorsement of the general government; consequently the utterly unlimited and irresponsible issue of branch drafts by these twenty-five scattered and unrestrained outside agencies, resulted in producing a currency uncontemplated; unprovided for; irredeemable; a currency which could only result, for the bank itself and for the people who accepted it for just debts, in irretrievable ruin. It should be borne in mind that the United States was a large stockholder in the bank of the United States. In 1829, and thereafter, there arose not only in the mind of Jackson, but in the opinion of many who were his opponents, an idea that the bank of the United States was not only an objectionable financial element in the government, but was being used for political purposes.

Congress declared the treasury ought to receive only specie or notes of the Bank of the United States or of specie paying banks or treasury notes. It was the old effort to give equality between paper and coin by legislative fiat. During its first two years the directors of the bank played with it like a new toy, and carried it to the verge of ruin. In 1819 Langdon Cheves, of South Carolina, became its president, and by patient and faithful labor succeeded in placing it in a condition of comparative financial soundness. In 1827 Congress passed a law which required that the officers of the parent bank should sign all notes issued by branches. This was an enormous task and to avoid it, in an unlucky moment the idea of branch drafts was suggested. They were drawn by any and all branches, upon the parent bank, to the order of a branch officer, endorsed by him and placed in circulation. This, of course, opened the way to unlimited and utterly irresponsible inflation of a currency already far enough removed from stability.

Organized and conducted as it was, that the bank should become mixed with politics was inevitable. It did become so involved, and its downfall

was the result. Nicholas Biddle, an honest but somewhat opinionated man, a gentleman and a scholar, was the president of the bank in 1823, and thereafter. He was a good financier after the loose ideas of the day, but a very impolitic man, and his independent refusal to be governed by Ingham, secretary of the treasury, in the matter of the removal of an officer of the Portsmouth (New Hampshire) bank, supposed to be inimical to Jackson, led to the waging of a bitter and successful war on the part of the administration and against the bank. There is no question that the real explanation of this contest was the desire on the part of Ingham to secure the bank to the administration as a political machine, and Biddle's determination to run it on business principles. In Jackson's first message he called the attention of Congress to the fact that the charter of the bank would expire in 1836, and said there were grave doubts as to the expediency of its recharter and as to its constitutionality on the part of a large portion of his fellow-citizens.

This reference to popular feeling in a presidential message was a new idea to the people, and caused no little sensation. The evident declaration of war upon the bank, at the outset of his administration, created alarm, and, from that time, the struggle between the bank and the administration was understood to be to the death.

Again, in 1830, the President called attention to the bank issue and, in a very independent way, proposed a bank which should be a branch of the treasury department. No notice was taken of this recommendation during the session of 1830–31, but several test questions which came up indirectly, clearly indicated that the bank was in the ascendant.

With this meagre outline of the first administration, it is necessary to pass to the second.



WILLIAM WIRT.

CHAPTER V.

THE SECOND ADMINISTRATION—CONCLUSION.

THE campaign of 1832 was an easy one for Jackson, by reason of the division in the opposition, caused by the murder of Morgan, the Batavia bricklayer. William Wirt for president, Amos Ellmaker for vice-president, was the ticket of the anti-masons. Clay was the regular National Republican candidate, while Jackson, supported by a united, organized, and well disciplined army, was at the head of the Democratic ticket.

The direct issue made by the Republicans, under the leadership of Clay, was the preservation of the United States bank, and was met by the Democrats, led by Jackson, by a determination to overthrow and destroy it. Jackson loved a fight. He was a formidable adversary in any conflict, whether political or military, in which he chose to take a part. He never was more in earnest than in his opposition to the bank. The campaign became a struggle in which the popularity of Jackson was arrayed against the popularity of the bank. Charges were formulated against it about as follows: (1.) Usury. (2.) Using branch drafts as currency. (3.) Sales of coin by weight. (4.) Sales of public stocks, against charter prohibition. (5.) Gifts to roads, canals, etc. (6.) Building houses to rent or sell. These were the particulars in which the bank was alleged to have acted illegally. It was also charged with: (a) subsidizing the press; (b) favoritism; (c) exporting specie and interfering with its normal movement; (d) improper increase of its branches; (e) improper expansion of the circulation; (f) failure to serve the public; (g) with mismanagement of the public deposits; (h) postponement of payment of three per cent securities; (i) incomplete number of directors; (j) large expenditures for printing; (k) large contingent expenditures; (l) loans to members of Congress in advance

of appropriations; (m) refusal to give a list of Connecticut stockholders for purposes of taxation; (n) usurpation of control of the bank by exchange committee of the board of directors to the exclusion of the other directors.

The election resulted in an overwhelming victory for Jackson, who received 219 electoral votes, to 49 for Clay, while the popular vote was 707,217 for the former, but 328,561 for the latter, and 254,720 for Wirt.

The project finally adopted by Jackson, was to replace the bank of the United States as a public depository, by distributing the monies of the people among state banks in the leading cities, selecting a Washington bank as the central depository and correspondent. The Bank of the Metropolis, of Washington, was chosen as this central fiscal agent, but refusing to admit a representative of the government among its officials, the idea of a central bank was given over and R. M. Whitney was named as financial agent of the treasury, with the duty of corresponding with and overseeing the various banks of deposit. This gave him tremendous and dangerous power which it was later discovered he grossly abused.

The first cause of Jackson's enmity to the Bank of the United States, was ostensibly that it had been a political engine; really that it had been made a political engine against himself. This new system was from its conception intended to form a strong and connected Jackson organization; the hundreds of letters received from banks applying for deposits, since they became public property, had, as the burthen of their claim, not the financial strength and safety of the institutions, but the fealty of their officers and stockholders to the cause of Jackson. These applications were considered, accepted or dismissed as a political matter, and, if the Bank of the United States had soiled its garments with the smut of partizanship, Jackson dragged the whole financial system of the United States through the mire.

When all was done, how did the Government stand under the new system? Before, the Bank of the United States, chartered by Congress and under the direct supervision and control of the Government, had paid a heavy bond for the privilege of acting as custodian of the public funds. This bank was unquestionably solvent,—so safe that its stock fell but one and one-half per cent. upon the announcement of Jackson's intention of withdrawing the deposits, and almost immediately recovered. It had its abuses, but these were not serious, and, such as they were, could have been readily remedied by the provisions of a rechartering act. A larger bond would have been promptly, if not willingly, paid, and the issue of branch drafts was susceptible of easy regulation. The new system placed the funds of the United States in the custody of more than twenty banks, in almost as many states, chartered under various laws, some solvent and responsible, some questionable, some clearly unsafe. The relations of the Government with the Bank of the United States were slow in being classed; the business of years could not be settled in a day. Jackson feared that

the old bank would take revenge upon the new depositories by peremptorily demanding a settlement of balances. This very simple and proper demand was then considered an act of cruelty and injustice. To guard against possible injury by such action, he caused to be delivered to the various banks, heavy drafts of the treasury against the balance of Government deposits still remaining with the old bank. No such revengeful effort was made, but there was great abuse of these drafts on the part of the state banks. The president of the Union bank of Maryland cashed a Government draft of one hundred thousand dollars, and used the proceeds in stock speculations; the Manhattan Company used one of the drafts for five hundred thousand dollars, and other banks of doubtful solvency carried the drafts among their assets, in order to make such a showing as to be entitled to receive the deposits. All these wrongful acts the administration did its best to conceal, and only the inquisitiveness of Congress finally exposed them.

On the 9th of December, 1833, the Bank of the United States memorialized Congress against the removal of the deposits. Its champion in the Senate was Henry Clay, while Thomas Benton led the administration party in opposition. For a time the friends of the bank were in the majority in both houses, defeating all measures in regard to the removal of the deposits, and succeeded in adopting a resolution offered by Clay censuring Jackson for assuming power and authority not conferred by the Constitution and the laws, but derogatory to both; but later, in 1836, Benton succeeded in obtaining the adoption of a resolution expunging the record of censure from the journal of the Senate. Thus was Jackson vindicated. It was a source of great gratification to him to be thus exonerated.

The deposits were finally removed from the Bank of the United States and distributed among state banks, which came to be called "pet banks." Thus did Jackson gain his point. The charter of the United States bank expired March 3d, in 1836. The Pennsylvania legislature was induced to grant the bank a state charter. The act was dated February 18, 1836. It is conceded that this legislative enactment was consummated through fraud and corruption, as the bank agreed to pay for its charter the sum of two million five hundred thousand dollars as a bonus, one hundred thousand dollars per year for twenty years for school purposes, to loan the state a million a year at four per cent., and subscribe six hundred and forty thousand dollars to railroads and turnpikes. These unwise engagements ultimately caused its ruin. The bank failed three times in the five years succeeding that of its state charter, viz: May 10, 1837; October 9, 1839; and February 4, 1841, when it was wholly ruined. The stockholders lost every dollar of their investment.

The common verdict has been that the ultimate failure and ruin of the bank proved that Jackson was right in the unrelenting war which he waged against this at one time great and really valuable financial institution. Up

to the time of its state charter the bank was sound, strong, and without doubt prudently and wisely managed. During the next five years it launched into the wildest and most reckless methods of banking, endeavored to prove itself a public benefactor, and was robbed and plundered by its officers. Its end was ignominious and brought disgrace upon all concerned in its management as well as upon the legislature that granted it its new charter. The ruin of the bank served but to increase the popularity of Jackson, but an honest regard for truth and candor compels the student of history to admit that the bank war up to the year 1836 was unwise, unjust, and therefore discreditable to Jackson.

In 1834 Jackson became involved in very important diplomatic relations with France. By virtue of the treaty of 1831, the French nation agreed to pay the United States certain sums of money, and had failed to keep her engagements. Jackson in his annual message of 1834, called attention in his characteristically emphatic manner to this failure upon the part of France. He contended that if the French nation did not discharge her engagements before a certain time Congress would be justified in passing a law authorizing reprisals. The French journals called this a menace, and maintained that France could not then pay without dishonor. In December, 1834, the French chambers refused by vote to appropriate money to pay American indemnities; but the following April they passed the appropriation, stipulating, however, that no money could be paid until "satisfactory explanations" of the President's message should be received. In his message of 1835 Jackson reviewed the whole matter, declared he had never used menace, and said he should never apologize. In 1836, January 18th, the President sent to the Senate a special message on the relations to France, recommending coercive measures—proposing to exclude French ships and products from the ports of the United States. The English government at this point offered its services as mediator, and obtained from France a statement that the President's message of 1835 had removed the bad impressions of that of 1834, and thus the breach was healed, and the indemnity was ordered paid March 19, 1836. The entire diplomatic negotiation was creditable to Jackson, who was in the right and firmly maintained it, while France's part in the affair proved rather humiliating.

In 1833 slavery was abolished in the British West Indies, and the event produced greatly increased agitation of the slavery question in the United States. New societies were organized, Congress was petitioned to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, and anti-slavery pamphlets and newspapers were sent to the south, causing in that section the most vehement indignation. The people at Charlestown, South Carolina, insisted that their postmaster should not deliver these incendiary documents to the persons to whom they were addressed. That personage appealed to the postmaster-general, Amos Kendall, for orders. Kendall, August 4, 1835, replied in

an ambiguous way, throwing the Charlestown postmaster upon his own discretion in the matter, but added: "By no act of mine, official, or private could I be induced to aid, knowingly, in giving circulation to papers of this description, directly or indirectly. We owe an obligation to the laws, but a higher one to the communities in which we live; and, if the former be perverted to destroy the latter, it is patriotism to disregard them. Entertaining these views I cannot sanction and will not condemn your refusal to deliver this most inflammatory, incendiary and insurrectionary matter."

The public excitement growing out of this action of the anti-slavery societies was increased by our complications with Mexico. That country had abolished slavery in 1829. Meanwhile American citizens from the southern states had settled in Texas, taking with them their slaves. They resented the abolition decree, and Mexico was obliged to make the abolition nugatory as to Texas. In 1829 the United States endeavored to buy Texas, offering five million dollars for it. In 1830 the Mexican government forbade Americans to settle in Texas. In 1833 a revolution broke out in Mexico, and in 1835 when Santa Anna tried to extend his authority over Texas, he was defied and defeated. In 1836 Texas declared her independence. She adopted a constitution with the strongest provisions in favor of slavery. Under the leadership of Samuel Houston, the Texans vanquished the Mexicans, and April 21, 1836, at the decisive battle of San Jacinto, routed and captured Santa Anna. In July, 1836, Congress declared that the independence of Texas should be acknowledged as soon as Texas had proved her ability to maintain it. In 1837 the Senate recognized her independence by a vote of twenty-three to nineteen. The same year the Texas agent made a proposal for annexation. The opposition to annexation was very strong in the north, and the proposition was declined. The next move was a presentation of charges of a most frivolous character by the United States against Mexico. Mexico proposed arbitration in regard to them, which proposition was declined. The war with Mexico, which is universally regarded in this day as unjust, and as a shame to the American nation, finally took place, (although not while Jackson was President) ostensibly to satisfy these charges, but really for the purpose of robbing Mexico of Texas, and obtaining more slave territory for the south.

During Jackson's second administration the new nation rapidly grew in material resources, in population and in influence. The country was rich in territorial possession, and the people were full of energy, and the desire to own and develop landed property was widely prevalent. The nation began to be conscious for the first time of her giant energies, her innate strength and the wonderful possibilities of growth and of power that were surely hers. There came, as an outgrowth of so great activity and rapid progress, many social commotions and a wide-spread disregard for law and order. It was an era of brawls and duels,

of hanging negroes and abolitionists at the South, and of producing riots by mobs of rowdies, trades-unionists and anti-bank organizations at the North. Still the country prospered, and Jackson's firmness, his iron will, his courage in maintaining the rights due this country from foreign powers, had much to do in obtaining a proper recognition from older and more powerful nations; and the fact that the United States was beginning to be looked upon abroad as a rapidly growing nation, had its effect in increasing the tide of immigration from the old countries to the new one. Her history, her fortunes, her government, her resources, and the extent of her territory began to be more widely discussed than ever before, and the fact that the new country afforded rare opportunities for all who were ambitious to prosper became more widely known.

In 1834 an important case—that of Briscoe *vs.* The Bank of the Commonwealth of Kentucky—was argued before the Supreme Court, and in 1837 was decided by that body. The case was so remarkable both for the earnestness and warmth with which it was contested, and for the important results which were reached by virtue of its decision, that it is deserving of a short review. In 1830 a promissory note was given by Briscoe and others which was not paid when due, the defendants pleading in the State Circuit Court "no consideration" "on the ground that the note was given for a loan of notes of the Bank of the Commonwealth which were 'bills of credit' within the prohibition of the Constitution, and therefore of no value." The court decided in favor of the bank, and that decision was affirmed by the higher State court on appeal, whereupon the defendants brought it before the Supreme Court of the United States on a writ of error, which at that time consisted of seven judges, of whom Marshall was the Chief Justice. The court did not reach a decision, by reason of a majority of the whole bench failing to concur in pronouncing the notes of the Bank of the Commonwealth bills of credit under the decision of Craig *vs.* Missouri. Briscoe's case came up again in 1837, five of the court being appointees of Jackson. The decisions of the State courts were affirmed, it being held that a bill of credit "is a paper issued by the sovereign power, containing a pledge of its faith and designed to circulate as money,"—that is, the State must issue the notes and pledge its faith for their payment in order to constitute them bills of credit. The decision, placing as it did, the notes of a Commonwealth bank beyond the reach of the prohibition of the Constitution, made it possible and indeed easy for any State to avoid the constitutional prohibition. A species of wild-cat banking ensued in the Southwestern States as a consequence, bringing in the end disaster and ruin to thousands. Marshall in 1834 and Story in 1837 held that the bank notes were bills of credit; had this opinion prevailed the system of wild and reckless banking which devastated the West between 1837 and 1850, would never have been inaugurated.

In 1835 an insane man by the name of Richard Lawrence attempted to shoot Jackson in the rotunda of the capitol by snapping two pistols at him, neither of which was discharged. The President refused to believe the man insane, but maintained he was the tool of a personal enemy. Upon trial, however, Lawrence was acquitted upon the strongest evidence of insanity, and was given into custody as an insane person.

It was during Jackson's second administration that the name Locofocos came to be applied to the democrats. A faction of the party calling itself the "Equal rights party," or the "Jeffersonian Anti-monopolists," revolted, and promulgated the following platform: No distinction between men save merit; gold and silver the only legitimate money; no monopolies; strict adherence to the Constitution; no bank charters by states; approval of Jackson's administration; election of president by direct popular vote. The platform was popular, and the equal rights wing of the party rapidly grew in numbers and influence. October 29th, both factions met in Tammany hall to nominate a congressman and other officers. The old faction entered by the back door, and effected an organization before the front entrance was opened. At the hour for meeting the equal rights party poured in, nominated and elected their chairman, ignoring their brethren of the older faction. The latter left the hall in disgust, but before going they took care to extinguish the lights, leaving the anti-monopolists in the dark. The anti-monopolists, however, had provided themselves against such an emergency with locofoco matches and locofoco cigars—cigars with self-lighting matches at the end—and thus rekindled their lights and made their nominations. On the next day the Courier and Enquirer dubbed the equal rights party the Locofocos—a name that fastened upon that faction and later passed to the whole Jackson-Van Buren party.

Van Buren was Jackson's preference for the Presidency in 1836, and was elected, receiving one hundred and seventy electoral votes to seventy-three for Harrison, and had a majority over all candidates of forty-six. Three days after the inauguration of his successor, Jackson started for his home in Tennessee. At all points along his homeward journey he received evidences of the people's regard. Andrew Jackson was their idol, and he never lost his hold upon his popularity with the American people. At Nashville he lived a quiet life, save that he was frequently sought out by those who were anxious to obtain his influence in favor of any cherished project or measure. In 1844 he bent all his influence to secure the election of Polk, which was his last public activity. He died on the 8th day of June, 1845, in his seventy-ninth year, the most successful American citizen who had as yet appeared in public life. His ambition had been fully satisfied; he had wielded the largest measure of power, had beaten his enemies in nearly every struggle in which he engaged, and died loved and honored by the majority of his countrymen.

Diverse as have been the views of the people as to the character of Andrew Jackson, and as to the good or evil effect of his teaching and example upon the American people, and especially upon American politics, there has been no difference as to the depth of that impress, or the wonderful personality of the man. When the news of his death was sent over the land, there were many disposed to criticise and resent the high eulogies that were pronounced upon him by those whose example and leader he had been, and a few who belittled his powers and laid his achievements upon opportunity and chance; yet sober history, viewing him from this distance, must pronounce upon the injustice of that charge. He was one of the great men of America, whether viewed in the light of his achievements or in the obedient following that supported his fortunes through many troubled years, and bequeathed to after generations the views and prejudices they had imbibed from him. The semi-official holiday that is observed on the eighth of January—the anniversary of the battle of New Orleans—by the democracy of many states, is but one form of that admiration in which the hero of that battle was held by men who were living long ere he passed away, and have impressed upon those about them the deep feeling with which they venerate the memory of their old-time chief.

While many eulogies of the dead were pronounced ere Jackson was laid in the tomb, there were few of a more direct and sincere character, and that touched his inner life more closely than the tender words spoken by Roger Taney, chief-justice of the United States, when he said: "The whole civilized world already know how bountifully he was endowed by Providence with these high gifts which qualified him to lead, both as a soldier and a statesman. But those only who were around him in times of anxious deliberation, when great and mighty interests were at stake, and who were with him, also, in the retired scenes of domestic life, in the midst of his family and friends, can fully appreciate his innate love of justice, his hatred of oppression in every shape it would assume, his magnanimity, his entire freedom from any feeling of personal hostility to his political opponents, and his constant and unvarying kindness and gentleness to his friends." As another said: "His faults, whatever they were, were such as a majority of the American citizens of his generation could easily forgive. His virtues, whatever they were, were such as a majority of American citizens of the last generation could warmly admire. People may hold what opinions they will respecting the merits or importance of this man, but no one can deny that his invincible popularity is worthy of consideration; for what we lovingly admire, that, in some degree, we are. It is chiefly as the representative man of the combative-rebellious period of American history that he is interesting to the student of American history. . . . The circumstances of his childhood nourished his pecul-

iarities. He was a poor boy in a new country, without a father to teach him moderation, obedience and self-control. The border warfare of the Revolution whirled him hither and thither; made him fierce and exacting; taught him self reliance; accustomed him to regard his opponent as a foe. Those who are not for us are against us, and they who are against us are to be put to death, was the Carolina doctrine during the later years of the war. The early loss of his elder brother, his own hard lot in the Camden prison, the terrible and needless suffering of his younger brother, the sad but heroic death of his mother, were events not calculated to give the softer traits the mastery within him. All the influences of his early years tended to develop a very positive cast of character, to make him self-helpful, decisive, indifferent to danger, impatient of contradiction and disposed to follow up a quarrel to the death."

Mr. Parton's estimate of Jackson and his deeds may not be altogether true, yet it is essentially in the direction of truth: "Autocrat as he was, Andrew Jackson loved the people, the common people, the sons and daughters of toil, as truly as they loved him and believed in them as they believed in him. He was in accord with his generation. He had a clear perception that the toiling millions are not a class in the community, but *are* the community. He knew and felt that government should exist only for the benefit of the governed; that the strong are strong only that they may aid the weak; that the rich are rightfully rich only that they may so combine and direct the labors of the poor as to make labor more profitable to the laborer. He did not comprehend these truths as they are demonstrated by Jefferson and Spencer, but he had an intuitive and instinctive perception of them. And in his most autocratic moments he really thought that he was fighting the battle of the people, and doing their will while baffling the purposes of their representatives. If he had been a man of knowledge as well as force, he would have taken the part of the people more effectually, and left to his successors an increased power of doing good, instead of better facilities for doing harm. He appears always to have meant well. But his ignorance of law, history, politics, science, of everything which he who governs a country ought to know, was extreme. . . . In his wild, fiery way he loved justice, but when excited by passion he was totally incapable of discriminating between right and wrong. He was like his own Mississippi, which flows on with useful placidity until the levee gives way, and then is instantly converted into a roaring, rushing, devastating torrent—and the levee is made of material that cannot resist an extraordinary pressure. . . . He came home from the wars, the pride, the darling of the Nation. No man in this country had ever been subjected to such a torrent of applause, and few men have been less prepared to withstand it by education, reflection and experience. He accepted the verdict which the Nation passed upon

his conduct. Well pleased with himself and with his countrymen, he wrote those lofty letters to Mr. Monroe, the burthen of which is that a President of the United States should rise superior to party spirit, appoint no man to office for party reasons, but be President of the whole people, judging every applicant for Presidential favor by his conduct alone. His feud with Adair and his quarrel with General Scott soon showed that, with all his popularity and fine words, he was the same Andrew Jackson as of old, unable to bear opposition and prone to believe the worst of those who did not yield to him implicitly. . . . He was started for the Presidency. He was passive; he was clay in the hands of two or three friendly potters. Tennessee took up his name with enthusiasm; Pennsylvania brought it prominentiy before the Nation; he wrote his tariff letter; he voted for internal improvements; the Monroe correspondence was published; he won a plurality of electoral votes, but was not elected. His disappointment was keen, and his wrath burned anew and with increased fury against the man who had given the office to Mr. Adams. . . . If General Jackson was passive during the campaign of 1824, he was passive no longer. The exposure of the circumstances attending his marriage, accompanied by unjust comments and gross exaggerations, the reflections upon his mother, the revival of every incident of his life that could be unfavorably construed, kept him in a blaze of wrath. Determined to triumph, he took an active part, at home and abroad, in the canvass. He was elected; but, in the moment of his triumph, his wife, than whom no wife was ever more tenderly beloved, was lost to him forever. The calamity that robbed life of all its charm deepened, and, as it were, sanctified his political resentments. His enemies had slain her, he thought. Adams had permitted, if he had not prompted, the circulation of the calumnies that destroyed her. Clay, he firmly believed, had originated the crusade against her; for this strange being could believe any evil thing of one whom he cordially hated. Broken in spirit, broken in health, the old man, cherishing what he deemed a holy wrath, but meaning to serve his country well, went to Washington, to find it crowded with hungry claimants for reward." His work there has been already given; for the influences of that work, no mere sketch of historical fact can be adequate, but must be sought for in the traditions and life of the American people; in the political conditions, beliefs and practices of to-day.

14 DAY USE
RETURN TO DESK FROM WHICH BORROWED
LOAN DEPT.
This book is due on the last date stamped below, or on the date to which renewed.
Renewed books are subject to immediate recall.

12Apr'65BG

REC'D LD
APR 2 '65 -1 PM

NOV 9 1965 14

REC'D LD NOV 6 '69 -8 PM

LD 21A-60m-3,'65
(F2336s10)476B

General Library
University of California
Berkeley